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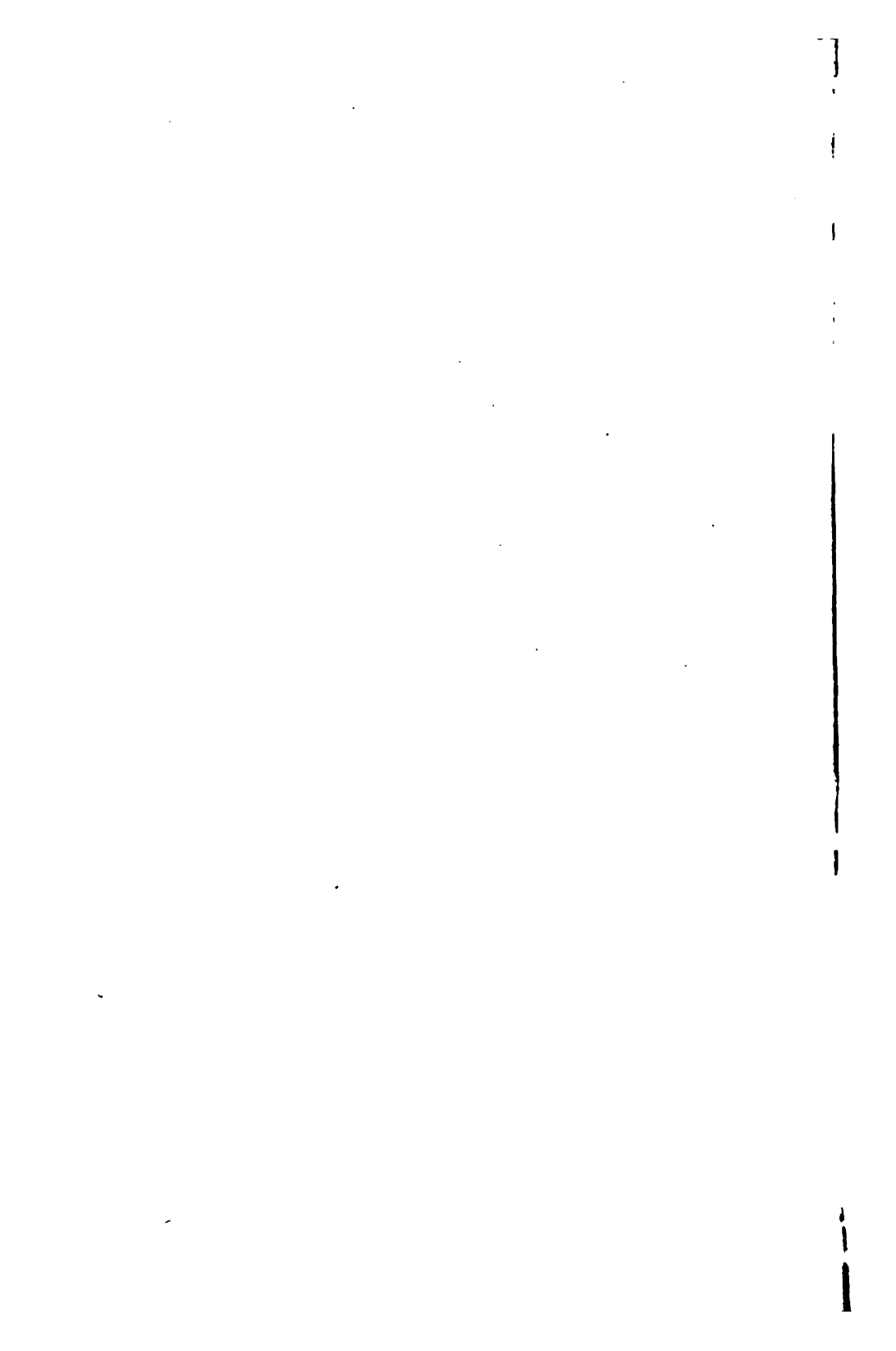
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THE
THEOLOGICAL REVIEW:

A JOURNAL

OF

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND LIFE.

"Our fathers worshiped in this mountain; and ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship." * * *

"The hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. * * * But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshipers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship Him. God is a Spirit: and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth." (John iv. 20, 21, 23, 24.)

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THE THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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I.—INTRODUCTORY.

AMONG the most noteworthy characteristics of English society at the present moment, is a singular revival of interest in those theological inquiries which in quieter times the mass of men are content to leave to studious and painful divines. The interest is not purely intellectual, but has a practical side also : men, whose minds are commonly urged by little speculative ardour, are conscious of a vague insecurity in the foundations of the faith which is their stay in life and death, and will not be satisfied till they have looked into the matter with their own eyes. Yet, though the present commotion in the region of theological thought springs in part from moral sources and owns moral restraints, it must not be regarded as a parallel phenomenon to any of those great awakenings of religious life, of which the birth of Methodism in the last century is a familiar example. For in these, the moral and spiritual is also the preponderating element, asking from the intellect, in order to produce its own fullest results, little more than a certain receptive activity. The question is not of new beliefs, but of a fresh power poured into the old ; not of the firmer base on which the ancient faith can be seated, but of the new life with which it can be made to move and glow. What quickening of the intellect is needed, is implied, not in the careful marshalling of evidence, the cautious process of logical deduction, but in the sudden inspiration which, shewing familiar truths in a new light, reveals them as undeniably true and unspeakably solemn. On the contrary, the present movement comes from the side of the intellect, and, though with enough of the moral element to keep it honest and reverent,

is a stirring not of life but of thought. The questions which are most persistently and most eagerly asked are outside the common controversial theology, and imperil the fundamental assumptions of the Church. Not what is the meaning, but what is the authority, of Scripture? no longer the method of the Divine government, but is there any Divine government of men and the world at all? not the exact place of miracles in Christian evidence, but can the possibility of a miracle be maintained in face of the uniformity of nature?—these are the matters which thoughtful men earnestly debate, while churches stand by, making-believe not to hear the unwelcome sounds, or vociferous with hysteric terror. Which is the stranger spectacle it were hard to tell—the theologian who, when such a seething sea of doubt and difficulty is breaking in upon the Church, reserves all his thought and passion for the hardship imposed upon the clergy by a Burial Service which will not be silent of Christian hope at the brink of any grave; or he who confidently declares that all modern scriptural difficulties were anticipated by Porphyry and Celsus, and refers Colenso to Archbishop Usher for a refutation of theories which the good Primate never heard of!

But in what palpable guise of fact does this movement of thought make its way to the light? We may pass by for the present the existence of a school of theological speculation beyond the limits of all orthodox churches; for there has perhaps never been a period in the history of Christianity at which the consensus of belief which calls itself orthodoxy, has not reacted to produce the individuality of conviction rightly denominated heresy. Our present concern is with a quite different phenomenon—the existence of heresy in the midst of orthodoxy, the half-conscious unfaithfulness of orthodoxy to itself. And first, there exists in the Church of England a small but able party, which claims the right of freely interpreting Scripture within the limits of the Formularies, and which denies, not without some show of legality, that the Articles of the Church can be used to bind down Churchmen to any but the most liberal theory of inspiration. This party, of which Mr. Jowett is perhaps the most distinguished, and the Bishop of Natal the most consistent member, includes also the other writers of “*Essays and Reviews*,” and engages at least the open sympathy of

the Dean of Westminster, the secret good wishes of many more cautious clergymen. To what goal they tend, it would be difficult to say; the fact that the Articles were not framed in a spirit of prophecy, and did not anticipate in the 16th the difficulties of the 19th century, has hitherto given them a certain delusive liberty of action; and until freedom of interpretation, which has never yet proved to be a barren right, produces its natural harvest of independent conviction, they are safe within the Church from any heavier penalty than distrust and contumely. There is another party, often included with the first under the general name of the Broad Church, yet only partly concordant in its motives and its aims,—the party which owns the leadership of Mr. Maurice. To what commendation is implied in the word “Broad,” this party is entitled, when we compare its pure religious spirituality with the sacerdotal narrowness of the High, the doctrinal straitness of the Low Church; although it persists, with strange unconsciousness, in preaching as the one sufficient gospel, a form of Christian doctrine so subtle as to evade the ordinary comprehension, and so strange as to fall into the category of no historical faith or heresy. Its special theological offences are a merciful interpretation of the texts which relate to eternal punishment, the substitution of a more moral theory of atonement for that which involves the vicarious sacrifice of Christ,—offences which, whenever committed in plain and straightforward speech, will draw down a surer ecclesiastical censure than any which waits for defective theories of inspiration. But there are already signs that this party, when once emancipated from a personal allegiance, the charm of which it is easy to understand, will gradually fade into the former, which has already reached in great measure the same theological results, and contains in its freer and more scientific handling of Scripture the possibility of further progress.

But it would be a great mistake to limit the signs of a movement of theological opinion in the Church of England to the heresy which issues in open speech, or even to the secret sympathy and confessed alarm which it evokes. Another ominous feature is the attention excited by proposed changes in the relation of the Church to the individual believer,—proposals which are met, in the policy of a large party, with a dogged aversion to all change, itself not the

least significant token of the gathering storm. There is an association for the revision of the Liturgy: High-Churchmen who claim to know how souls stand with God at the last moment of life, would willingly have some "relief" in the use of the Burial Service; Low-Churchmen attack the very citadel of sacerdotalism in the order of Baptism and the form for the Visitation of the Sick: it would be a fatal error to make the Prayer-book as Calvinistic as the Articles; and though the din of battle is loud, neither host yields an inch. There are that would lay profane hands upon the very ark itself, the Articles, and the subscription to them imposed by the Act of Uniformity. Each of the two great parties in the Church bewails that the mesh should be so wide as to let in the other; scrupulous consciences on either side groan beneath the subterfuges of non-natural interpretation; but neither will abandon a delusive safeguard, which admits the subtle, the adroit, the careless, the dishonourable, and keeps out only the thoughtful and the honest. These things bear their natural fruit in the growing distaste of educated young men for the clerical profession. Its prizes are as numerous as heretofore; its social consideration not less; while the larger practical faithfulness to his work which public opinion now exacts of a clergyman would naturally operate as an additional inducement to young and ardent minds. But the number of graduates of the two Universities who present themselves for ordination lessens every year; those who do so present themselves are no longer the heroes of the class list, but the men who have contented themselves with a common degree; while the place of the senior wrangler and the double-first is filled up by the literates, whose deficiency of early education has been hastily repaired by the special training of the theological college. Of men who actually enter the Church, the great majority no doubt find in parochial work the satisfaction of their religious instincts, and, so far as they think at all, think within safe limits of orthodoxy. But how many more secretly chafe beneath the fetters they have put on, yet, all hopeless of release, chafe silently and with a composed face,—how many more throw up their work and office in quiet despair, trusting, in spite of legal disabilities, to mix unobserved in the crowd of common men, and to earn their bread without the hard necessity of evasion and double-dealing,—who can tell?

Some experience of these things offers itself to every man who has won freedom for himself and openly rejoices in it ; such an one receives many applications for the secret of his own life from those who, when they have it, are not strong enough to use it for themselves. Let it be enough to say, that such difficulties and such despair as these grow commoner year by year.

The general force of this stream may already to some extent be directly measured by the effects which it has produced. We can discern a certain withdrawal from the advanced posts of orthodox dogma ; some beliefs, which men who would willingly be thought educated, no longer think it necessary to hold ; some questions, which formerly it was treason to touch, now considered open to discussion. Such a book as Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible is, with all its errors and timidities and shortcomings—nay, in consequence of them—a valuable proof of this ; the method of orthodoxy is to slip quietly away from untenable outworks, and by and by to deny that it ever looked upon them as part of its line of defence. Another instance of the same kind, in the field of Christian doctrine, is to be found in the modified theories of atonement which in the minds of nearly all thoughtful theologians have taken the place of the old scheme of substitution. Still, the opposite method of estimating the force of this new current of thought and feeling—by the strength of the dam which it is thought necessary to oppose to its volume—is, at present at least, more directly applicable. A bibliolatriy which every day grows harder and narrower, is the best proof of the growing prevalence of a scientific biblical criticism. And all theologians are agreed that so strange a phenomenon as the theory of plenary inspiration now current in England among men who are, in their own fashion, not without learning, is not to be found in any age or region of the Church. It seems to have grown up in Protestant England and Scotland (there is nothing like it in other Protestant countries) as a kind of substitute for the ultimate authority of the Church maintained by Roman Catholicism. Although it can find no warrant for itself in the writings of Fathers or Reformers, it bates no jot of its high pretensions. It will learn nothing and admit nothing. In face of geology, it clings to the seven days' work. In face of astronomy, it believes that the sun

stood still at Joshua's word. It listens to Balaam's ass speaking Hebrew. It sees no improbability in Moses' telling the tale of his own death and burial. It conceives itself to represent the orthodox belief of former ages of the Church, and so cannot credit its own ears when the great names which it chiefly delights to honour are quoted against it. Although again and again convicted of discreditable ignorance, it still erects an unabashed front, and lifts up a brazen voice. Perhaps it has rarely shewed its true nature more clearly than when, not long since, it raised against Bishop Colenso an unanimous shout of heresy, for his assertion of the partial ignorance of the Son of Man; and the incriminated opinion was proved to be that not only of such Fathers as Athanasius and Chrysostom, but of such Doctors of the English Church as Hammond and Lightfoot and Waterland!

If we turn for a moment from the Established Church to the various sects of orthodox Dissenters, we see, *mutatis mutandis*, a repetition of the same facts. There is, indeed, little to note among Methodist churches; in no other churches is so little play allowed to the speculative intellect; in none other is the spiritual sword wielded with so swift and strong an arm. Perhaps the most remarkable fact in the history of Baptists during the last ten years, will prove to be the number and the eccentricity of their sensation preachers: their late activity is summed up and symbolized in Mr. Spurgeon and his great Tabernacle. But even here, and still more when we come to the Independent churches, we hear, not remotely, the general stir and turmoil of the times. Accusations of neology, scepticism, rationalism, every modern alias under which old heresy disguises itself, are rife in the air. There are schools of the prophets freer and less free; there are men who have slowly and sorrowfully left the early home of their faith; there are others who wonder how long it will continue to be a home for them. And as we take this rapid survey of religious opinion, one fact, which we will carefully lay aside for future consideration, forces itself upon our notice. The strength of the theological movement seems to stand in some fixed relation to the amount and thoroughness of general education. It manifests itself most decidedly in the Church of England, which maintains the closest connection with the literary and scientific life of our time, and whose represen-

tative men receive the most complete intellectual training before entering upon their specially professional studies. It is less noteworthy, though still visible, among those orthodox Dissenting churches which, while they aim at giving their ministers a careful theological education, are more solicitous to keep apart the sacred and the secular elements of knowledge. And it reaches its lowest ebb in those bodies who still look upon "carnal learning" as an encumbrance to the true preacher of the gospel, and in whom, therefore, the full intellectual life of the century vibrates with but a feeble and uncertain pulse.

But are there any signs that this strange movement of thought, the existence of which is as fully admitted by those who dislike and fear it as by its most hopeful and eager friends, contains within itself an element of permanence and progress? What is there to distinguish this from other similar epochs of Christian belief, when a latitudinarian theology has obtained a certain prevalence, only to be surely beaten back when a revival of religious life has brought with it the old reliance upon traditional forms of thought? "This is but a cold wind of doubt and disbelief sweeping over the Church," say the stanch friends of orthodoxy, "nipping for the time all luxuriant growth of faith, chilling the generous sympathies of simple trust; wait awhile for the return of the Spirit's breath, and the very remembrance of these grey skies, these sleety showers, shall be blotted out. Age after age has heard the repetition of the same cavils, which are but a perpetual manifestation of the enmity of the natural mind to the things of God; let the Church stand still upon the old ground; patience alone will ensure her final victory." Others, again, who look upon these facts from a higher and a more philosophical point of view, report a radical difference between theological and all other scientific truth; that while the history of the latter is one of steady progress, and a continually larger kingdom conquered from the infinite unknown, the former is a deposit of fact, once supernaturally placed in the custody of the human mind, which cannot make it more, but exhausts all the possibilities of the case in remaining simply faithful to the first trust. And therefore, although debates arise from time to time as to the original contents of that trust, the very nature of the controversy precludes such an issue of perpetually enlarging knowledge as is characteristic of sci-

entific investigation. The battle sways from side to side; a temporary prevalence is gained by this or by that principle of belief; one generation is eager in free inquiry; the next calmly rests in the arms of authority. So to-day's action carries within it the germs of reaction to-morrow, and the decisive victory implied in progress cannot be.

To enter upon the whole complex argument to which these thoughts afford an access, would be inconsistent with the special purpose of this paper; though, at the same time, we may be permitted to point out one or two characteristics of the present theological eagerness which seem to invest it with more than a temporary importance. We admit that cases may be cited in which a latitudinarian theology has been swept away by a rising tide of religious life. Something of this may be due to the fact that liberality necessarily loses the distinctive force of fanaticism; that a religious belief conscious of the lights and shadows, the perplexities and obscurities of all human knowledge of infinite realities, cannot express itself with the incisive dogmatism of a faith which confidently gauges God and Eternity by its own hard and narrow philosophy. But, in truth, the latitudinarian theology which succumbs to the first summons of an earnest religiousness, no matter how unreasoning, must be itself the offspring of religious indifference. Can this be said of our present "crying for the light"? It has risen from the midst, not of an unbelieving, but of a believing age,—an age for which, on the one hand, sacerdotal, on the other evangelical, theories of religion, brought to a practical outcome by honest and self-sacrificing men, have done their best. And it expresses, not the desire of our time to banish God from the world and to escape from beneath the restraints of a divine law, but the most eager yearning of pious souls for a God on whom they may surely stay themselves, and a law which shall transfigure earthly states into a kingdom of heaven. "Lord, I believe—help thou mine unbelief," is its constant burthen, a faithful note, and yet, mingled with it, one which, till the discord is resolved into a deeper harmony, seems to have a sound of faithlessness. Such a latitudinarianism as this has nothing to fear from any genuine spiritual quickening; for it has reached the point at which allegiance to Truth and service of God are discerned as part of the same manly piety.

There is, in the next place, a wide difference between the

present and all other controversies which have ever agitated the Reformed Church of England. For it has been characteristic of them, that they have been fought, so to speak, within the limits of Scripture, and have been essentially conflicts of interpretation. The method of the Protestant Reformation was an appeal from the authority of the Church to the authority of Scripture, an appeal which the Reformers honestly made as against Rome, though they did not always clearly abide by it, in relation to the ecclesiastical organizations which took her place. And as, in lapse of time, the Bible became firmly seated in the throne once occupied by the Church, theological investigation took more and more the single form of an attempt to ascertain the sense of Scripture. It was, at least tacitly, assumed that by a just use of methods of interpretation a single and self-consistent dogmatic result could be attained: the primitive Church, in settling the canon, had prescribed the area within which these methods were to be applied; nothing remained but to select the needful logical implements and to use them heedfully and fairly. Nor does it militate against this view that recent decisions in the Ecclesiastical Courts have affirmed, that heresy and orthodoxy in the Church of England are discerned, not by an appeal to Scripture, but by the test of legally established creeds and formularies. For in this case the appeal to Scripture is only pushed one step farther back. The Church drew out the sense of the Bible, once and for ever, and, expressing it in those formularies, has practically forbidden any fresh scriptural investigation in contravention of them. In truth, a clergyman in signing the Thirty-nine Articles has signified his acceptance of them as the true results of scriptural interpretation, and cannot be suffered to deduce different results from his own personal investigation. Not the less does it remain true, that the doctrines of English Protestant Churches have been directly or indirectly founded upon a rude assumption of the authority of the whole Bible, which has practically involved a theory of plenary inspiration, more or less distinctly held. And the cardinal question implied in every controversy, whether as to the nature of God, or the theory of grace, or the scheme of redemption, has been, "What is the sense of Holy Writ?"

But the discussions which at present fill the air go deeper

than this. Men are beginning to ask, not what is the meaning, but what is the authority, of Scripture?—not what guidance does it offer to our faith, but what is the measure and justification of its claim to guide our faith at all? And yet, in spite of the fierce denunciations of conservative theologians, who hurl the cry of infidelity at all who would examine the foundations of religious belief, these questions are asked in a faithful spirit, and proceed from the desire, not to diminish the reverence due to the Bible, but to free it from the inevitable unsoundness involved in every false pretence. The first requisite for a true discernment of what is divine in the Bible, is the clear separation from it of what is human: no one knows the lustre of virgin gold who has only seen the precious ore mingled with earth and dross. If such investigations as now occupy men's minds are necessary, it is easy to see why former controversies have led to little result: the fundamental assumption on which all subsequent reasoning was built up was unstable, and every edifice of faith tottered to its base. If the element of prediction, for instance, be not rightly included in the idea of prophecy, what reason can there be for preferring one scheme of prophetic fulfilment to another? If it is involved in the very nature of theological speculation that independent minds should take up, and push to a logical extreme, different sides of Christian truth, what need to labour an exact reconciliation between Paul and James? And, on the other hand, these discussions, if not altogether supererogatory and fruitless, tend to the establishment of principles which will make a scientific interpretation of Scripture, for the first time, possible. Men will make up their minds whether the Bible is to be looked upon as a book or a literature; whether it is to be questioned as an oracle or interpreted as a record of divine manifestation and human faith. The issues of such controversies as are now begun, no wise man will venture to predict; but there is at least no reason to conclude from the history of older theological debate, that the end must needs be the triumph of ancient orthodoxy.

Another significant fact is, that the stagnant waters of theology have been stirred not so much by forces generated within themselves, as by an impulse communicated from other regions of human speculation. The rapid progress

of science within the memory of living men is an oft-repeated tale; the nineteenth century is never weary of looking in the mirror which reflects her own beauties. But while Theology, since the fierce struggles of the Reformation, has lain quietly asleep, or at best has busied herself with further applications of principles then established, Science has not only penetrated, with marvellously swift stride, into the secret places of nature, but has perfected herself in the use of methods which seem to guarantee an indefinite future progress. What has been the result of the existence of these opposite habits of thought, side by side? Philosophers have successfully drawn (whether for good or evil is a question not to be answered here) a line between their own researches and the abstract truths of theology; the discovery of law is the point at which their investigations halt; and they do not ask, whether in the regularity of nature is revealed the constancy of a living Will. But between science and theology, no longer abstract, but concrete in biblical form, it is impossible to build a boundary-wall. There are a thousand points at which they cross and clash. First came the quarrel of the Church with Astronomy and Galileo; none but an infidel could doubt the daily revolution of the sun, and to believe in the antipodes was atheism indeed. By and by, Geology, a younger science, entered the lists, and engaged in a combat in which deadly blows are still given and received. Once, the story of the creative week was carried in triumph over the necks of those who were painfully deciphering the shattered record of the world's changes; now, the wildest theories are invented to reconcile it with facts that will not be gainsayed; presently, the Hebrew tradition will be suffered to rest, untortured by adaptations, in its sublime spiritual simplicity, and the earth will tell her own tale of convulsion and development. Already the deluge has shrunk from the dimensions of a universal cataclysm to those of a Mesopotamian flood; presently we may come to believe in the primeval races which dwelt in Swiss lake-huts and by the chalky streams of France, while strange animals still roamed in Western Europe, ages before the date of Paradise. Philology, awakened in these latter days to a fresh and vigorous life, dissects the earliest Hebrew records, and deals a fatal blow at the theory of their plenary inspi-

ration, by shewing that their unity of origin is a baseless assumption ; while her sister, Ethnology, aiding and aided by her, aims to demonstrate the origin of the human race from more than a single centre. And last of all, the keen spirit of Historical Criticism, which has dissipated into a mist of tradition the once substantial forms of Roman and British kings, will not be excluded from the domain of Jewish history, and, if sometimes arbitrary in the consciousness of its strength, has at least proved that history among the Hebrews, whether it tell the story of primeval man, or narrate the more complex fortunes of a nation among nations, is subject to the same weaknesses, and must submit to the application of the same tests, as any other attempt to preserve the memory of past ages. While of all these struggles, not yet fought out, is already visible a twofold issue—twofold, and yet but one : that, on the one hand, theology is slowly yielding point by point, not frankly and honestly, but as little as may be, and with denial of any concession at all ; that, on the other, men of science, weary of what is to them a debate already decided, and disgusted with an opposition of which in their professional allegiance to truth they cannot even understand the motives, draw back from any sincere connection with the religiousness of their times. So the influence of science upon theology is to be proved by a double evidence, a positive and a negative,—the concessions which theology has already made to science ; and, again, the daily widening breach between religious and scientific thought.

In establishing a connection between the present theological movement and the general intellectual life of the age, we approach a point of view from which we gain a clearer and a wider outlook upon its real nature and importance. For whatever spontaneous and self-evolved force it has in it, is discerned as due to the same causes as the outward scientific impulse which we have already noted. Both are a part of the great current of modern thought, which, taking its rise in the revival of letters, and receiving an added volume and velocity from the Reformation, has swept through every department of human study, and now, last of all, has invaded the sacred seclusion of English Protestant theology. For whatever bulwarks against innovations in religion may be raised by old and sacred association, by

fear of social change, or even by superstitious terror, it is, in the long run, impossible for any one science to stand in immutable rest amid the revolution and development of every other. There is a height of theory from which the division between sciences is seen to be artificial, and all are recognized as component parts of one great system of truth standing in the same relation to human powers of investigation. Nor is this conception invalidated either by the distinction between the subject-matter of theology and of other sciences, or by any original peculiarity in the manner in which that subject-matter was placed within reach of the human mind. The application of our powers of knowing to divine realities may be partial, the results necessarily imperfect; but we bring the same intellectual faculties to bear upon all possible knowledge, and can use them only in one way. And so upon any other theory of revelation than one which, supposing its inherent infallibility, provides for it also an infallible interpreter, theology cannot finally escape from the operation of any forces which seem to enlarge the compass and to add to the precision of human thought in its general relations to science. The influence of these forces may at first manifest itself as external; presently it will be surely, though perhaps slowly, developed as internal too. In so far as religion takes an historical shape, it must submit to the tests of general historical criticism. Wherever it appears to imply specific theories of natural philosophy, it must undergo the changes necessitated by men's continually deeper insight into nature. But beyond this, in those inner regions of thought where it is simply itself, and deals directly with the relations between the divine and the human, it must acknowledge the scientific spirit of the age in the increased accuracy of its premisses, the more exact cogency of its reasonings. It will bring itself into a precise relation with the actual universe, by basing its knowledge of human nature upon human nature itself. It will recognize the validity of the maxim, that theories are to be framed from induction of observed facts, not facts tortured into accordance with preconceived theories. It will learn to act upon the acknowledged principle, that the simplest explanation of a difficulty is the best. In one word, it will no longer attempt to set the pyramid upon its point, and argue, like the natural philo-

sophy of the ancients, from schemes of creation to facts of every day ; but building up from the firm base of what we surely know, will safely rise to airy heights of speculation upon that which we can never apprehend but "as in a glass, darkly." And if it is a revolution such as this which is now imminent in the world of theological thought,—a revolution in which the issue of change is not merely a modification of dogma, but the adoption of new methods of thought and fresh tests of truth,—a revolution, too, which does not first arise within the limits of sacred science, but, having conquered and transformed all other kingdoms of human knowledge, invades this last of all, laden with the spoils and rejoicing in the strength of former victories,—there is no fear lest this, like other religious movements which have delusively resembled it, should pass away without result. From one side, the struggle on the part of a few honest and brave men to attain a truer and more stable base for the interpretation of Scripture, a closer and more personal view of religious truths, appears to be only one more ineffectual rebellion of the natural reason against that revealed mind of God which the Church honours and guards evermore. But from the other are discerned the first broken waves of an irresistible tide, now spending themselves almost harmlessly upon the shore, yet destined in the sure providence of God to rise, and swell, and gather, till they sweep away from theology, as from every other science, all meaner motives than the simple allegiance to Truth ; and, whatever destruction they may bring to beloved prejudices and time-honoured creeds, will leave untouched at least one belief, and all which, rightly interpreted, that belief involves, that whoso loves Truth for herself is not far from the knowledge and love of God.

If, then, there is any valid ground for the belief that we are upon the eve of another Reformation of Religion, against which, as part of a gradual general progress of the human mind towards a wider and a surer knowledge, it will be vain to strive, it becomes important to ascertain the position occupied by existing ecclesiastical organizations in regard to the forces which in part may be already traced in action. No question can so effectually probe the real strength or weakness of any church as this : Does it greet the new movement of men's minds with real fear and dislike, how-

ever cunningly these may be hidden behind the mask of self-reliance ; or has it within it such a faith in truth, distinct from any system, such a trust in God, independent of any theory of His operations, as enable it calmly to watch the procedure of scientific inquiry, and to abide firmly by the result ? Perhaps it would be too much to say of any church that, as a whole, it stood in the latter attitude ; if our hearts go with any reasonings which seem to lead others towards our own resting-place of faith, there is a hard struggle with old associations (not always to be stigmatized as prejudices) when the same logical process seems to conduct the inquirer into fresh fields of speculation. The convictions on behalf of which we put forth a bigoted zeal are not necessarily registered in creeds ; in every man's thought is a point beyond which it is hard to discern, harder still to follow, the divine form of Truth. But if, on the one hand, there is no Protestant church which, however ice-bound in bigotry, is not stirred by some half-conscious instinct of theological progress,—if, on the other, there is none which, however sincere its allegiance to truth, is not secretly swayed by strong attachment to a system,—these two elements may be found mingled in very various proportions. To say that any existing church had already adopted the principles of the new Reformation, would be almost equivalent to denying that a Reformation was necessary. But while there are some of whom it may be surely predicted that they will struggle bitterly and despairingly against the new thought long after any effort has ceased to avail, and others which already shew signs of change and movement, there is at least one which, if it prove itself true to principles which have been slowly and obscurely matured within it, will hail the dawn of a braver and more truthful theology with unselfish triumph, and will encourage with the whole strength of its voice those who are still but “crying in the wilderness” of ignorance and prejudice.

This church, commonly known as Unitarian (or, when men wish to put a sting into the name, Socinian), is hardly at one with itself as to its fit and rightful title. The fact that it claims an ecclesiastical and, in the person of many of its members, a genealogical descent from the Presbyterian confessors of 1662, justified the use of the term Presbyterian, until it was rendered inapplicable by the entire decay of

Presbyterian organization. And another branch has been grafted upon the Presbyterian stock. As a gradual change of opinion had led the English Presbyterian churches to the profession of a Unitarian theology, of which Dr. Priestley was in his own day the representative, it was among them that Theophilus Lindsey, when, after his secession from the Established Church, he established Unitarian worship in London, found friendship and sympathy; among them, too, that Unitarian congregations of later birth have ranged themselves as in their natural place. And as, under these circumstances, the word Presbyterian, even in its expression of certain historical connections, has failed to embrace all the facts of the case, the term Unitarian, borne only half willingly by many, objected to not only as fastening a dogmatic name upon an ecclesiastical association, but as elevating to an undue pre-eminence a single article of belief, whatever its intrinsic importance, has yet come into general use. Names, after all, cannot possess the clear comprehensiveness of definitions; some name is needful if we would avoid the loose clumsiness of perpetual periphrasis; and this, like most other names of the same kind, has been rather put upon the church than consciously adopted by it. A more important thing than the designation of a church by a term which is really the name of a theology, is to note the existence, side by side, in the Unitarian church of the Presbyterian and the Unitarian elements. In virtue of the first, it is emphatically, by whatever dogmatic name it may be known, a free church. The Presbyterians, to whom the Act of Toleration allowed an unmolested worship, had so thoroughly learned the lesson of the mingled folly and wickedness of persecution, that they thenceforward left God's Truth to take care of herself. They encouraged by every means in their power the propagation of sound learning; but that was all. They erected no barrier of creeds at the chapel porch. For the most part they were content to build and endow those chapels simply "for the worship of Almighty God." They did not even "fence" the Lord's table. And the result of this noble confidence in truth, as some would call it, of this perilous indifference to error, as it might be named by others, was the gradual adoption by all the churches, after about a century, of the theory of the Divine Nature known as Unitarian. But in becoming Uni-

tarian in doctrine, these churches did not the less remain free in discipline, in ecclesiastical association, in theological aspiration. No confession of faith is imposed upon minister or layman, no creed is recited in public worship. A congregation asks of its elected teacher only such a general agreement with them in theological belief as is necessary to enable him to discharge his office; and no change of religious conviction, however great, is held to be a bar to the amplest Christian fellowship. The College at which the ministers of this church are trained is a school not of Unitarianism, but of scientific theology, where the materials of conviction are frankly laid before the student, and all that is required of him is to be "fully persuaded in his own mind." So that if we were asked, not for the name, but for a definition of the congregations known to English Christianity as Unitarian, our answer would be, that they were "free churches, adopting the congregational discipline, and holding a Unitarian theology."

One reason which has powerfully prevailed with these churches to the disuse of creeds, is the profound conviction that their necessarily hard and narrow language answers most imperfectly to the varying lights and shadows which characterize all human apprehension of infinite realities. Even of thinking men who repeat the same creed, no two read it in quite the same sense; while the deeper a man's search into divine mysteries, the greater is his unwillingness to put his thought into definite words at all. And thus it is characteristic even of the Unitarianism of Unitarians to vary in its type from man to man and from generation to generation. Channing is not in full accord with Priestley: there is a gulf of intellectual difference across which Martineau stretches out the hand of brotherhood to Parker. Opinions vary as to the form of truth which will ultimately prevail: the clash of argument is heard not seldom: sometimes the groan which tells that old associations have been roughly disturbed, long-cherished feelings sorely wounded. But, except in the excitement of conflict or the first pang of disappointment, all agree that they could ill spare the sincere piety of any sincerely pious man, whatever the form in which it manifests itself; that this intellectual diversity, rightly looked upon and rightly used, is a source of moral strength, such as could not spring from

a less thoughtful identity of belief; and that it would be well for the church if the area of doctrinal conviction which it covered were wider even than it is. For although a certain similarity of belief (the extent of which we need not here define) is necessary in those who would honestly *worship* together, the wider organization of the church need not, if men would only think so, be based upon belief at all, and indeed would find its firmest foundation in that fellowship in a Christian spirit which transcends and includes all varieties of belief. The Unitarian church would at once vindicate its fundamental principle of ecclesiastical liberty, and master a valuable lesson which yet it has but half learned, did it include some congregations which could not be accurately described by its dogmatic name. The world has seen almost enough of churches framed upon expedient compromises, which an after age has denominated wise "comprehension;" churches in which rival parties, professing a clamorous allegiance to the same formularies, eagerly proclaim each other unfaithful to the common obligation. A comprehension without a creed, a church union based not upon an assumed sameness, but an acknowledged difference of belief, would be a novel and not altogether un instructive spectacle.

Another noteworthy characteristic of the same church, is the relation in which it has, for the most part consistently, maintained towards theological and other scientific truth. We have already alluded to the case with which the Presbyterians of the first half of the 18th century, while excluded from the national Universities, provided for the thorough scholastic training of their ministers. A singular instance both of the high character of these Dissenting academies and of the freedom which was their distinguishing quality, may be found in the fact that in one of them, kept by Mr. Jones, of Tewkesbury, Secker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and that Bishop Butler, whose mind has exercised a wider and deeper influence over the English Church than that of any Primate, studied side by side. Nor can any contrast be more striking than that between the superficial theological instruction given only a few years ago to candidates for ordination, and the complete apparatus of secular and sacred learning, such as the age and the opportunity afforded, which was placed in the hands of

the student at such obscure provincial seminaries as, for instance, that at Hinckley, in Leicestershire, where Dr. Doddridge received his education. From the very first, the Presbyterians shewed that they were not afraid of knowledge, either in itself or in its application to theology. In Lardner, English Protestantism nobly took the lead in the scientific investigation of the original records of Christianity, which it was soon forced to surrender to the sister Church of Germany; while the very unpopularity of the Priestleyan theology among the generation to which it was first preached, is a sufficient evidence of the simple faithfulness to truth which led to its adoption. So down to the present day, the descendants of the Presbyterians have consistently upheld the cause of theological erudition in its best sense. It is true that they have no younger name to place beside that of Lardner. It is true that their learning has been rather a tradition of the schools, carefully handed down from generation to generation, than a living force in English theological literature. Perhaps the necessities of ministerial life under a system which provides neither opportunity nor reward for learned labour, may have had something to do with this; something more, the felt uselessness of uttering a voice never heard amid the clamour of theological prejudice. But they still believe that the Christian teacher should be furnished with all possible knowledge, and left free to make what use of it he will. They have grown indifferent to the cry of popular condemnation, when inquiry leads to unexpected results; and, seeking for truth with what powers God has given them, cannot fear the anger of the God of truth. From the pains and difficulties which attend all honest and reverent students of theology, they cannot indeed claim to be exempt: the pang with which a cherished conviction is first discerned as insecure; the unhappy restlessness, as one foothold of belief after another is taken away, and all certainty seems to vanish in blinding mist; the tug at the heart with which associations seen to be founded in mistake are torn from the life; the necessity, felt sometimes even here, of forfeiting old friendships, of striking a blow in self-defence against old friends. But whatever be the imperfectness or the error of the theology held by this church, it is assuredly held for no meaner reason than that it is honestly and devoutly believed to be true. The reli-

gious world derides it as unsafe, and proves by the unanimity of its derision that it is equally unpopular. But, unsafe for another world, unpopular in this, as it may be declared to be, it is yet the result of the reverent exercise of human powers upon God's various manifestation of Himself; and until corrected by more laborious investigation of man, or fresh light from God, must stand to those who hold it in precisely the same relation as the established truths of their respective sciences to the astronomer or the chemist. For its adherents have not laboured to discern the truth in any prescribed theology, but simply to frame a theology which shall be in accordance with the truth.

Those who have already grasped the idea that theology is a science in which truth is to be sought by the exercise of the same intellectual faculties, under the same conditions, as in any other department of possible knowledge, are at least completely delivered from any fear or misgiving as to the effect upon it of a deeper and more fruitful search into the secrets of the universe. If, after all, the line which separates man from the higher apes be invisible to the eye of the naturalist; if for the perpetual act of creation we have to substitute a gradual development of simpler into more complex forms of life; if it be proved that man has existed upon the earth through ages of which no chronology, secular or sacred, preserves the memory;—what better thing can there be than the naked truth? Or must not every new truth, however at first sight perplexing and contradictory of former convictions, be an assured step towards that perfect knowledge in the light of which all perplexities will be unravelled? And the hearty sympathy with which the members of this church watch—not with reservation of their theological convictions, but with a distinct reference to their possible modification—the daily triumphs of science, is paralleled by the readiness with which they abandon themselves to the current of national life. They have no love of social or ecclesiastical isolation; they are ready for any church fellowship in which their theological truthfulness is not compromised; they are content to lack the vigour of sectarian zeal. Unlike other Dissenting bodies and a certain section of the Church of England, they take the worldly side in most of the practical controversies which separate the world from the church, and justify themselves in doing

so by the maxim, that nothing can be truly irreligious which the conscience pronounces to be innocent and right. So they strike hands of cordial fellowship with literature and art, as well as with science; and leaving the peculiar products of sectarian piety to be read in repeated editions by those whose minds require no manlier food, are content to find encouragement in the fact that the literary works by which this age is chiefly moulded, and which will hand down its memory to future generations, are not leavened with the characteristic principles of the popular theology. To men of taste it is at least pleasanter to err with Tennyson than to be led into safe paths of orthodoxy by Tupper; and Stanley preaches a more attractive gospel than Cumming to accomplished and fastidious intellects.

If this picture of a church were in no respect ideal; if, in addition to the full practical recognition of these great principles, such a church were animated by a deep religious life, so that within its walls men found a sufficient satisfaction for their varying spiritual instincts, and were filled by an all-sacrificing faithfulness to what they acknowledged to be true and good, no augury of its place and work in the coming Reformation could be too brilliant. The principles on which it is founded are so strangely accordant with those to which the whole religious thought of the time is tending, that there appears to be a certain ungraceful boastfulness in even the simplest statement of them, as if it were intended to be implied that the whole multiform church of the English people were about to adopt the doctrines, the traditions, the usages of a petty sect, which has long enjoyed no other distinction than that of being "everywhere spoken against." But though it might be boastful enough to assert that we had been absolutely faithful to great principles, merely to acknowledge that by the wisdom and patience of former generations such principles have been laid in our hands, may be the very reverse of boastfulness. *Noblesse oblige*: the descendants of the confessors of 1662 should be above worldly temptation: they who sit in Lardner's seat, foremost in sacred learning; the successors of Priestley, full of unselfish allegiance to the truth; those who own the same fellowship as Lindsey, not ashamed of a deep manly piety; those who call Channing brother, of saintly heart and life. There is a noble boastfulness which is near

akin to self-humiliation, and the Christian church of any single generation never so fully acknowledges its weakness as when it contemplates the glories of the gospel, for a season delivered into its keeping, and numbers the bead-roll of the saints.

For the principles of belief which we have enumerated both as characteristic of the Unitarian church, and as those which are surely winning their way to general acceptance, are after all no more than a means to an end higher and better than themselves. True thought blossoms into faithful life; theology finds its consummation in religion. Not what a man thinks he can clearly discern of the mysterious nature of God, but the nearness of his conscious relation with the Living Father of his spirit; not the correctness of his theory as to the incarnate Word, but his possession of the "mind that was in Christ Jesus;" not the completeness of his thought as to the foundations of morality, but the keenness of his conscience, the purity of his heart, the righteous firmness of his will;—these are the essential things. It may to some extent be characteristic of Unitarian theologians that they have clearly grasped the idea, that, apart from the scientific accuracy of this or that belief, the main point is, that every man should derive from his belief whatever moral strength, whatever spiritual inspiration, are in it. And no thought could afford a deeper insight into Providence or produce richer fruits of Christian charity than this. For while it provides for men divided by differences of intellectual method and result an ultimate ground of brotherhood, and beyond diversity of faith reveals a possible unity of the spirit, it shews how, by a wonderful alchemy of God, the most varying beliefs seem to issue in the same moral and spiritual effects. We may well believe that such effects are more directly and more richly produced by some theological systems than by others; we may remark in some a logical connection between force and result, which in others is wanting. But, according to this view, every form of Christian error is discerned, in its peculiar adaptability to some conditions of minds, to be only a phase of imperfection in the development of Christian truth; from every church there is a ladder reaching to heaven, with messengers of God ascending and descending; and the whole Christian church is one in the various oneness of the

Christian life. Men have often laboured to draw up creeds which should contain the "quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus" of human faith, and no more. But the true solution of the problem was grasped by a great Frenchwoman when, turning from belief to life in search of the point of union, she said, "I am of the church of all the saints, and all the saints are of my church."

Thus, then, in attempting to forecast the part which the Unitarian theology and the free churches which hold it are destined to perform in the coming shock and change of religious thought, a more important point even than the abstract correctness of these principles, is the clearness with which they are discerned and the faithfulness with which they are carried to a practical issue. It is not always the servant to whom are entrusted the ten talents, who deserves that to the original trust should be added ten talents more. The Hebrew history is full of a strange warning:—a people who, having preserved through long ages a treasure of truth such as all the world beside did not possess, were forced to abandon to alien hands the work of its development, to alien hearts the consciousness of its triumph. But, in truth, it is not for us to select at our own will any part in the coming conflict, and to set ourselves consciously to enact it. God chooses His servants, and finds them fit work to do: chooses them often where men least expect, and appoints them to strange labours. All that is possible to any church is to live its life, and to make that life as rich and full as may be. To live its own life, and not another's; to be at once true to ancestral principle and faithful to daily duty; to draw from the springs of its own thought the living waters of piety; frankly and unostentatiously to contribute to the religious consciousness of its generation whatever light and force it may have to give; and yet, in accordance with all this, to seek to make its peculiar vitality nobler and more multiform, not only by the natural growth of a spirit fed with heavenly food by the Spirit of God, but by constant contact and fellowship with all that is true and right and beautiful in other churches, or beyond the pale of any church;—this is the secret of strength to a religious organization. So living, growing, working, it adds its largest measure of force to the cause of true thought and righteous life; and whether or not the peculiar phase of development

through which these pass be due to its shaping impress, the amount and direction of its influence is precisely that which, in the operation of Infinite Justice, it deserves. The moment that, even in desire, it assumes the bearing of the magician who can raise and direct the storm, the simplicity, and with the simplicity the strength, of its action is lost. The government of religious revolutions is in the hands of God only.

There is indeed no misconception which, to those who stand outside the Unitarian pale, appears more ludicrous—to those who, within, thoughtfully watch the signs of the times, more sad—than the idea that the new theological movement is but a gravitation to the place where we have long stood, and that we have no more to do than to wait patiently till all English Christians adopt our principles and swell our communion. The long isolation in which we have stood to the religious thought and life of more than one generation, might itself suggest some mistrust as to the possibility of a sudden reconciliation with them to be effected now. But there are other more decisive indications of the same kind. Even now we do not emerge from the cloud of mistrust in which we have been long hidden; we cannot gain an audience beyond our own limits for truths which are eagerly heard from less tainted lips; and exiles from other churches pass by with suspicion our protestations of freedom, to erect free churches for themselves. The moving power which is now felt by English Christianity proceeds (it is useless to deny the fact) from the heart of the Established Church; nor, when we learn how little our most cherished principles are known and understood, is it easy to persuade ourselves that we have had much to do with its original production. Were it right to count the chances of success, we might find in these things an augury of the time when it will become impossible for us to maintain a separate existence, and we shall meet at once our triumph and our death in absorption into a truly National Church, embracing, in a wise and generous comprehensiveness, the Christianity of the English people all over the world. But with success or failure we have nothing to do: to live our life and make it nobler—to speak our truth and make it rounder—this is ours, and the issue with God. If, forgetting the petty aims of sectarian triumph, we throw our-

selves unreservedly into the fresh religious life of our age, at once giving and drawing from it what intellectual light, what spiritual strength, we may; if, still labouring with unwearied perseverance in the mine of sacred learning, we recreate our affections in abundant efforts of Christian love; we shall at once cease to be vain of great principles which were bequeathed to us by better men than ourselves, and shall enter into the harvest which, if we did not sow the seed, we have at least tended and watered. Perhaps, after all, we may learn that for a church, no less than for a single labourer, the true secret of success is self-forgetfulness. We need entertain no fear that the truths on which our hopes are stayed can suffer in any religious convulsion which attends upon scientific progress: only in revolutions of science does progress involve the abandonment of fundamental truths: the foundations, once duly laid, cannot be disturbed as stone is added to stone, till the topmost pinnacle divides the air. We expect no changes which shall shake our conviction of the absolute Unity of the Divine Essence; which shall shatter the link which unites Christ with humanity; which shall deny the access of the Spirit of God to every soul of man; which shall introduce into the relations between God and man an unjust justice and a loveless love. It may well be that our conceptions of these great truths may be enlarged and deepened as we discern more and more how they are the living principle even of theologies whose external form belies them, and learn, from long and reverent contemplation, how in infinite realities there is a many-sidedness which mocks all attempt at definition, a glory which is "dark with excess of light." We may find reason to modify the minor results of scriptural interpretation, or even our prepossessions as to the relation of religious truths to the human intellect; the same kind of evidence is not convincing to every mind, and the honesty with which a man uses the materials of knowledge is at least as important as the reasonableness of his conviction. Of what importance are these things, if year by year a deeper certainty is added to the grounds of theological belief, a warmer glow of the religious life kindled in men's hearts, if the healing balm of Christian love is more richly poured upon the wounds and sores of our social state, and the righteous will of God is owned to be the rule of our political action!

They are the most careful guardians of Christianity who, loving it much, love Truth more. And to none can the interests of a church be so safely entrusted as to those who desire that it should broaden into a communion of all saints.

It is from the Unitarian position as defined in the foregoing pages that the THEOLOGICAL REVIEW desires to speak. For while both its Editor and those who are associated with him in its management disclaim any theological prepossessions which are inconsistent with a simple allegiance to truth, any sectarian motives irreconcilable with the most ardent desire of Christian union, they think it most honest, and in the long run most likely to be advantageous to the objects which they wish to promote, frankly to take their stand upon their natural ecclesiastical position. Whether, as the progress of theological science produces a larger agreement of religious opinion and feeling among thoughtful men, that position may not justifiably be modified, is a question which can be answered only by the course of events. In the mean time, the THEOLOGICAL REVIEW will endeavour to give distinct form and clear expression to the thought, the wants, the aspirations, of the free churches to which it makes its first and chief appeal. It will bestow a special attention upon their literature, and will treat the ecclesiastical and religious questions of the day with peculiar reference to their circumstances and needs. And if, on the one side, it is the means of laying before the members of Unitarian churches an accurate statement of the progress of religious thought and life in other churches at home and abroad, it may hope also to be able in some degree to contribute to that progress, by uttering the voice of an organized Christian communion in favour of a scientific investigation of theology, which is at present recommended and practised only by solitary scholars.

The THEOLOGICAL REVIEW will not attempt to effect a doctrinal representation of churches which suffer the imposition of no doctrinal tests. It will endeavour to quicken their intellectual life by the free admission to its pages of thoughtful and able theological essays, whatever the precise shade of opinion which they may display; and wherever a marked divergence of theory is known to exist, to secure a

fair presentation of the argument on both sides. And although the REVIEW will in general, and especially in all moral and practical questions, adopt and maintain a policy of its own, the Editor, under the circumstances stated above, cannot hold himself responsible for every statement of opinion in every paper which he may think it advisable to publish. In conclusion, he may be permitted to express the hope, that by this attempt to transfer to the conduct of a Theological Journal the principle of agreement in the free and courteous discussion of varying opinions which has long characterized the administration and mutual intercourse of the churches whose interests it is primarily designed to serve, something may be done to assist the progress of theological truth, as well as to lessen the pain of theological difference.

II.—SAINT JEROME AND HIS THEOLOGICAL CORRESPONDENTS.

IN a celebrated composition of the great Venetian painter Titian,* called the Triumph of Christ, our Saviour is represented in a chariot to which the Evangelists are yoked, while the four Doctors of the Latin Church, Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose and Gregory, stationed each by one of the wheels, are helping with all their strength to urge it forward. The allegory beautifully and justly expresses the share which these great men collectively had in establishing Christianity, under the form of the Mediæval Church, in Western Europe.

The period in which they flourished was one in which, if vigorous hands and arms had not been applied to the wheels, the triumphant progress of the chariot was in great danger of being arrested. A swarm of pagan barbarians had overspread the Roman empire, and with the overthrow of the old institutions and the destruction of the old governments, Christianity had lost the support which she had derived

* See Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, I. 265.

from her adoption as the religion of the state. There was yet no power that could convert them as, at a later day, Charlemagne converted the Saxons, by the sword. Argument and historical evidence had little to do in bringing them over to the Christian faith; but if the Church had not presented its doctrines in a sharply-defined, dogmatic form, if its hierarchy had not been firmly organized, if its ritual had not been rendered impressive and its discipline sternly maintained, if monachism and the celibacy of the clergy had not provided it with a host of self-sacrificing missionaries, the West could hardly have become Christian. Each of the Doctors we have named helped forward in his day one of the wheels on which the chariot must roll. The influence of St. Augustine's eloquence and mental power, in combating heresies and fixing the standard of doctrine in the Church, is felt even at the present day. The name of St. Ambrose is connected with some of our most ancient forms of worship; and his bold defiance of imperial power, whether in defence of the rights of humanity or the claims of his own office, even if prompted in part by ambition, was a seasonable protest against the lawless violence which characterized the age. St. Gregory perfected the ritual and extended the power of the Church, including the pre-eminent dignity of his own see. If some desire to increase its domain mingled with anxiety respecting the souls of pagans, in his zeal for the conversion of the Germans and the Saxons, the benefit of his labours to civilization and religion is unquestionable. Of the four Doctors, St. Jerome was the least of a practical man; he would have made an indifferent Pope or Bishop; but in the history of scientific theology he fills a more important place than any of them.

The reader who knows him as he appears in painting, seated in his cell at Bethlehem, absorbed in his translation of the Scriptures, or in Correggio's picture at Parma, presenting it to the Divine Infant in the arms of the Madonna, or in the immortal Last Communion of Domenichino, would hardly suspect that the pale scholar and macerated saint had passed a *jeunesse orageuse*.* He had an ardent and impetuous nature; the lion who accompanies him in Correg-

* *Scitis ipsi* (Chromatius and his brother) *lubricum adolescentiæ iter, in quo ego lapsus sum.* Ep. xliii.

gio's picture was no doubt originally a type of his bold and daring temperament, though in legendary lore it has occasioned the transference to him of the story of Androcles. In this respect he resembled his great contemporary, Augustine, whose unsaintly life cost his mother Monica so many prayers and tears. His transgressions, however, appear to have been confined to the first period of his youth, and he consoles himself by the reflection that they had not extended beyond the time of his baptism, which, though his father was a Christian, must have been deferred till he was nearly entering on manhood. But after this the old Adam often rose in rebellion. He has drawn a fearful picture of his own struggles with the "*innatus medullarum calor*" when he had embraced the hermit's life and was dwelling in the desert of the Syrian Chalcia. Though he had betaken himself to this solitude "*ob Gehennæ metum*," evil thoughts pursued him there; in imagination he was once more among the luxurious delights of Rome and hankering for them. He fasted for a week at a time, covered himself with sackcloth, and dashed himself against the ground. The very walls of his cell seemed to him conscious of his unlawful thoughts, and he wandered forth into the most savage solitudes. Only after days and nights passed in prayer and penance was he able to recover his tranquillity, so that visions of surrounding angels took the place of the recollections and desires of the world.* Exaggeration is the vice of Jerome's style, and he was especially fluent in vituperation. We may hope, therefore, that he has treated himself in these confessions as he treated Ruffinus and Pelagius, and that he was not so black as he painted himself.

It would be doing injustice to Jerome, however, to suppose that his youth was wholly spent in licentious pleasure. His father, who appears to have been a wealthy man, discovering his aptitude for study, sent him from his native place, Stridon in Pannonia, to be educated at Rome. Here he was the pupil of Donatus,† the celebrated commentator on Terence, whose exclamation, *Pereant qui ante nos nostra dixerunt!* has been so often repeated by those who found their bright thoughts anticipated. At the same time he studied Greek.

* *Ad Eustochium*, Ep. xxii., Vol. i. p. 178, ed. 1579.

† *Ad Pammachium adv. Ruffinum*, Vol. ii. p. 300.

Of his Sunday occupations he has left an interesting account in his commentary on Ezekiel's Vision of the Temple. "When I was a youth at Rome, and engaged in study, I used to go with those of the same age and similar pursuits on Sundays, to visit the sepulchres of the apostles and the martyrs, and frequently to the crypts, which, being excavated to a considerable depth in the ground, had dead bodies interred on each side as you entered. All is so dark as almost to fulfil the words of the prophet (Ps. lv. 15), 'They shall go down alive into hell.' Only here and there is the darkness relieved by a light from above, seeming more as if it came through a chink than a window; and as we advanced with slow steps and involved in gloom, Virgil's description occurred to the mind, 'Horror ubique animos simul ipsa silentia terrent.'"^{*} There can be no doubt that these crypts were the repositories of Christian remains, which at a later period obtained the name of catacombs. This is, we believe, the first mention of them. The reader may wonder how they were connected in Jerome's mind with Ezekiel's temple. His own explanation is a curious specimen of the loose, rambling, uncritical way in which he, and the Fathers in general, bring together passages of Scripture unconnected with each other or with the author's subject.

"This I say that the reader may understand with what sentiment I view the explanation of Ezekiel's temple of God, of whom it is written, 'Clouds and darkness are under his feet;' and again, 'Thick darkness is his hiding-place.' As Moses entered the dark cloud, that he might contemplate the mysteries of the Lord, which the people, standing at a distance, could not discern, and again after forty days their dim eyes could not bear the light of his glorified countenance, so it happens to me. When the eye of my mind is opened, and I think that I see something, and have laid hold of the bridegroom (Cant. iii. 4), and have said, 'I have found him whom my soul loveth, I will hold him fast and not let him go,' forthwith the word of God escapes from me, the bridegroom slips from my hands, and I am compelled to exclaim, 'O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments and his ways past finding out!'"

The task which he had undertaken in expounding these

^{*} He uses the same allusion in the Preface to Daniel: "*quasi per cryptam ambulans, rarum desuper lumen aspicerem.*"

chapters was to shew, against the Jews, that Ezekiel's temple was the church of Christ, and we may well believe that in such an exposition he had to find his way by a very scanty and dubious light, like that by which he groped through the catacombs.

Of the zeal and success with which Jerome pursued his studies at Rome, the numerous classical quotations and allusions in his writings are a sufficient proof. When his education was finished, he travelled into Gaul. His passion for books had already begun to shew itself. Finding at Treves a copy of a voluminous work of Hilary of Poitiers on Synods, he transcribed it with his own hand;* and wherever he went, the public libraries, with which the chief towns were furnished, were a leading object of his attention. Treves, though a Romanized city, as its splendour remains prove, retained the Gallic idiom; and when Jerome visited Galatia, and wrote his Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle, he could inform his readers that the Galatians, who descended from the Gauls of Brennus, spoke the same language as the people of Treves. In the course of his travels in Gaul, he seems to have frequented the schools of rhetoric for which it was renowned, and to have imbibed that taste for tumid oratory (the Gallicus cothurnus, as he calls it) by which they were characterized, and which is so conspicuous in his own writings. In Gaul, too, he heard strange tales of a barbarous people named Scoti, inhabiting Britain, who had realized Plato's idea of a community of wives, and who lived on human flesh.† In various parts of his writings he shews such an intimate acquaintance with the geography of Gaul, that it is evident he must have visited all its principal places.

When he first formed the purpose of devoting himself to the monastic life we do not know; he hesitated whether to return to Stridon or to settle in Rome for this purpose. But he foresaw that in his native place he should be exposed to interruption from the neighbourhood of his family; the character of the people was sensual, and their manners coarse—"Deus venter est et indiem et vivitur et sanctior

* *Ad Florentium*, i. 53.

† "*Viderim Scotos* (al. *Attacottos*) gentem Britannicam humanis vesci carnis;" but it may be suspected that his syntax is a little confused, and that he means to say that he saw the Scoti in Gaul, and was told or read that they were cannibals.—*Adv. Jovin.* lib. ii. 93.

est qui ditior;" and, worse than all, Lupicinus the priest was "the feeble pilot of a leaky ship, a blind man leading the blind into the pit."* Rome had at first sight more attraction; there was a church founded by an apostle, and the trophies of apostles and martyrs. But Rome was the Babylon of the Apocalypse, the "mulier purpurata," on whose forehead blasphemy was inscribed, and God had said, "Come out of her, my people."† Besides, how could the monastic life be carried on amidst the din and bustle of a great city? "You must either admit visitors, or be thought proud if you decline; if you return the visit, you must wait at the gilded doors for admission, exposed to the impertinence of servants." Long after, in his old age, he gave the same advice to Paulinus, the celebrated Bishop of Nola, the inventor of church bells. "If," he said, "you wish to exercise the office of a presbyter, if the work or honour of the bishopric should perchance delight you, live in cities, and sacrifice your own soul for the salvation of others; but if you wish to be, what your name of *monachus* implies, a solitary, what have you to do amidst the crowds of cities?"‡ He chose, therefore, the Holy Land as the place in which he could exercise the monastic virtues in the highest perfection. It had, no doubt, another attraction for him,—the opportunity which it would afford him of visiting the places which had been the scene of sacred history. From the glowing description which he afterwards gave to Marcella of the delight which he anticipated for her in visiting them, we may judge how powerfully the prospect of dwelling among them would influence him in the choice of his future abode.§

"Will that day come, when we shall enter the cave of the Saviour; weep with his mother and her sister in his sepulchre; kiss the wood of the cross and climb to the Mount of Olives, that thence our prayers and thoughts may soar upward with the ascending Lord? Shall we see Lazarus come forth in his grave-clothes, and the waters of Jordan made purer by the baptism of the Lord? Shall we go then to the huts of the shepherds,

* Ad Chromatium, l. 285.

† Ad Marcellam, l. 157.

‡ Ep. ad Paulinum, xlii. i. 121.

§ The epistle (xvii.) is written in the name of two of Jerome's female disciples, Paula and Eustochium, but the style proves plainly that it was indited by himself.

pray in the mausoleum of David, and see Amos the prophet still sounding his shepherd's horn from the summit of his rock? Shall we see the tents in which Abraham, Isaac and Jacob dwelt with their wives, or at least the places where their memories remain? Shall we go to Samaria, and see the ashes of John the Baptist and Elisha and Obadiah, and enter the caves in which the companies of the prophet were sheltered and fed in the times of persecution? We will go also to Nazareth and see the place which, according to the meaning of the name, is the flower of Galilee, and Cana, not far off, where water was turned into wine. We will go to Tabor and see the tabernacles of the Saviour, not now joined, as Peter once desired, with Moses and Elias, but with the Father and the Holy Spirit. Thence we will go to the lake of Genesareth and see 5000 and 4000 men fed in the desert with five and seven loaves. Nain shall be visited, at whose gate the widow's son was raised, and Hermon and the torrent Endor, where Sisera was defeated, and Capharnaum, familiar with the mighty works of the Lord."

Jerome was probably somewhat more than thirty years of age when the great change in his feelings took place which decided the colour of his future life. It was quite natural that, with his vehement temper, which knew no cold medium in love or hate, in self-indulgence or self-denial, and pursued with some remorse for his former life, he should push the monastic discipline of prayer, fasting and penance to its utmost length. He had begun his course of severities at Rome, but he was not yet thoroughly weaned from his love of the classics. During the fast of Lent he had amused himself with reading Plautus, when he fell into a trance from feverish weakness; and while those around him deemed him dead, and were preparing his funeral, he was carried in the spirit before the heavenly tribunal. Being asked what he was, he answered, "A Christian;" but the judge replied, "Thou liest; thou art not a Christian; thou art a Ciceronian: where thy treasure is, there is thy heart also;" and commanded him to be scourged. The spirits who stood round implored mercy upon him on the ground of his youth, and begged that his error might be overlooked, and his full sentence not be inflicted unless he again read heathen books. Upon his confessing that to have had or read worldly books was to deny the Lord, he was dismissed, and came back to his sorrowing friends with the marks of the scourge on

his shoulder-blades.* There was something evasive in his answer, but there can be no doubt that from this time sacred literature occupied the chief place in his thoughts. He was accompanied to Syria by several friends, who gradually dropped off in the devious journey through Thrace and Asia Minor, and finally took up his abode in the desert of Chalcis between Antioch and the Euphrates. Till this time he seems to have been ignorant of Hebrew. In his Preface to his Commentary on Obadiah, he tells us that when a youth he had fancied himself competent to unfold the mystical sense of the prophet, before he understood the literal. He had become ashamed of his juvenile performance and meant to burn it, when a copy was brought to him by a young man from Italy, who praised it highly. Jerome's remark is singularly applicable to those who write commentaries on prophecy: "I confess I was astonished, that let a man write ever so ill, he finds a reader like himself." He was so ashamed of the praises bestowed on his crude performance, that he wrote the learned Commentary which we now have. While he was sojourning in the desert, and undergoing those mental conflicts which we have described before, finding that no fasting availed to give him tranquillity of mind, he determined to try the sedative effect of learning Hebrew, and became the pupil of Barhanina, a converted Jew. He may find sympathy perhaps with some of our readers when he exclaims, "*Quid ibi laboris insumpserim, quid sustinuerim difficultatis, quoties desperaverim, quotiesque cessaverim et contentione discendi rursus inceperim, testis est tam mea qui passus sum quam eorum qui mecum duxerunt vitam conscientia; et gratias ago Domino, quod de amaro semine literarum dulces fractus carpo.*"† The theological student has reason to rejoice with Jerome in the good fruits which sprung from this bitter root. With the exception of Origen, none of the Christian writers has rendered such services to biblical criticism; and time has dealt more favourably with him than with Origen, the most precious of whose critical works have come down to us only in fragments.

Jerome was at this time only a layman, and though he

* *Ad Eustochium*, i. 185. *Adv. Rufin.* ii. 309.

† *Ad Rusticum*, i. 45.

took priest's orders at Antioch, being strongly urged to it by Paulinus, it was with the express stipulation that he should have no cure of souls imposed on him, but be left to solitude and study and penance. Beyond the rank of priest he never advanced: it is one of the curious anachronisms of the Italian painters, that they sometimes represent him with the scarlet robes and tasselled hat of a cardinal—a dignity and costume not known in the Roman Church till a much later age. He had been called from his retreat to Antioch by the disputes in the church in that city, and he left it to go to Constantinople. His residence of three years in that capital of Greek learning had a most important influence upon his future labours. Hitherto it should seem as if his knowledge of Greek had been limited, and his study of the Scriptures more mystical than philological. To Gregory of Nazianzus, Patriarch of Constantinople, whom he calls his preceptor; “*virum valde eloquentem et in scripturis apprime eruditum*,” he appears to have been indebted for sound instruction in sacred criticism.* From Constantinople he probably went (the chronology of his life is not easily fixed) to Rome, where Pope Damasus made him his confidential secretary, and where the fame of his learning, eloquence and orthodoxy, drew to him the admiration of some wealthy ladies, who afterwards followed him to Palestine. His intimacy with them brought upon him some unfounded suspicions; and on the death of Damasus he withdrew from Rome, accompanied by a considerable body of monks, visiting Cyprus, Alexandria, and the monks of the Nitrian Desert, on his way to Palestine. At his return to Syria he established himself at Bethlehem. He had before been an eremite; he now became a cœnobite, forming there a monastic establishment, to which an inn (*diversorium*) was added, that the pilgrims who flocked from all parts might not find themselves in the condition of Joseph and Mary when they entered Bethlehem. Jerome's whole property appears to have consisted in his library, which he had carried with him in his various removals; and finding himself, as he says, in danger of being in the condition of the man in the parable, who began to build

* *Ad Eusiam*, cap. 6. From a passage in Jerome's Epistle to Nepotianus, it seems that the *οὐββάρων δευτεροπόρων* (Luke vi. 1) was as great a puzzle to theologians as it still remains. Gregory evaded his question about its meaning.

without counting the cost, he sent his brother to Pannonia, to collect what was left of his patrimony, wasted by the invasion of the Goths. Monks and pilgrims were not the only persons who claimed the hospitality of Bethlehem; every day saw men and women of noble birth and once wealthy, arrive, stripped of everything by the barbarians who had ravaged Italy and sacked Rome.

In this latter portion of Jerome's life, his most important biblical works were executed, and it would have been well had he confined himself to them. But he could not rest while there was a heresy to be refuted; his controversial style was one of concentrated bitterness, and he spared no harshness of imputation against his antagonists. The Pelagians threatening him with personal violence, he was compelled for some time to leave his convent. The keen blade at length wore through the scabbard, though the energetic spirit struggled manfully against the infirmities of the body. His death took place on Sept. 30, A.D. 420. He had been reduced to such weakness that he had to raise himself to join in prayer by means of a rope fixed to the beam of his cell.* His remains were buried at Bethlehem, but (we are told) were conveyed to Rome along with the manger-cradle (*presepio*), the procession with which, at Santa Maria Maggiore, on Christmas-eve, is well known to sight-seers in that metropolis. If we may believe the legend, even after death he continued to bear his testimony against heresy. The doctrine of purgatory was called in question, and Jerome, appearing to his disciple Eusebius, desired him to bring three bodies of men who had lately died to the cave of Bethlehem, and lay them on the sackcloth in which the saint had been clothed. The unbelievers were invited to be present. Eusebius prayed that, through the merits and intercession of Jerome, the souls of the dead men might re-enter their bodies and relate their experience of the other world. The prayer was granted. The men revived, and told the spectators that Jerome had conducted them through paradise, purgatory and hell.†

Besides the suppression of heresies, which are said to have vanished before him, like mists before the sun, two subjects engaged Jerome's most strenuous exertions—the

* Vita S. Hieronymi, appended to his works.

† Epist. Cyrilli Episcopi Hierosolymitani ad Augustinum.

elucidation of Scripture, including its geography, and the recommendation of the monastic life and of female celibacy. On this latter subject in particular his eloquence is inexhaustible. Perhaps the contempt which he shews for the conjugal life and its domestic duties may receive some explanation from his own early history. The premature exhaustion of the springs of natural affection dries and hardens the heart, and excessive rigour is the reaction of excessive indulgence. Some of his longest and most earnest letters, extending indeed into treatises, are designed to dissuade maidens from matrimony or widows from a second marriage. His favourite Canticle might have taught him to take a more indulgent view of youthful loves; but the bridegroom of the Canticle was to him Christ, and the bride the Church. The topic insisted upon in every modern address to a female votary about to take the veil, that she is to be the spouse of Christ, is a favourite one with Jerome. "Art thou indignant," he says to a mother, whose daughter he supposes to have been persuaded to live a life of virginity,* "that she has chosen to be the wife of a King rather than of a soldier? She has done you a great kindness. You have begun to be the mother-in-law of God." To another he says, "Your father will grieve that you have no children; Christ will rejoice. You do not belong to him to whom you were born, but to him by whom you were regenerated." The tenderest earthly affections are only hindrances to the love of Christ. Paula is praised for turning a deaf ear to the entreaties of her daughter that she would remain with her till her marriage.† "She knew not that she was a mother, that she might prove herself a handmaid of Christ." "Sancta Melania, a truly noble Christian woman (with whom may the Lord grant that at the day of his coming you and I may have our part), lost two sons at once, while the body of her husband was yet warm and unburied. What I am about to say is incredible; yet before Christ I lie not. Who would not suppose that, like one distracted, she would lacerate her bosom, dishevel her hair and rend her garments? Not a tear fell; she stood unmoved, and throwing herself at the feet of Christ,

* Ad Eustochium de servandâ virginitate.

† Ad Paulam de servandâ virginitate.

she smiled as if she held him in her arms. 'I shall serve thee with less incumbrance, Lord,' she said, 'since thou hast freed me from so great a burthen.'* Marriage he admits as a necessary evil;† but it is a mark of the Fall, a part of the curse which was laid upon the earth for man's disobedience. Coelibes are so called "quia cœlo digni sunt." (Adv. Jovin. lib. ii.) His cautions respecting those maidens whom he wished to preserve from the snare of matrimony afford us some curious insights into the manners of the age. Paula had destined her granddaughter Paula to a convent, and Jerome addressed to her widowed mother Læta a long epistle respecting her education. To the precepts for her elementary instruction, which are little more than a copy of Quintilian, the injunction is added, that she should be taught to repeat the names of all the prophets and apostles, and the entire series of the patriarchs from Adam downwards, according to the genealogies in Matthew and Luke. As she grows up, "beware of piercing her ears; paint not with ceruse and rouge the cheeks‡ that are destined for Christ; encircle not her neck with jewels and pearls; dye not her hair red and thus prepare the way for the flames of hell." And he enforces his warning by a terrific story of a wife who, in obedience to her husband's wish, bent on defeating her purpose of devoting her daughter to a virgin life, had made her curl her hair and dress after the manner of the world. The following night an angel appeared in a dream to the mother, and in a threatening voice said, "Hast thou dared to prefer the command of thy husband to that of Christ, and with thy sacrilegious hands touch the head of a virgin of God? Those hands shall wither from this moment, and at the end of the fifth month thou shalt be conducted to hell." All this St. Jerome assures us (and who shall doubt his word?) came true. She was

* Super obitu Blæ sillæ.

† "Laudo nuptias," he says; but it is evidently in the depreciatory sense of Virgil's "Laudato ingentia rura, exiguum colito." In his apology to Pam-machius, he says, "Virginity is gold; matrimony, silver."

‡ Face-painting is a frequent subject of Jerome's invective, but the Roman ladies lacked the art of face-enamelling, and if they allowed themselves un-awares to shed tears, they made furrows in the gypsum. (Ad Marcellam.) The Roman matrons were not more willing than those of modern days to grow old. Jerome ridicules their attempt, by dress and false hair, to pass for timid maidens (tremantes virgunculæ) in the presence of their granddaughters.

penitent, but her penitence was too late, and both her husband and her sons died. Paula was not to eat with her mother and grandfather, lest she should desire their food; while a child she might drink a little wine for her stomach's sake and use the bath, but after that age both were to be strictly forbidden.* Of music she was to be kept in utter ignorance; she was not even to know what organs or pipes, the lyre or the cithara, were made for. In regard to her religious education he directs that her copy of the Scriptures should be correct and legible, but not gay with gold and pictures.† She was to begin with the Psalms; to learn wisdom from the Proverbs of Solomon; from Ecclesiastes, to trample on the vanities of the world; from Job, patience. From these she was to pass to the Gospels, the Acts and the Epistles; then, returning to the Old Testament, to commit to memory (not verbally, we presume) the Prophets, the Heptateuch (the Pentateuch with Judges and Joshua), Kings (including Samuel) and Chronicles, Ezra and Esther. Last of all she might take in hand the Song of Songs, being by this time prepared not to mistake its spiritual meaning. The Apocrypha she was carefully to avoid, at least as a source of doctrine. In the midst of the distractions and temptations of Rome, he acknowledged that it would be difficult to carry out such a scheme of life. Among the dangers of the place he reckons, in another epistle‡ on the same subject, the idle members of his own profession, of whom he draws a picture which may find its modern antitype. "There are some of my order who desire the priesthood and the diaconate, that they may see women with greater freedom. All their care is that their garments may be well perfumed and their shoes fit neatly; their hair is curled with the curling iron, their fingers sparkle with rings, they walk on

* Jerome pushes his dislike of luxury, as his wont is, to an absurd extreme. He praises Paula for knitting her brow when she saw a girl rather elegantly dressed (*comptiorem*) and saying, "*Munditiam corporis atque vestitus animæ esse imunditiam*,"—"the purity of the body and dress is the impurity of the soul" (i. 233).

† He elsewhere inveighs against luxury in MSS. of the Bible. "Parchments are stained with purple, gold is melted down for letters, MSS. are clothed in jewels, while Christ lies naked before the door." The *Codex Argenteus* of Uppala has silver letters on purple parchment. The MS. of the Gospels which belonged to Charles the Bold, and which is or was at Ratisbon, was written in golden letters, bound in gold, and set with pearls and precious stones.

‡ *Ad Eustochium*.

tiptoe that they may not splash themselves in the mud. When you see such men, think them bridegrooms and not clergymen." He goes on to describe, evidently from the life, as a type of his class, an older priest, whose study was to win the favour of elderly ladies. "All their study is to know the names, houses and characters of matrons. One of this class rises in haste with the sun" (visits at Rome were really *morning calls*, beginning with daylight); "he makes out a list of his visits, so as to bring them into the shortest compass; the importunate old man almost goes into the bedchambers of those who are asleep. If he sees a cushion, an elegant napkin, he praises it, handles it, laments that he wants such an article, and so does not obtain it but extorts it; for the women are all afraid to offend him. He is the postman of the town; wherever you turn, he is the first man who meets you; when anything new is bruited abroad, he is either the author or the exaggerator of the report." We must remember Jerome's strong preference of the monastic over the secular life.

In these epistles *De custodiâ Virginitatis*, many sound precepts and salutary cautions are to be found, mixed with others which painfully remind us of the strife with nature which Jerome's undertaking involved. In his high estimate of the ascetic virtue which he employed so much eloquence to recommend, he might plead the authority of St. Paul, and he was not the man to modify an apostolic precept, but rather to strain it beyond its author's meaning. It was his maxim, that the bark of Scripture was splendid, but that the sweetness was in the pith; that the shell must be cracked to get at the kernel—a true maxim, if the form be considered as the shell, and the principle the kernel; but in his view the bark was the literal sense, the pith the mystical.* The manners of the times no doubt needed a corrective; the Church itself was anything but a model of purity and peace. Indeed, although the Church has unquestionably had its *heroic* age, and more than one, its *golden* age, like that of primæval times, always recedes before the light of history. And when we ask ourselves why Christianity has lost so much of its efficacy in our

* Ad Paulinum. Totam quod legimus in divinis libris nitet quidem et fulget, etiam in cortice, sed dulcius in medulla est. Qui vult edere nucleum frangat nucem.

times, and why we fall so much below the standard of our predecessors, the study of ecclesiastical history will shew us that "we do not inquire wisely concerning this matter." We believe that there never was a time when the fruits of the gospel were nobler or more abundant than at the present day. Were there nothing else in which we might compare ourselves advantageously with the early Church, the absence of that fierce and persecuting intolerance which then prevailed would justify our claim to have made progress in the genuine spirit of the gospel. And if the manners of Jerome's age were corrupt, would the evil be removed by withdrawing the purest spirits from all contact with the world? When Christ described his disciples as the salt of the earth, he did not mean that it was to be stored up in magazines, apart from the mass which needed its influence to preserve it from corruption.

We turn to another branch of Jerome's correspondence. His epistolary commerce was immense, and we are at a loss to conceive how he carried it on, along with his labours for suppressing heresy and illustrating the Scriptures.* He tells us that he employed short-hand writers† (notarii), who copied out in long hand what he dictated; but we think that, like Julius Cæsar, he must have dictated to several at once. His reputation for learning and sanctity was great throughout Christendom, and ladies of high rank, with that propensity to venerate learning and idolize sanctity, which has always characterized the more impressible sex, made him their oracle. To his cell at Bethlehem came letters from all parts, stating scriptural difficulties and seeking solutions of them. Sunia and Fretella write to him from among the Getæ, to ask him to explain to them the discrepancy between the Latin and the Greek Psalter. In his reply he enters into the discussion of all the variations which they had noted, explains to them the difference between the common copies of the Septuagint, which were in many

* Tante a me simul epistolæ flagitantur ut si cuncta ad singulos velim scribere occurrere nequeam.—Ad Paulinum.

† These notarii had brought their art to such perfection, according to Martial, xiv. 208 ("Currant verba licet, manus est velocior illis, nondum lingua suum, dextra peregit opus"), that they could take down a speaker's words *before* he uttered them. We have known some modern reporters exhibit the same dexterity.

places corrupt, and that which was found in the Hexapla, which had been translated by him into Latin, and was the Psalter used at Jerusalem and in the Eastern churches. And he advises that wherever there was a difference between the Greek and Latin, the question should be decided by a reference to the Hebrew. His answer is full of minute observations, which are instructive to the biblical critic at the present day. Sunia and Fretella apparently not being Hebrew scholars, he writes all his quotations in the Roman character as well as the Hebrew. To Marcella he explains the ten Hebrew names of God; the meaning of Alleluia, Amen, Maranatha; and of Selah in the Psalms and Hab. iii. 13, if it can be called an explanation to tell her, that it marks a break in the composition, and that Origen, Symmachus and Theodotion render it by Diapsalma. It seems that some umbrage had been taken at his corresponding with women, and he begins his exposition of the 44th (45th) Psalm, to Principia, by a defence of himself. "I know, Principia, my daughter in Christ, that I am blamed by many persons for occasionally writing to women, and preferring the weaker sex to the male. I will therefore answer my objectors before I enter on my little treatise. I would not speak to women, if men addressed questions to me respecting the Scriptures." And he goes on with a string of Scripture quotations, shewing how women had fulfilled their duty when men had neglected it, or been chosen by Providence to receive communications in preference to men. He concludes with Priscilla, who instructed Apollos, learned and eloquent as he was, in the gospel. "If it was no disgrace to an apostle to be taught by a woman, why should it be a disgrace to me, after having taught men, to teach women also? I have touched lightly on these examples, venerable daughter, that you might not regret your sex, nor the men be conceited of theirs (*nec viros nomen suum erigeret*)."

The monk of Bethlehem never appears so amiable as in his correspondence with his daughters in Christ. Marcella had sent to Paula and Eustochium, and some of the recluse maidens of Bethlehem, a present of sackcloth, wax tapers, a chair, a chalice and a flyflap, which Jerome acknowledges in the following letter, mixing politeness with mystical edification.

"In order to console ourselves for the absence of the body by

the converse of the mind, each takes the method in which he excels: you send me presents; I send you back an epistle of thanks, wishing at the same time, since they come from veiled virgins, to shew the mystic meaning contained in them. The sackcloth is the emblem of prayer and fasting; the chair intimates that maidens should keep at home, and not set their feet out of doors; the tapers, that their light should be always burning, as if they expected the coming of their Lord. The chalice teaches the mortification of the flesh, and a mind always prepared for martyrdom. For the cup of the Lord that intoxicateth, how excellent is it! * your present of flyflaps to the matrons, small things for driving away small things, elegantly expresses the duty of speedily extinguishing luxury; for dead flies spoil the savour of sweet ointment. So much for the meaning of your gifts as applied to the virgins and the matrons. To me also they have an application, but by way of contraries. To sit in a chair suits idle men; to lie on sackcloth, a penitent; to keep cups is allowed to drunkards; and those who from an evil conscience are haunted by terrors in the night may be glad to light a waxen taper."

Eustochium had sent him on St. Peter's day (June 29), along with a letter, a present of a pair of bracelets, pigeons, a basket of cherries, and a cake made of honey and pepper.† He accepts them graciously as "*parva specie sed caritate magna*," and proceeds to allegorize them. Honey was forbidden to be offered in sacrifice (Levit. ii. 11); she had done well to temper its sweetness with a certain biting quality; "*apud Deum enim nihil voluptuosum, nihil tantum suave placet, nisi in se habet mordacis aliquid veritatis*." God had placed bracelets on the arms of Jerusalem (Ezek. xvi. 11). Baruch received an epistle from Jeremiah; the Holy Spirit descended as a dove. He was rather embarrassed by the cherries, seeing the fruit is nowhere mentioned in Scripture, but he finds an emblem of maiden modesty in their blushing cheeks, and for the basket there

* An allusion to Ps. xxiii. (xxii.) 6. But Jerome has not observed his own rule of following the Hebrew, which reads, "My cup runneth over." The LXX. have, τὸ ποτήριόν σου μεθύσκον ὡς κρηάτιον; and the Vulgate, "Calix meus inebrians quam præclarus est." It is a strange perversion to apply this passage to martyrdom. The same translation is given in the Version of the Psalms which he made for the use of Sophronius, who had been embarrassed in his disputations with a Jew, from not knowing what was the Hebrew reading.

† This combination in ancient confectionery will not surprise a German, who is familiar with *pfefferkuchen*, nor the reader of the Arabian Nights who remembers the pepper in Bedreddin Hassan's cream tarts.

is a type in Jeremiah's vision of the figs. The memory which furnishes him on all occasions with scriptural quotations, and the ingenuity with which he misapplies them, is wonderful.

But by far the most interesting of all Jerome's epistles, are those in which he replies to the questions, which his female votaries had propounded to him, respecting difficult passages in the New Testament. We propose to devote the remainder of our space to a notice of some of them, both as illustrative of the mental state of those who were embarrassed by the difficulties, and the manner in which they are met by the most learned theologian of his age. The temper in which Jerome receives the suggestion of their difficulties is also remarkable. The lion of the Church sheathes his claws in velvet, and the roar which carried terror to the hearts of heretics is softened to the notes of the dove. Marcella, whom we have mentioned before, proposes five questions to him, one relating to a discrepancy in the evangelists, John representing our Saviour as saying to Mary Magdalene, "Touch me not, for I have not yet ascended to my Father," while Matthew (xxviii.) says that the women, among whom Mary Magdalene was included, "held him by the feet." Jerome gives various answers. In the narrative of John, Mary takes him for the gardener, and not as yet believing in the resurrection and still seeking the living among the dead, she was justly forbidden to touch our Lord. Mary, therefore, may not have been included among the women who believed him to have ascended to his Father and fell at his feet. Or if in one Gospel she is said to have touched him, and in another not to have touched him, she may at first have been repelled as unbelieving and afterwards admitted as believing; just as we reconcile Matthew and Luke, one of whom represents both the thieves as blaspheming, the other makes one of them to have confessed Christ.

Algasia, a noble lady, had sent him a letter from the furthest part of Gaul on the shores of the ocean, by Apodemius, who made a pilgrimage to Bethlehem that he might there be filled with the bread of life. Jerome compares her to the Queen of Sheba, who came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; not, indeed, that he laid claim to be Solomon; but she was a queen; for no mortal sin

reigned in her body (Rev. i. 5, 6); she had *turned* to the Lord with all her heart, and *saba* in Hebrew means *turning*. Yet he wonders why, when she had near at hand a learned priest, Aletius, so competent to solve her questions, she should leave the waters of Siloe that go softly, for the turbid stream of Sihor. Compliments being over, he proceeds to business. One of Algasia's questions was, How could John the Baptist send his disciples to Jesus, to ask whether he was the Christ, when he had already called him the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world? Jerome says that he had already answered the question in his Commentary on Matthew, which he perceives Algasia did not possess, and gives her a summary of it. John, he says, sent his disciples not for his own conviction, but theirs; and when he asks, "Art thou he who should come, or are we to expect another?" he foresaw his own descent to Hades, and wished to know whether Jesus also was to come thither, or whether it were impious to suppose this of the Son of God, and he would send another. A third question relates to Matthew xxiv. 19, a passage so plain that one would have thought that Algasia could not have needed a commentary, nor Jerome have perverted the sense. Yet so he has done. Some think, he says, that it refers to the siege of Jerusalem, and that the disciples were to pray that as little hardship as possible might attend their flight. But he takes the abomination of desolation to be Antichrist; the mountains to which those in Judæa were to flee were the mountains to which the Psalmist (cxi.) lifted up his eyes, "the hills whence help cometh." The *ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσαι καὶ θηλαζούσαι* are those whose virtue is yet in embryo or in infancy, and might prove abortive or perish untimely under the wintry blast of persecution.

Algasia had been perplexed, as many a reader has since been, by the parable of the Unjust Steward. Jerome felt it to be difficult of explanation, and would gladly have availed himself of the aid of Origen and Didymus, but either they had not written upon it, or time had not spared their work. His own exposition is as follows: "If the dispenser of the unjust mammon is praised by his master because he had prepared justice for himself by means of injustice, and the master who had suffered loss praises him because he had acted prudently for himself though

fraudulently for his master, how much more will Christ, who can suffer no loss, and is prone to clemency, praise his disciples if they are merciful towards those who shall believe in him!" connecting this parable with the petition in the Lord's Prayer, "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors." The explanation is not very clear, but it is better than that which he quotes from Theophilus Antiochenus. He understands the steward to be St. Paul, who had been educated to be a dispenser of the Law, and afterwards abandoning it, and wishing to procure himself a home among the Christians, proclaims relaxation of legal strictness to both Gentiles and Jews, though in lesser measure to the latter, the Gentiles having their debt of a hundred measures reduced by one-half; the Jews, who had been fed by God's wheat, obtaining a reduction only of a fifth. The difficulty of the parable has been created by the unwillingness of commentators to admit, that our Saviour could have advised his disciples to use wealth acquired by unjust means, for the purpose of securing an interest in the future kingdom of heaven, as if this were a mean and unworthy motive. This, however, is the only interpretation which the words philologically admit;* and it cannot be denied that the hope of reward is repeatedly held out in the Gospels as a motive to virtue. What this reward was to be is a question which cannot be settled, till another has been answered, What was the precise nature of the anticipated kingdom of heaven?—it was certainly something more than the consciousness of having done right. Another of Algasia's ques-

* Wetstein has brought together a number of passages to prove that "the mammon of unrighteousness" means "fallacious riches which do not make that return to their possessor which they promised." But if they are examined, none of them will be found to justify this rendering, which besides is inappropriate to the connection, though it would have suited very well the parable of the rich man, who thought he had much goods laid up for many years. The steward made a wise use of his unrighteous dealing; it is not intimated that the tenants shut their doors against him when he was put out of the stewardship. Without adopting M. Renan's extreme opinions of our Lord's hostility to riches, we think that in his view "worldly gain" and "mammon of unrighteousness" were nearly synonymous. Jerome's words, "*Pulchre dixit de iniquo mammona: omnes enim divitiæ de iniquitate descendunt*" (*Ad Hedibiam*), do not incorrectly express our Lord's view of riches, as they were acquired and used by his contemporaries. And this should be our guide in interpreting his words. The commentator goes beyond his office when he endeavours to reconcile them with absolute truth, and give them a sense applicable to all ages and all conditions of society.

tions related to the apparent discrepancy between the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, in which the apostle seems to expect that the coming of the Lord should be in their lifetime and his, and the Second, in which it is announced that a great defection (*ἀποστασία*) must first take place. This defection he explains to be the falling off of the nations from Rome; the mystery of iniquity already at work was the enormity of Nero's reign, preparing that event, the necessary precursor of the appearance of Antichrist. But he does not explain how the dissolution of the Roman empire was to let in Antichrist, nor touch the great difficulty of the passage, the apparent change in the apostle's view between the time of writing the two Epistles.

Marcella asks whether during the forty days which intervened between the resurrection and the ascension, our Lord was in heaven or on earth, or whether he secretly returned from one to the other. Jerome replies, "If you consider that the Lord was he who says of himself, 'Do I not fill heaven and earth,' and of whom the prophet says, 'Heaven is my throne and the earth my footstool,' you will at once perceive that even before the resurrection God the Word so dwelt in the body of the Lord, that he was everywhere at once, and that during the forty days he was at once with the apostles, and with the Father and the angels, and in the uttermost parts of the sea." Something of the same answer is given to Hedibia, who had asked for an explanation of the passage in Matthew (xxvi. 29) in which our Lord speaks of drinking of the fruit of the vine in the kingdom of his Father. Jesus is himself the guest and the feast, he who eats and he who is eaten; we drink his blood, and every day in his sacrifices we drink new wine in the kingdom of his Father. The same lady asks, How could the Holy Spirit be given at Pentecost, when, according to John, Christ had given it to his apostles before? His answer is, that there are degrees—that it was given partially at first and fully afterwards. Another question of Hedibia, respecting the discrepancy between Matthew and John, the former saying that Jesus rose *vespere* sabbati, and the latter *mane*, brings out a remarkable statement on Jerome's part. "Mihi videtur Matthæum, qui Hebraico sermone evangelium conscripsit, non tam *vespere* dixisse quam *sero*, et eum qui interpretatus est non *sero* interpre-

tatum esse sed *vespere*." "This is a bold, but not a very critical expedient for getting rid of the difficulty. We are thankful, however, to Hedibia for having been the means of eliciting from Jerome this testimony to the Hebrew original of Matthew, as by another, his acknowledgment that the last eleven verses of Mark were wanting in the most correct MSS.

To Fabiola we are indebted for having called forth by an inquiry his work on the forty-two stations or encampments of the Exodus. With geographical notices of great value he joins everywhere the mystical sense. The number of the stations corresponds with that of the thrice fourteen generations from Adam to Christ; the twelve fountains of Elim with the twelve apostles; the seventy palms with the seventy disciples, and so on, with a wonderful display of wasted ingenuity, to Abelsetim, "the mourning of thorns," the thorns which choke the word and render it unfruitful, the thorn which tormented the Psalmist.* Marcella and Anapsychia consult him upon a question much debated in the Church, the manner in which human souls were produced, —whether they descend from heaven, as Pythagoras and the Platonists and Origen taught; or are a portion of the Divine Substance, as the Stoics, Manichæans and heretical Priscillianists said; or are kept in store (in thesauro habebantur) by God, "the silly opinion of some ecclesiastics;" or are created every day, according to Christ's declaration, "My Father worketh until now and I work" (John v. 17). He excuses himself from answering the question, by the disturbance of his studies through the invasion of the barbarians, and refers them to a former work of his own in answer to Rufinus, and to Augustine, the holy and learned Bishop. These inquiries betoken a thoughtful and reverent study of the Scriptures on the part of Jerome's female correspondents, who were generally of high rank and noble descent. We are reminded of the state of theological learning among the noble ladies of England in the sixteenth century, described by Nicholas Udall as "so thoroughly expert in Holy Scriptures, that they were able to compare with the best writers, as well in endictyng and pennying godly and fruitful traictises, to the enstruction and edifying of whole

* Ps. xxxii. 4. In the Vulgate, "conversus sum in sermuna mea, dum configitur spina." Here again Jerome has neglected the Hebrew, which is "My moisture is turned into the drought of summer," to follow the Septuagint.

realms in the knowledge of God, as in translatyng good bokes out of Latin and Greek into Englishe, for the use and commoditee of such as are rude and ignorant of the said tongues."

The question once so fiercely debated between Protestants and Catholics, *De Usu Patrum*, may be answered without much difficulty as regards Jerome. He is not to be used as a model of Christian temper, or a pattern of Christian morals, or a sound interpreter of Scripture, or an authority in matters of faith. But if his title of Saint be somewhat questionable, his place among the Doctors is in the highest seat, or at all events on the highest bench. We cannot but admire the unconquerable energy with which he pursued his biblical labours, with failing sight,* amidst bodily infirmities, personal privations and public calamity. Without these labours sacred criticism would have wanted some of its most precious materials. The production of an entire translation of the Bible from the original† is a stupendous work, on which a lifetime might not unprofitably have been spent, yet it is only a small part of his multifarious productions. As a critic we owe him the greatest obligations; as a commentator he is often a most fallacious guide. His fallacies may be traced to two erroneous principles, both springing from the same root—the assumption that every word in the Bible proceeded from the immediate inspiration of God, that it must consequently be worthy of its Author, and perfectly and infallibly true. The school in which he had been trained, that of classical philology, is the very best for forming a sound biblical scholar. It was this training which made Erasmus and Grotius so far surpass their predecessors; it is by applying to the Scriptures the common-sense principles of classical philology, that Jowett has produced that Essay which is the *Novum Organum* of biblical interpretation.‡

* Ad Ezech. Com. par. 7. He complains specially of the difficulty of finding leisure for study by day, or reading Hebrew by candle-light.

† The Vulgate is commonly said to represent this translation from the Hebrew (Smith's Dict. of Biography, art. Hieronymus); but a comparison of the two texts will shew how much more close is its relation to the Septuagint. Indeed, we doubt Jerome's having translated the whole of the Old Testament from the Hebrew. He certainly compared the Hebrew with the Septuagint in the books of which he published Commentaries, and often gives in parallel columns a Latin translation of both.

‡ We do not mean that the principles of that Essay are absolutely new—neither was the inductive philosophy. They have long been familiar to many

But simply to interpret the letter of the Old Testament would seem to Jerome a very unsatisfactory discharge of his duty. Both Jews and Christians had long been in the habit of giving its histories an allegorical or mystical or prophetic meaning, over and above what lay on the surface. The literal truth of many things revolted them; others seemed much too trivial to call for the interposition of the Spirit, unless some spiritual meaning could be elicited from them. "Does God care about oxen," Jerome asks, "or the right shoulder and the breast of the sacrifices which are ordered to be given to the priests?" and proceeds to assign the spiritual significance of each of them: the breast is the seat of pure thoughts, knowledge of the law, sound doctrine; the arm denotes good works and strenuous resistance to the devil. And so reasons are assigned for the whole ritual of sacrifice and every particular in the dress of the priests. He evidently felt that unless these things had a spiritual meaning it was unworthy of God to prescribe rules about them. St. Paul, it is true, occasionally indulges in allegorical interpretations; but St. Paul was not writing a commentary, nor does he descend to such childish displays of ingenuity. The literal historical sense is treated by Jerome, in the same depreciatory way, in the Preface to the account of the forty-two stations. "Let Jewish boys, who must still be fed on milk, read about the fleshly Pharaoh, and the Red Sea, and the manna, like coriander-seed, and understand everything in a bodily sense, the leprosy of houses and garments, and the piercing the Hebrew servant's ear;" and he goes on to explain that Pascha, meaning passage, may be applied to us who in our transit to better things leave the darkness of Egypt.* Commentators still cling to these double senses and mystical meanings; but till Scripture is admitted to have one meaning, and its interpretation ceases to be considered as a special art, instead of removing the veil from its face, they will be investing it with a disguise.†

of our readers in theory and practice. But the clearness with which they are set forth in it, joined to the station and character of the author, will make a return to the old methods impossible, on the part of any one who aspires to the reputation of a biblical scholar.

* *Ad Fabiolam*, Ep. cxxvii.

† *Usque hodie in lectione veteris Testamenti super faciem Moysis velamen positum est; cum autem conversi fuerimus ad Dominum, aufertur velamen, occidens litera moritur, vivificans spiritus concitatur.*—*Ad Paulinum*.

Equally fruitful of misapplied labour and ingenuity has been the assumption, that, the Bible being strictly and literally the word of God, there can be no discrepancies in it, especially that an apostle cannot differ from an apostle, or an evangelist from an evangelist. The difficulties created by this assumption are strikingly seen in the questions addressed to Jerome by his female correspondents and his answers to them. A fresh embarrassment has been created in modern times by the discoveries of science, and the necessity of reconciling them with the language of Scripture. Both, it is said, are the voice of God, and they *must* be in harmony. And how is it sought to produce this harmony, when the voice of Science cannot be stifled? Stones of stumbling lie everywhere in the commentator's path, and with desperate effort, *σκηπτόμενος χερσὶν τε ποσὶν τε*, he endeavours to roll them away; but they return upon him by their inherent weight.

When shall we see a Commentary, neither dogmatic nor apologetic, but simply and honestly exegetic? It would be a fitting complement to a Revised Translation. We fear such a mode of execution is not to be looked for in the Commentary recently announced, with such a display of ecclesiastical dignities and academical distinctions.

III.—THEODORE PARKER.

Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker, Minister of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society, Boston. By John Weiss. Two vols. 8vo. London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts. 1863.

THEODORE PARKER has unhappily fallen into unskilful and idolatrous hands. His biographer ought to have been able to harmonize the many-sided man, who was wanting in no faculty and in no perception necessary to spiritual completeness, but whose passionate, picturesque and rhetorical temperament rarely permitted him to be a whole man at any one moment. By qualifying one of his deliverances of himself by another, one of his moods by another, it might have been shewn, without straining, that the circle of his nature and even

of his convictions was full, though the illuminated points appeared in succession and did not flow into one ring of light. With as many facets as a diamond he was at one, not only with himself, but with the religious life around him, which he deemed so foreign, to a far greater extent than he knew. His biographer, instead of contributing to exhibit this real harmony by blending his qualities, has only painfully sharpened all the angles. Mr. Weiss has given us a number of views of Theodore Parker in convex mirrors, and unwittingly at the same time a good many portraits of himself as exaggerated reflections of his great original. A friend once told us of his being present at Hatton church when the lawn sleeves of the Bishop of Meath awed the minds of the simple villagers. Dr. Parr, in a flurry of delight, proud of a great dignitary, prouder still that the Bishop was his pupil, after shewing him to the pulpit himself, pompously bowing to the ground, took his place for the sermon in the reading-desk directly under, and as often as the Bishop said anything that had any point in it Parr started from his seat, looked round upon the congregation, and emphasized the remark by a great thump upon the cushion. Mr. Weiss has placed himself under Theodore Parker's mighty rostrum, and has given us what fell thence in no softened echoes, but rather with violent screams of sympathy. He says in one place, in that strange style which Americans mistake for eloquence, that Parker's "hand, which could crush as with the weight of many tons, could descend, if needful, with a touch soft as unspoken feeling." We could wish that the touches of Mr. Weiss's hand all through this biography, in emphasizing characteristic points, had borne a still nearer resemblance to unspoken feeling. The style of these volumes is indeed so grotesque and extravagant, notwithstanding many signs of unquestionable power, as painfully to disturb our sympathy even with their subject, whose own more than occasional offences of this kind seem always returning upon us in magnified forms. We will dismiss this disagreeable matter by a few specimens, taken almost at random, of this monstrously ambitious style, whose force lies in the use of violent figures, always offensive from their unsuitableness, and very often effectually concealing the writer's meaning. For instance, what exactly is the interpretation of this? "An itinerant vendor of the gospel, com-

monly called a candidate, is not a beautiful or heroic personage. Men hang his presageful heart on the hooks of their parochial steelyards, and narrowly scrutinize the figures. He pockets his presage, and it makes no difference in the weight." The youngest admirer of Theodore Parker on this side the Atlantic, of either sex, could not use these words, though we are told that they have been spoken of him "at home and abroad, in various tongues,"—if various tongues means various languages, and not various styles of speech, we enter a disclaimer:—"He was healthy as immortality; he was as unconventional as a period of revolution always must be—a strong soil full of seeds; the more you till it, the better it nods with wheat and corn and all the substantial elements of human food." Mr. Weiss is as much at ease in the use of homely as of heavenly figures. Not many pages after the description "healthy as immortality," he says, in a style of rather strong contrast, "that Mr. Parker was healthily built, within and without, open to the air and sun, with no uncanny corners to catch dirt and vermin, and not a single rat-hole in the whole house. He shrank from vicious and slatternly habits, but knew perfectly well that he had neither." His reverence for human nature, his willingness to honour all men in accrediting them with any good thing he discovered in himself, is thus expressed: "Whenever he found a truth, he placed it in the glittering row which sits upon the rugged forehead of human kind: there it looked handsomer to him than in æsthetic and transcendental cabinets. For all things look best where they belong."

But we should have willingly left Mr. Weiss to his own style of writing, duly recognizing his always noble appreciation of sterling truth and qualities, and the often rich and vigorous language of his "endorsement," to use an expression of his own, if, whilst occasionally disfiguring his subject, he had given us the means of collecting, without infinite pains, a clear and orderly-developed image for ourselves. But unluckily this is not the case. The confusion of this book it is impossible to describe. Neither chronological order, nor any other order, is consistently observed. On what principle the Correspondence is arranged, no divining power at our command can discover. Years, persons and subjects are intermingled as if taken out of a paper-basket

that had served Mr. Parker for all the days of his life. A letter to a friend follows another letter to the same friend, and the last letter bears an earlier date than the first. Scraps of journals are separated from other scraps by scraps of letters connected with them, apparently, by neither time, person, place or thing. An attempt is made to group the materials according to the various aspects of his work and thought, and the consequence is that the story of his life is not simply and consecutively told, and the formation of his character is not represented synchronously with himself, but by most perplexing contributions from all periods,—often by letters and passages of journals from which the features of his mind and action are most imperfectly collected, because there is no clear statement, in the way of narrative, of what the circumstances were under which he was acting. We cannot occupy space by substantiating all this; but, as an example, here are two passages, both perhaps worthy of being preserved, following one another immediately on the same page, one from a journal of 1851, the other from a sermon of 1848. Why are they brought together in what is called a Life and Correspondence?

1851. "I am astonished at the boldness of Americans in passing judgment on works of the fine Arts. I once rode in a hack with an American, aged 21, through the *Via Condotti*: we passed a shop whose windows were full of cameos. My companion put his glass up to his eye, squinted at them, and said, 'Poor things, by Jove!' Since then it has not astonished me to hear the most sweeping judgments from Americans—especially women—on painting, sculpture, &c. It is not at all necessary for the critic to know anything about art, or to have any feeling for nature, only to have insolence and a tongue."

1848. "Who has not seen some man of unbalanced mind, intellectual always, but spiritual never; heady but not hearty; roving from church to church; now Trinitarian, then Unbeliever, then Universalist, Unitarian, Catholic, everything by turns but nothing long; seeking rest by turning perpetually over, and becoming at last a man having experienced many theologies, but never religion; not a Christian, but only a verbal index of Christianity—a commonplace-book of theology? Such a man runs from church to church, in his belief, only as a stone runs downhill, and for the same reason, because its centre of gravity is not supported."

But enough of fault-finding with the frame in which are

preserved to us so many rich fragments of "Thought and Life," now for our own task with Mr. Weiss's help, and with due gratitude for it, notwithstanding the grudge that more of his skill or pains would have made our labour light.

Theodore Parker was the youngest of eleven children, the last of a long family, proverbially the genius. He was born at Lexington, Massachusetts, in a house which his family had occupied and owned for a century, on the 24th of August, 1810, when his father was above fifty, and his mother was forty-seven years old. His parents were grave, earnest and deep-hearted, full of love and solicitude for their children, combining a life of toil with intelligence, piety and culture. His father reminds us of the father of Burns, well acquainted with ordinary books, with a large faculty of thought, weighty and commanding in character. He worked a small farm with the help of his children, devoting much of his own time to the mechanical arts needed by himself and his neighbours. His mother, he tells us himself, "was imaginative, delicate-minded, poetic, yet a very practical woman; far-sighted, and so nice in her perceptions and judgments that it used to startle me sometimes in the body, and does now as I think of it. She took great pains with the religious training of her children, but cared little for doctrines; no bigotry, no cant, no fear. Religion was love and good works." If what he says of her is strictly true, and not the colouring of his own imaginative tenderness, his temperament must have been derived from her, and his latest theology had its natural spring in his childhood, its nourishment from his mother's breast.

"I have known few in whom the religious instincts were so active and so profound, and who seemed to me to enjoy so completely the life of God in the soul of man. To her the Deity was an Omnipresent Father, filling every point of space with His beautiful and loving presence. She took a deep and still delight in silent prayer:—of course it was chiefly the more spiritual part of the Old Testament and New Testament that formed her favourite reading; the dark theology of the times seems not to have blackened her soul at all. She took great pains with the moral culture of her children—at least with mine."

The late-born child was an object of great interest to the large household, among whom was an aged grandmother,

more than eighty at the time of his birth ; and when he was dying at Rome, he jots down, among the vivid impressions of his earliest years, that it was part of his childish business to carry drink twice a day to this venerable lady, who sat in an upper chamber, and that it was "*flip*" in cool weather, and in spring and summer was "*toddy* or *punch*." His young life was free and healthy, full of food for observation ; in winter, when the snow was everywhere, ranging in brown home-spun petticoats between the kitchen, the work-shop and the barn, or, with no petticoats at all and only his night-shirt on, taking a run or a roll among the snow ; in spring, summer and autumn, enjoying the fields, the rocks, the flowers, the breath of nature, the clouds, the light and the sky, with that musing trance of an imaginative childhood which, as it is untroubled by the sense of responsibility, no after bliss recalls. The child was father of the man. He was as sturdy as he was susceptible. His first protest against what appeared spiritual unrealities was given at the age of two years and a half. It was injudicious to have put off so long the baptism of so precocious a thinker. A rationalist in petticoats is a very difficult person to deal with. "As the water was sprinkled on his head, he entered his first protest against ceremonies by lustily fighting off the clergyman, and ejaculating, 'Oh, don't !' His curiosity about the whole affair did not speedily die out, and as he was always terrible for asking 'Why?' except when asked to do something for love, he 'wanted to know' about being wetted, and what object the participators had in view." But the heart of the child, if not very respectful to ceremonies, was fearfully and wonderfully made in its openness to God. The religious sense, the spiritual experience of a soul four years old, is sufficient to explain and justify the natural and intense dislike of his maturity for the theory of authoritative revelations, authenticated by external evidences, in regard to all those primary matters on which he knew beforehand that the Father himself speaks to His children. Surely the key to much of his immediate, independent theology, of what he delighted to call the Absolute Religion, as well as to much of his over-jealous anger for God, of his too vehement scorn and impatience with those who, perhaps by some necessity of their own nature, would make spiritual knowledge de-

pendent on outward authority and hearsay evidence, is to be found in this record of his childhood.

"When a little boy in petticoats in my fourth year, one fine day in spring my father led me by the hand to a distant part of the farm, but soon sent me home alone. On the way I had to pass a little 'pond-hole' then spreading its waters wide; a rhodora in full bloom, a rare flower in my neighbourhood, and which grew only in that locality, attracted my attention and drew me to the spot. I saw a little spotted tortoise sunning himself in the shallow water at the root of the flaming shrub. I lifted the stick I had in my hand to strike the harmless reptile; for though I had never killed any creature, yet I had seen other boys out of sport destroy birds and squirrels and the like, and I felt a disposition to follow their wicked example. But all at once something checked my little arm, and a voice within me said, clear and loud, '*It is wrong!*' I held my uplifted stick in wonder at the new emotion, the consciousness of an involuntary but inward check upon my actions, till the tortoise and the rhodora both vanished from my sight. I hastened home and told the tale to my mother, and asked what was it that told me it was wrong? She wiped a tear from her eye with her apron, and taking me in her arms, said, 'Some men call it Conscience, but I prefer to call it the voice of God in the soul of man. If you listen and obey it, then it will speak clearer and clearer, and always guide you right; but if you turn a deaf ear or disobey, then it will fade out little by little, and leave you all in the dark and without a guide. Your life depends on heeding this little voice.' She went her way, careful and troubled about many things, but doubtless pondered them in her motherly heart; while I went off to wonder, and think it over in my poor, childish way. But I am sure no event in my life has made so deep and lasting an impression on me."

We cannot feel surprised to find him afterwards, in one of his sermons, accounting for his religious views in this way:

"Religion was the inheritance my mother gave me in my birth—gave me in her teachings. Many sons have been better born than I, few have had so good a mother. I mention these things to shew you how I came to have the views of Religion that I have now. My head is not more natural to my body—has not more grown with it than my religion out of my soul and with it. With me religion was not carpentry, something built up of dry wood, from without; but it was growth—growth of a germ in my soul."

Is there not a constitutional difference in the spiritual sensibility of different persons, and does not this account for the different religious needs of men? Are there not children who have no experience of an inward voice speaking to them, of mysterious yet distinct visitations of the living God,—who are neither awed nor prompted, abashed, withheld, or encouraged from within,—whose religious growth does not seem to be the sprouting of a natural germ, not education but instruction,—upon whom duty, truth, reverence, obedience, justice and mercy, have to be carefully enforced, line upon line, and precept upon precept? Are there not those to whom, in *their* course of nature, personal communion with the Spirit of God comes so late, that if the circumstances have been unfavourable to its opening the door of direct intercourse seems absolutely closed? Did Theodore Parker too violently assume that the natural spiritual susceptibility of every man from childhood up was, or might have been, the same as his own? Did he therefore overlook the necessity to some natures of an external, dogmatic and preceptive religious teaching, which his own responsive heart did not equally require? By generalizing from his own temperament, was he not betrayed into some injustice towards those, in the pulpit and out of it, with whom the beginnings of the higher life are ethical and rational, through the understanding and the conscience,—the affections and the spirit catching the flame later, a pyramid of fire? And have not these broadly-based natures been some of the mightiest heroes of God? We admit that Theodore Parker's spiritual childhood is the normal, natural and happy opening of the religious life of man; Christ has left no possibility of doubt upon the naturalness of religion to a little child. At the same time, through, perhaps, the mysterious law that visits the sins of the fathers upon the children, this early susceptibility does not always appear; with some the soul awakens late, and yet its late awakening does not diminish the glory of its full day; with some of the greatest saints of God self-sacrificing piety has been the latest flight of the spirit from a large worldly experience. Theodore Parker's account of the uniform joy and clearness of his own religious temperament shews the origin of his somewhat resentful impatience, as though they were blindfolding themselves, towards those

who were dull of heart and slow to believe what to him was the light that lighteth every man who cometh into the world.

"I have swam in clear waters all my days ; and if sometimes they were a little cold, and the stream ran adverse and something rough, it was never too strong to be breasted and swam through. From the days of earliest childhood, when I went stumbling through the grass, 'as merry as a May bee,' up to the gray-bearded manhood of this time, there is none but has left me honey in the hive of Memory that I may now feed on for present delight. When I recall the years of boyhood, youth, early manhood, I am filled with a sense of sweetness, and wonder that such little things can make a mortal so exceedingly rich ! But I must confess that the chiefest of all my delights is still the religious. This is the lowest down, the inwardest of all—it is likewise highest up. What delight have I in my consciousness of God, the certainty of His protection, of His infinite love ! God loves me as my natural mother never did, nor could, nor can, even now, with the added beatitudes of wellnigh two-score years in heaven. How the religious disposition inclines the little boy or girl to veneration and gratitude, virtues which in the child are what good-breeding is in the full-grown gentleman, giving a certain air of noble birth and well-bred superiority !"

And the child's conviction of Sin was as quick and early as his sensibility to goodness and to God.

"Did I ever tell you of the earliest fact of consciousness I ever felt pained at ? When in my fourth year my father had a neighbour, Deacon Stearns, come to kill a calf. My father would not do it himself as other farmers did. I was not allowed to see the butchery ; but after it was all over, the Deacon, who had lost all his children, asked me who I loved best. 'Papa.' 'What ! better than yourself ?' 'Yes, Sir.' 'But,' said my father, 'if one of us must take a whipping, which would you rather should have the blows ?' I *said* nothing, but wondered and wondered why I should prefer that he should have the blows, and not I. The fact was plain, and plainly selfish, and it seemed to me wicked. Yet I could not help the feeling. It tormented me for weeks in my long clothes."

His opportunities of education were only the district schools, open for a few weeks in the winter. For the rest of the year he worked upon the farm almost from childhood. One of his earliest employments was to carry peaches to

Boston market, as the boy Roscoe carried potatoes on his head into Liverpool. But the scanty teaching was stimulating and good of its kind, and his own appetite for knowledge wrought wonders. At eight, he was considered one of the greatest readers in the town. Before that time he had read Homer and Plutarch in English, and Rollin's Ancient History; "with lots of histories and all the poetry he could find" before ten. His father, who had a share in the village library, supplied him with books, and refused to let him have another until he could give a good account of the one he had last read. His memory all through life was marvellous. At ten, he could repeat a poem of five hundred lines after a single reading, and at church used to have the hymns by heart before the choir began to sing. He bought his first book, at the age of twelve, by what he got for wortleberries which he had gathered and carried to Boston for sale; and this was the beginning of the noble library of eleven thousand volumes which he bequeathed to Boston at his death. His rapid memory, with the want of strict mental discipline or accurate study of any language, made him an extensive rather than an exact reader, a man of vast information rather than a scholar. He speaks of having some knowledge of twenty languages, and there are signs everywhere that,* as Sir Walter Scott said of his own linguistic attainments, he scrambled through them as a man gets through a hedge for the sake of what lies within the fence. We hear of his reading three hundred and twenty volumes in fourteen months, "in various languages, and the best books on the subjects of which they treat." At the age of seventeen, he began to teach a district school for the winter months, working on the farm and in the work-shop for the rest of the year; and while living at home and not labouring, paying his father the hire of a man out of the earnings of his school. It was in this way that his immense power of work was acquired, his endurance and his versatility. At the age of twenty, he disappeared from the farm for a long day, and on his return went up to his father's bed-side, who had retired for the night, and said, "Father, I entered Harvard College to-day." "Why, Theodore!

* We may remark that scarcely a passage in any foreign language, ancient or modern, is correctly printed in these volumes.

you know I cannot support you there." "I know that, Father; I mean to stay at home and keep up with my class." He worked and taught himself, appearing at Cambridge only for examination. Having paid no tuition fees, he had no degree until an honorary one was conferred upon him in 1840. For the years of the Theological Course it was necessary for him to reside in college, and to obtain the means of this expense he taught a school for two years at Watertown, where he enjoyed the invaluable advantage of friendly intercourse with Dr. Francis, one of the most learned and liberal of the American clergy. His life there was very noble and very homely. "He was up at daylight, sawed and split the wood for the school and family, swept out and dusted the school-room, and took a walk of three or four miles." The lady who afterwards became his wife boarded in the same house, and taught in the same Sunday-school, and the young student had soon settled the heart-problem of his life. Those who have had the happiness of even once seeing Mrs. Parker will know, what these volumes reveal but with admirable reticence do not betray, the sweet and healing light that was his perpetual strength and joy. We give his first letter to his wife immediately after the engagement: a whole wedded life is imaged in it. And what a picture it gives of both father and son!

"I walked to father's; he soon returned from church, and I caught him in the garden, and informed him of the 'fatal' affair, if you will call it so.

"The tear actually started to his aged eye. 'Indeed!' said he. 'Indeed,' I replied, and attempted to describe some of your good qualities. 'It is a good while to wait,' he observed. 'Yes, but we are young, and I hope I have your approval.' 'Yes, yes! I should be pleased with any one you would select; but, Theodore,' said he, and the words sank deep into my heart, 'you must be a good *man*, and a good *husband*, which is a great undertaking.' I promised all good fidelity; and may Heaven see it kept."

He entered the Theological School at Cambridge in 1834. He studied fourteen hours a day, and for a time, to save money, boarded himself in his own room upon dry bread. In all exercises requiring readiness, exuberance, facility and extempore power, he excelled at once; but Henry Ware told him that his written sermons were poor and utterly unworthy of him. He lived to bless his Professor for a

plain speaking that cost him nights of weeping. His impatience of the letter that killeth had appeared as soon as he was capable of reflecting at all, and along with it something of that rough simplicity which, if not irreverence in himself, produced in after years the bad effects of irreverence in causing sensitive spirits, full of tender sacredness for holy things and persons, to close themselves against him. In the debates of the Divinity Hall when reminded by the Professor that "old Paul" to modern ears hardly conveyed the apostolic meaning, he would substitute, without mending the matter, "the gentleman from Tarsus." But his labours of preparation were far beyond the teachings or requirements of the school; and while becoming daily more conscious of his own power he was moving in the freedom of knowledge, and loosening conventional trammels from his native strength. He began to translate De Wette's Introduction to the Old Testament at this period, though it was not published till 1843. He was ordained at West Roxbury, a village a few miles from Boston, in the June of 1837; he had been married in the previous April. The parish was small, consisting of about sixty families, and his pulpit and parochial duties to one of his wonderful ease of production afforded ten hours a day for private study. The people were for the most part homely and simple, but shrewd and liberal; and among them were a few families of intelligence and culture, to whom he was soon bound in the most delightful ties of friendship. His whole life at Roxbury was indeed supremely happy, and he might have lived and died there without a ripple from the world's interference with his inner being, developing himself with as little of social strife as a German professor, had not the narrowness and intolerance displayed towards him by the Boston Unitarian clergy on his utterance of some very mild heresies on a public occasion, by revealing to him and to others the large need there was for something of a scientific theology and plainness of spiritual speech, rudely challenged him to utter all that was in his mind, and called him to the place where it could be spoken with most effect. He was not naturally rash, nor regardless of wounding religious feelings or prejudices, but he became like flint to hard strokes, giving out only fire. He had long been troubled with doubts of the inspiration and infallibility of

the Bible before he publicly spoke. He wrote two sermons on what appeared to him historical, moral and scientific contradictions in the Scriptures, and kept them a year in his desk before he preached them. He consulted the most learned and liberal friend he had among the clergy, and was told that he that spits on the wind spits in his own face,—that he would ruin himself, and do nobody any good. He takes counsel of his own simplicity and preaches the sermons in fear and trembling, holding on by the cushion and never lifting his head; and, to his equal astonishment and relief, receives only thanks from his unlearned congregation for telling every one their own thought. Up to this time he had believed that it was as a scholar and to the scholarly class he was to contribute his mite to the world's enlightenment. Henceforward he believed that he could do more good by speaking to the common people, who would hear him willingly. The complexion of his existence, the quality of his work, were largely affected, and in some respects no doubt largely deteriorated, by this change; but though with some sacrifice to himself, some injury to the calmness and fulness of his nature, we doubt whether his real place in the world was not that of an Orator, a practical Reformer, an impassioned Speaker, a Prophet appealing directly to the conscience and souls of men, and furnished with all needful skill and knowledge to give both weight and wings to his thought; we doubt whether his genius was of a kind to have given to mankind, as an eternal possession, any great result either of philosophy or of erudition, and whether God did not put His noble servant to his fittest uses when spending his strength in the great spiritual battles of his day.

In 1841, Mr. Parker, at an ordination service in Boston, preached a sermon on the Transient and the Permanent in Christianity. As this was the occasion on which his brethren in the ministry broke with him, it is important to know what justification its doctrine affords for his exclusion from their fellowship. Any after offences he may have committed against taste or orthodoxy cannot be pleaded in defence of an excommunication which took place before they were perpetrated. Offences of vehemence or of exaggeration which themselves provoked, must not be turned into proofs of their prophetic souls. If they had not driven him off their ground, and forced him to stand

nearly alone upon his own—and of the few who retained fellowship with himself not one was in full sympathy with his views—they would not have created, as they did, the necessity for his eccentric course, and they would not have afforded him the opportunity of discerning what virulence and bigotry could be united with their mild negations and their limited spiritual liberty. The bitterest pang of his life was their separation from him, and the perpetual soreness it produced shews how unwise it was, and how his nature would have inclined him to receive any good thing they had, any modifying influence, if they had kept him within their circle. It seems marvellous now that the sermon on the Transient and the Permanent in Christianity could have caused such excitement and rupture; that it did so is itself sufficient illustration of the doctrine of the discourse. Mr. Parker simply asserts, no doubt with great freedom of treatment in exposing the perishable opinions that have been held on the person of Christ and the authority of the Bible, that the Word of God, which is eternal Truth and knows no change, must be distinguished from the best *notions* of God and Christ which men are able to attain, and which must for ever be altering their intellectual and devotional forms as they approach nearer to the divine Realities. “No one can say *his* notions shall stand; but we may all say, the Truth, as it is in Jesus, shall never pass away.” And this was the sermon that had to issue from the Swedenborgian press, because, under the influence of the Unitarian ministers, no bookseller in Boston would put his name upon the title-page. The sermon was published in a volume of *Miscellanies* in 1843. It contains these passages:

“That pure ideal Religion which Jesus saw on the mount of his vision, and lived out in the lowly life of a Galilean peasant; which transforms his cross into an emblem of all that is holiest on earth; which makes sacred the ground he trod, and is dearest to the best of men, most true to what is truest in them,—cannot pass away. Let men improve never so far in civilization, or soar never so high on the wings of Religion and Love, they can never outgo the flight of Truth and Christianity. It will always be above them. It is as if we were to fly towards a Star, which becomes larger and more bright the nearer we approach, till we enter into and are absorbed in its glory.” * * *

“No doubt an age will come in which ours shall be reckoned

a period of darkness—like the sixth century—when men groped for the wall, but stumbled and fell, because they trusted a transient notion, not an eternal truth; an age when temples were full of idols set up by human folly, an age in which Christian light had scarce begun to shine into men's hearts. But while this change goes on; while one generation of opinions passes away, and another rises up; Christianity itself, that pure Religion, which exists eternal in the constitution of the soul and the mind of God, is always the same.—This truth we owe to God; the revelation thereof to Jesus, our elder brother, God's chosen Son."

That Parker ever spoke in less guarded terms than these, that he ever claimed more for the unaided soul and attributed less to the revealing Man in whom alone the image of God is full, must largely be laid at the door of those who were shocked at this measure of spiritual independence. He suddenly became painfully aware, and with unbrotherly offence to himself, that the freest Christians of his day were extinguishing their own souls, using the Bible and the Mediator as *fetishes*, instead of entering into personal communion with God himself through their aid; and in the vehemence of his protest he fell into some excesses. Yet what can be in fuller unity with the deepest intent of Christ than this passage of the sermon: "The light of God shone down into the very deeps of his soul, bringing all of the Godhead that flesh can receive. He would have us do the same; worship with nothing between us and God; act, think, feel, live, in perfect obedience to Him; and we never are *Christians* as he was the *Christ*, until we worship as Jesus did, with no Mediator, with nothing between us and the Father of all." We are not denying that Mr. Parker gave after cause of offence, but this was his language and his doctrine when men towards whom his heart yearned as to brothers refused to admit him to their pulpits, or to enter his, and forced him to exaggerate the peculiarity of his Doctrine of the Soul by the isolation it caused him. With human imperfection, and our rude way of righting the balance, it must needs be that offences come when there are those through whom the offence cometh.

There is only a single sentence in the sermon chargeable with a more fatal heresy than what we have produced. It is this: real Christianity "would not make Christ the despot of the soul, but the brother of all men. It would

not tell us that even he had exhausted the fulness of God, so that He could create none greater; for with Him 'all things are possible,' and neither Old Testament or New Testament ever hints that creation exhausts the Creator." There are frequently occurring statements, scattered over all periods of his life, and in their expression not always reconcilable with themselves, that Jesus did not exhaust Human Nature. But perhaps he never meant more by any of these statements, at this time he certainly did not mean more, than that Christ gave us a perfect image only of the spiritual lineaments of God, the soul of Man harmonized in temper, in will, in proportion, in the balance of the affections, with the Spirit of the Father,—but that as there are awful practical problems, as those of our modern civilization, with which Christ did not deal,—and vast fields of knowledge, scientific and artistic attainments, which did not belong to his reflective consciousness or to his endowments,—it is possible to conceive the perfect *soul* of Jesus in combination with forms of human knowledge, enterprise, achievement, and various developments of genius or capacity, with which Christ was not concerned. We hold this to be a very idle and somewhat juvenile, but a very innocent assertion. There was a rhetorical weakness in Parker's mind which sometimes led him to treat phenomenal differences as if they were real essences. It is a very simple thing to say that Christ was not all Mankind's epitome, astronomer, architect, chemist, musician, statesman,—Leibnitz, Milton, Newton, Bacon, Mozart, Watt, all in one; but it was certainly not creditable to Parker that he should have said this in a way that seemed to any one to imply that if such a man appeared he would remove Christ from the greatness of his place. Christ revealed, not all the forces that may be at our command, but the spirit that should use and rule them. He was the first to shew us the face of God in the mirror of a human soul; and he who is first in a divine knowledge and fellowship that came through perfect obedience, would have the peculiar glory of his place not surpassed, but enhanced, because he was to be the first-born of many brethren.

The Boston Unitarian clergy precipitated Mr. Parker's heresies, and no doubt contributed to their appearance in crude forms. It has been the misfortune of Unitarianism

to take its stand upon negations as necessity arose, resisting the consequences of common Church principles when they became too absurd, but not committing itself to universal spiritual Truths, fountains of perpetual light and life. It exposed the untenable results of biblical interpretation, but did not teach what the Bible is; it exposed the false aspects of ecclesiastical doctrines, but did not deliver, once and for ever, from the thralldom of authority by proclaiming the Doctrine of the Spirit. It fought Orthodoxy on its own narrow and artificial ground, professing, with the other churches, to be able to collect perfect truth from the imperfect letter, instead of carrying the appeal at once to the living God, and the living soul, and the spirit of life in Christ Jesus as the mediating guide,—and so hitherto we have lost the world and the human heart, which is never won by compromise or technical skill, but only by fruitful affirmations and open springs of the living water; and even now we have to see others more effectively teaching the truths, and beginning to reap the harvests, which were properly our own. When ecclesiastical Unitarianism forsook Mr. Parker, spiritual, if unbaptized, Freedom took him up. When the ministers refused to let him preach, the laity invited him to lecture. The result was five Lectures in Boston, which afterwards, expanded into the well-known “Discourse of Religion,” carried the name and the views of Theodore Parker far and wide over America and Europe. The attempt to shut up and compress a spirit so vigorous and elastic sent it streaming forth, hissing with scorn. The “Discourse” strengthened his professional brethren in their unhappy policy, until at last the Boston Association of Congregational Ministers compelled Mr. Sargent to retire from his office of Minister to the Poor because he would not consent to exclude Mr. Parker from his pulpit. The result was a resolution in public meeting “that the Rev. Theodore Parker shall have a chance to be heard in Boston,”—and heard he was with a vengeance. Instead of the quiet pulpit at Roxbury, with an audience of less than a hundred and fifty, and occasional exchanges with his city brethren, he habitually preached to a congregation of three thousand persons in the Music Hall, a building large enough to require forty-two doors,—and, we are told, “with seven thousand names upon his private list of men and

women who depended upon him for comfort and guidance." Yet it was with tears and anguish that he went out from his brethren. At a Meeting of Ministers to consider the necessity of excommunicating him, one of the conditions of the debate being, a forcible compliment to his prowess, that the doctrines of his book were not to be discussed, he met rudeness and opposition with calm and easy power, but at the first word spoken of him in tenderness and praise, he burst into tears and rushed from the room. Surely so impressible a heart need not have been thrown upon itself, to resent its isolation. He explains his emotion to a friend who was present :

"You mistake a little the cause of my tears the other night. It was not a hard thing said by yourself or others. All might have said such as long as they liked ; I would not have winked at that. It was the kind things said by Bartol and Gannett, and what I knew by your face you were about to say ; it was this that made me weep. I could meet argument with argument (in a place where it is in order to discuss 'the subjects' of a theological book that is talked of), blow with blow, ill-nature with good-nature all night long ; but the moment a man takes my part and says a word of sympathy, that moment I become a woman and no man."

Several years afterwards, when he was afraid that an anti-*Sabbath* might degenerate into a vulgar and irreligious anti-*Sunday* movement, he wrote a letter which is a very amusing, but a very wise, exposition of the treatment which ought to be applied to new religious births, and which if applied to his own novelties would have tempered every word that fell from him.

"I have all along been a little afraid of a reaction from the sour, stiff, Jewish way of keeping the Sunday, into a low, coarse, material, voluptuous, or mere money-making abuse of it. But if we take it in time, we can cast out the Devil without calling in the aid of Beelzebub. The Past is always pregnant with the Future. The problem of the Present is the *maieutic*, to deliver the Past. If the case is treated scientifically, the labour is easy, the throes natural, and the babe is born. The dear old lady, the Past, who is mother of us all, is soon 'as well as could be expected,' and receives the congratulations of her friends, and is told how well the little sonny looks—exactly like his 'ma.' So she cossets him, nurses him up, and gives him a Christian name.

But if the case is *not* treated scientifically, the labour is long and difficult, the throes unnatural, and the sufferings atrocious ; the poor old matron must smart under the forceps, perhaps submit to the Cæsarean operation, perhaps die ; and the little monster who thus comes into the world by a matricide is himself in a sad condition, and will have a sad remembrance all his life of the fact that he killed his mother. Now I think that we can deliver the Jewish Sabbath of a fine healthy Sunday, who will remember that he comes of a Hebrew stock on one side, but that Mankind is his father, and while he labours for the human race, will never make mouths at the mother who bore him. But if the matter be delayed a few years, I think there is danger for the health of both mother and child."

The "Discourse on Matters pertaining to Religion," with a flight too wide and rapid over a vast range of thought and erudition, is a noble defence of the religiousness of our nature, with a much-needed exposure of the spiritual evils that have afflicted the world from want of faith in immediate communion with God and abandonment of our natural inheritance as born members of the kingdom of heaven. But the value of the defence is seriously impaired for all, and for minds whose sensitive and tender reverence shrinks and closes at the slightest touch of rudeness is rendered utterly ineffectual, by much extravagance of statement and by much unfeelingness of manner. Of the just offence he gave in this, and in all his writings after his rupture with his professional brethren, never before, by his rough handling of sacred things, by the intrusion of a broad and somewhat coarse humour into subjects on which farcical wit and the unrestrained play of ridicule are entirely out of place,—we shall only say here, once for all, that either he wantonly abused his great powers of satire, and for his own pleasure gave free indulgence to the contempt and scorn that were natural to the lower half of his genius, or that he was constitutionally defective in the sensibility that acquaints a man with what others hold sacred, and what is due to the reverential aspects of spiritual beliefs and Persons, into the contemplation of which intellectual error may largely enter. He trod rudely on what to others was sacred ground, which for that reason ought also to have been sacred to him at least in his treatment of it ; and either he did this in ignorance, or he did it in riot. If he

did it in ignorance, he was so far wanting in fineness of spiritual feeling; if he did it in riot, he was so far wanting in the mind of Christ. No clearness in his own intuitions could justifiably conduct to the inference that only owls and bats could not gaze directly at the light. Spiritual genius, like all other genius, should make a man more tender and gentle toward those who dimly feel for the way and grope among the shadows. He could have obtained larger acceptance for his doctrine of the religious Intuitions if he had claimed less for them, and defined their function and operation with a severer truth. He held that the spontaneous religious sentiments are competent to discover religious truth, as the scientific and æsthetic faculties are competent to achieve the wonders of art and find the dimensions of the planets. What does this amount to but the unhistorical assertion that man is competent to discover the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ? Any God that man discovers will ever be, certainly has ever been, a God made in our own image; and we come to grow into the image of God only when God discovers Himself to us. A power of reception, an organ of discernment, a faculty of spiritual judgment and understanding, is not the same thing as an instrument of Discovery; and here we think was Mr. Parker's fatal mistake that placed himself in wrong relations to Christ, and deprived him of the power of influencing multitudes who would have been open to all the truth that was in his doctrine, but who sensitively resented the wounds inflicted not only on their conventional reverence, but on their own spiritual consciousness. He, almost upbraidingly, attributed to them a religious capacity which they felt, and rightly felt, though they could not exhibit the grounds of the feeling, that they did not possess. We hold that the spiritual intuitions of man, though adequate to recognize, are not adequate to *discover* the Christian's God or to *create* Christ; and that the value of Mr. Parker's noblest works is everywhere affected by this mistake as to their natural province. His quick and marvellous organ for discerning whatever is glorious in God's world—his keen delight in beauty—his tender sympathy with Nature in her most pensive moments, or in the wavings and eddies of the skirts of her garments in retired places among woods and streamlets—his imaginative response to her delicate and creative touches—might

as well claim a power of originally *conceiving from within* the earth, the water, the sky, the atmospheric light, with all the effects they mingle to produce, if these had never been objectively presented to him, as a natural capacity for feeling, appreciating and weighing Goodness and Righteousness, an inward standard of judgment for things spiritually discerned, a hunger and thirst for the Objects of the soul, might claim a power of *developing from within* an infinite and a derived Person in whom all divine qualities absolutely and harmoniously reside, a perfect God in heaven and a perfect Man on earth.

Indeed, Mr. Parker's conception of what he calls Absolute Religion, and which he evidently regards as both a judicial corrective and an ever-growing supplement to Christianity, shews how far he was from having at any time received the only idea of Revelation that can save us from subjection to a system of dogmas, our own or of some church,—that its essence is in the power of supernatural PERSONS over the sympathetically attracted soul of man. The religious intuitions can discern, receive, enjoy, and, under the stimulus of real spiritual Persons livingly applied, grow towards the Perfection they perceive; but they cannot develop out of themselves supernatural beings, harmonize the spiritual elements in God and Man by an effort of religious genius, and give to these creations of their own, clothed with an ideal perfectness, not revealed to them but *by* them, the inspiring touch upon the soul of the living God and of the living Christ. Mr. Parker, with all his hatred for dogmas and his somewhat arrogant confidence in Absolute Religion, really leaves us at the mercy of each man's overweening reliance on his own religious sense for the discovery of spiritual completeness, and removes the yoke of Scripture and the Church, of Interpretation and Tradition, to impose what might easily become the not less positive or offensive dogmatism of Intuitionism. There is occasionally in himself as vehement an orthodoxy of the religious instincts, as absolute a confidence in his own immediate spiritual sight, not for discerning only, but for revealing, as any orthodoxy based on authority or the supposed meaning of a dead letter, whose shadowy and unsubstantial character he so powerfully exposes. Religion is too intense an interest for men not to crave divine Realities independent of their own ima-

ginations ; and we believe that God's way of meeting this want—a way which saves from both intellectual dogmatism and from subjection to the moral idiosyncrasies of individual men—was to *reveal* human nature in the person of a perfect Man, and to give personality to Himself in the image of a perfect Son. It is to the spiritual conscience of mankind that revelation presents the Heavenly Father of Christ and His holy child Jesus, trusting it to recognize the perfection it could not create. Parker would make the soul ontological, substantiating perfect God and perfect Man for itself out of its own elements and natural range of experience, instead of simply recipient and actively sympathetic when perfect God and perfect Man are by revelation brought within its view. His summary of the contents of Absolute Religion exhibits how independent he was of supernatural Persons, whose perfection was presented to him, not developed by him ; and explains how he could speak of a Christianity without Christ,—for, after all, and with an inconsistency of which he was not conscious, his own religion was a body of beliefs, of inward convictions or deductions, and not a springing of the soul towards living Persons,—Persons, we hold, unknown to the spiritual consciousness of the world until God solved the otherwise insoluble problem, and revealed those Persons in forms of life, when the Word became Flesh and dwelt amongst us. Parker, though he affirms, often enough, that Christianity is a life and not a doctrine, yet himself treats it as if it was made up of *truths*, and asks why these truths should be made to rest upon the personal authority of Jesus, and not upon their own authority? They do not rest on the authority of Jesus when once the Spirit of God has conveyed them from him to us, but his own life does rest upon himself as a real Person, and without that life the truths, historically speaking, would not have been conveyed to us at all. Absolute Religion, in his view, consisted of an intuitive conviction of the infinite perfection of God ; of the adequacy of man for all his spiritual functions ; and of such a normal development of the soul as makes immortality a fact of consciousness, a power of our natural life. Now we might accept all this, and remain in a very sad ignorance of spiritual Realities as God wills them, and as in God they are. We might have the largest faith in the infinite perfections of God, and yet have

no real knowledge of a perfect God, have no knowledge of how all perfections are, or can be, harmonized within the personality of one Spirit, and therefore really and livingly *have* no infinite Person who is perfect for our souls to commune with. We might have a religious confidence in the adequacy of man for all his spiritual functions, and be utterly incapable of intuitionally or naturally reaching the fulness of the stature of the perfect Man in Christ Jesus, whom yet all our nature owns when God presents him to us. We may have faith in Immortality because we have faith in God, feeling it to be a part of His gift in our nature and His whispers to it, and yet have no real knowledge of what that eternal life is which man shares with God in heaven. Surely if the spirit of man is our only mirror of the Spirit of God, the knowledge of what perfection is in a real man, must precede the knowledge of what infinite perfection is in an infinite Spirit; and a perfect man, as a power of divine attraction exerted on ourselves, or as a basis for our knowledge of a personal God, how could we have obtained if God had not given him to us? Surely we could not have originally supplied from within ourselves that concrete Perfection which we cannot even copy, and whose lineaments, the more we study it and strive to embody it, appear more and more transcendental and divine,—which we feel to be human, and yet at each moment, relatively to us and our goodness, to be superhuman. Theodore Parker, we think, fell into this mistake in his theology; he believed that the spiritual intuitions were capable of *supplying* to themselves, out of their natural resources and sphere of observation, the perfect Father in heaven and the perfect Son on earth, whom they are capable of *receiving* when by God supplied.—And it will not be supposed that we mean the remark to apply to him more than it does to ourselves, if we say that he might have escaped some of his characteristic errors and excesses, in thought, speech and action, if he had more reverently studied the example of spiritual symmetry in Man supplied to us by God, and rested with a less absolute confidence on the spiritual symmetry spontaneously given off from himself, always noble in its purpose and self-sacrifice, if not always complete in its discernment, in the balance of its forces and restraints, as that was.

In 1846, Mr. Parker was installed over the Twenty-eighth

Congregational Society in Boston. From that time his life was one of unsparing self-sacrifice and activity in almost every direction of human labour. From his pulpit were treated not only the ordinary topics of religion, theology and life, but every question of the day, political, municipal, biographical, social or secular, that could be brought into any ostensible connection with the conscience of the people. No important law could be enacted, no public man could die, no right of any body be threatened or invaded, no movement be made significant of the stirring of the heart of the nation towards good or towards evil, without the pulpit of the Twenty-eighth Congregation opening upon it a mighty flood of information, instruction, warning, denunciation and judgment. Many of these discourses are laborious and exhaustive treatises; and though the style of singular freedom in which they are written, and an unlimited licence in the introduction of all sorts of topics and in the use of all sorts of language, "from grave to gay, from lively to severe," relieved the toil of production by a glow of pleasurable and not always chastened excitement, they are yet great efforts of mind which few could have sustained from week to week. The fact is that no musician ever delighted more in the exercise of his art, no painter was ever happier in his studies of nature, no hunter more exhilarated by the wild speed of the chase, than Parker was kindled and borne away by a religious rhetoric which whilst it tasked and exalted his highest nature, admitted freely and unfastidiously the diversion and play of every faculty he had. There was no part of his nature put under restraint while he was preparing for the pulpit. A mind naturally fertile and suggestive, with a wide range of human sympathy, with a conscience deep, earnest and quickly moved, with large stores of knowledge and a lively play of fancy and imagination,—if only all rules of conventional decorum are removed,—wit, humour, satire and personality, deemed lawful spiritual implements,—indignation, moral wrath, horror produced by graphic details, hot scorn, contempt, smiles and even laughter, considered in their turn as legitimate effects of sacred oratory as the awe of aspiration, or the tears of gratitude, compassion or shame,—may readily come to riot in the enjoyment of pulpit power, and confident through habitual success to collect and sharpen

its weapons with perpetual zest. Preaching of this kind, in which any part of his nature might freely speak as it was moved, always in a good cause and for a good end, was an intense enjoyment to Mr. Parker. It is probable that the secular building in which he preached, with its vast miscellaneous audience, with their free and easy manner, their reading of books and newspapers before the service commenced, and the frequent slamming of forty-two doors, contributed largely to emancipate him from ecclesiastical restraint; and though there were some persons of cultivation among his regular hearers, there are frequent indications that the mass of the congregation was composed of those who would enjoy, if not require, plain speaking, lively treatment, homely illustration, personal thrusts and broad effects. But Mr. Parker exercised his immense immediate popularity at the expense of his permanent usefulness and fame. By far the greater number of his sermons cannot live; they want the pure and severe form that alone can protect the essence of truth and beauty; and with all their generous ardour, lofty piety, impassioned appeals, and sweet strains of tender feeling, they are at the best but Speeches of the Day. Such speeches of the day, indeed, no other man could make; and we believe it was a part of his conscientious service to make this sacrifice of himself for the sake of the pressing lesson of the time, that he should do the work of the hour, and let his whole stroke fall where it was instantly needed. There is a singular illustration in a letter to his people from Santa Cruz, when laid aside by illness, unhappily for ever, of his habitual delight in preaching, and of the multifarious experiences that furnished him with materials to be wrought up into sermons.

"Sermons are never out of my mind; and when sickness brings on me the consciousness that I have nought to do, its most painful part, still by long habit all things will take this form; and the gorgeous vegetation of the tropics, their fiery skies so brilliant all the day, and star-lit too with such exceeding beauty all the night; the glittering fishes in the market, as many-coloured as a gardener's show, these Josephs of the sea; the silent pelicans, flying forth at morning and back again at night; the strange, fantastic trees, the dry pods rattling their historic bones all day, while the new bloom comes fragrant out beside, a noiseless prophecy; the ducks rejoicing in the long-expected rain; a negro

on an ambling pad ; the slender-legged, half-naked negro children in the street, playing their languid games, or oftener screaming 'neath their mothers' blows, amid black swine, hens, and uncounted dogs ; the never-ceasing clack of women's tongues, more shrewd than female in their shrill violence ; the unceasing, multifarious kindness of our hostess, and, over-towering all, the self-sufficient West-Indian Creole pride, alike contemptuous of toil, and ignorant and impotent of thought—all these common things turn into poetry as I look on or am compelled to hear, and then transfigure into Sermons, which come also spontaneously by night and give themselves to me, and even in my sleep say they are meant for you."

But Theodore Parker was no mere rhetorician : his deeds were braver than his words. He was cast in the mould of a Hebrew Prophet, of Elijah or the Baptist, terrible in speech and resolute in act. From the year 1845 till his death, he was the Accuser of his nation for each downward step in the guilt of its complicity with Slavery, and the clear-sighted prophet of the retributions that were near at hand. Wickedness, wickedness ! Woe, woe ! was the burden that for fourteen years he was ever rolling off his heart in every form of utterance. His speeches, sermons, letters, during this period are, we should think, the richest storehouse in the language of the eloquence of rebuke, of invective, denunciation, the direct imputation of sin to public and to private persons, of indignant pleadings for the natural rights of man. He was full of tenderness in his private relations for the failings and weaknesses of men if there were evidences of grace and repentance ; but wherever public wrong appeared, wherever connivance with Slavery shewed its face, Christianity had for him but one attitude and one voice towards the American people, "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites !" He spared no one who ever faltered for a moment in this holy war ; his own dearest friends, those who had ventured most in the Anti-slavery cause, were sharply challenged if at any time, when he looked for them to act or speak, they disappointed his expectation. He assumed to himself, indeed, the office of reproving every one who failed, and of personally thanking every one who did his duty, in this great struggle. There are private letters to public persons with whom often he had no acquaintance—senators, representatives, governors

and presidents—of grateful eulogy, or of stinging rebuke, for their conduct in this matter, which, however just in sentiment, would in this country be considered as extremely unbecoming. He always, however, remembered with shame, and confessed with ingenuous sorrow, that one of his own first acts in life was a weak concession, against his better conscience, to the inhumanity of the prevailing prejudice against people of colour. When he first opened a school in Watertown, "he consented to dismiss, in deference to the objections of some of his patrons," a coloured girl to whom he was generously giving a free education: he was twenty-two years of age at this time. The mortification of this remembrance ought, perhaps, to have killed something of his asperity to the lapsed; but he never sought to conceal or to excuse his own early fall. He wiped out the shame, as St. Paul did, by the sacrifice of his own life. Against Slavery he fought in every battle, and sought every post of labour or of danger. Against the annexation of Texas, against the Mexican war, against the Fugitive Slave Bill, and its cruel consequences when it became an Act, against the disgraceful repeal of the Missouri Compromise by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, against the destructive judgments of the Supreme Court, leaving no spot in all the States where the chains fell from the slave, against participation, official or unofficial, in these base betrayals of the constitutional principles of the Union and of the prescriptions of Freedom, he contended with every weapon of which God had given him the use, stopping short only of bodily force, which against lawful authority he could not advocate, except in the case of a man employing any needful violence to recover his liberty or to resist being consigned to slavery. When two of his own parishioners, William and Ellen Craft, were claimed as slaves, he concealed them at his own risk, provided for their safe transit to Canada, and, as they had no legal certificate of marriage, before he parted with them he united them with these rites, the strangest, perhaps, that ever a Christian minister religiously employed:

"I told them what I usually tell all bridegrooms and brides. Then I told Mr. Craft that their position demanded peculiar duties of him. He was an outlaw; there was no law which protected his liberty in the United States; for that, he must

depend on the public opinion of Boston, and on himself. If a man attacked him, intending to return him to slavery, he had a right, a natural right, to resist the man unto death ; but he might refuse to exercise that right for *himself*, if he saw fit, and suffer himself to be reduced to slavery rather than kill or even hurt the slave-hunter who should attack him. But his *wife* was dependent on him for protection ; it was his duty to protect her, a duty which it seemed to me he could not decline. So I charged him, if the worst came to the worst, to defend the life and the liberty of his wife against any slave-hunter at all hazards, though in so doing he dug his own grave and the grave of a thousand men.

"Then came the marriage ceremony ; then a prayer such as the occasion inspired. Then I noticed a *Bible* lying on one table, and a sword on the other ; I saw them when I first came into the house, and determined what use to make of them. I took the Bible, put it into William's right hand, and told him the use of it. It contained the noblest truths in the possession of the human race, it was an instrument he was to use to help to save his own soul and his wife's soul—and charged him to use it for its purpose. I then took the *sword* (it was a Californian knife, I never saw such an one before, and am not well skilled in such things) ; I put that in his right hand, and told him if the worst came to the worst to use that to save his wife's liberty, or her life, if he could effect it in no other way. I told him that I hated violence, that I revered the sacredness of human life, and thought there was seldom a case in which it was justifiable to take it ; that if he could save his wife's liberty in no other way, then this would be one of the cases, and as a *Minister of Religion* I put into his hands these two dissimilar instruments, one for the body if need were—one for his soul at all events. Then I charged him not to use it except at the last extremity, to bear no harsh or revengeful feelings against those who once held him in bondage, or such as sought to make him and his wife slaves even now. 'Nay,' I said, 'if you cannot use the sword in defence of your wife's liberty without hating the man you strike, then your action will not be without sin.'"

And when he had done this, he announced what he had done in a letter to the President of the United States, from which this is an extract :

"William Craft and Ellen were parishioners of mine : they have been at my house. I married them a fortnight ago this day : after the ceremony I put a Bible and then a sword into William's hands, and told him the use of each. When the slave-hunters were here, suppose I had helped the man to escape out

of their hands ; suppose I had taken the woman to my own house, and sheltered her there till the storm had blown by ; should *you* think I did a thing worthy of fine and imprisonment ? If I took all *peaceful* measures to thwart the kidnappers, legal kidnappers, of their prey, would that be a thing for punishment ? You cannot think that I am to stand by and see my own church carried off to slavery and do nothing to hinder such a wrong.

"I am not a man who loves violence ; I respect the sacredness of human life ; but this I say, solemnly, that I will do all in my power to rescue any fugitive slave from the hands of any officer who attempts to return him to bondage. I will resist him as gently as I know how, but with such strength as I can command ; I will ring the bells and alarm the town ; I will serve, as head, as foot, or as hand, to any body of serious and earnest men who will go with me, with no weapons but their hands, in this work. I will do it as readily as I would lift a man out of the water, or pluck him from the teeth of a wolf, or snatch him from the hands of a murderer. What is a fine of a thousand dollars, and gaoling for six months, to the liberty of a man ? My money perish with me if it stand between me and the eternal law of God !"

When he was arrested on a charge of using language at a public meeting provocative of an unlawful attempt to rescue Anthony Burns, claimed as a slave, he declared his intention of conducting his own cause, and prepared a Defence which every aider and abettor of the Fugitive Slave Law must have rejoiced that the withdrawal of the indictment gave him no opportunity of speaking. While awaiting his trial, he wrote these words in his journal, on the last day of the year 1854 :

"O Thou Spirit who rulest the universe, seeing the end from the beginning, I thank Thee for the opportunities of usefulness which the last year afforded, for all the manifold delights which have clustered round my consciousness. But how little have I done, how little grown ! Inspire me to do more, and become nobler, in the purpose, motive, method of my life. Help me to resist new temptations, and do the new duties which the year brings with it. I know not what a day shall bring forth—honour or shame, perhaps a gaol. Help me every where to be faithful to Thee. So may I love and serve my brethren more. Yet still may I love my enemies, even as Thou sendest rain on the just and on the unjust !"*

* We unwillingly refer to matters of taste, but this example of Mr. Parker's prayers leads us to remark that his habitual practice of addressing God as "Our

He saw with that prevision of the prophets, which was not prediction but spiritual insight and foresight, the terrible evils which Southern slavery and Northern concession must bring upon the country. No one else so clearly anticipated the actual course of events.

In 1851, he writes thus :

"I think if the Slave power continue to press their demand as they have for a few years past, that there will be a civil war, which will either decide the Union or else extirpate Slavery."

In 1854, he writes thus in relation to the sympathies of the American Government and people with Russia, as against England, in the Crimean War :

"The North takes little interest in the European struggle, except so far as it raises the price of American produce,—and cares not who conquers, or who is conquered, so long as we can make money by it. Everything is dear, everybody making money; what do we care for besides? The South takes side with Russia. Alone of all Europe she never found fault with American Slavery; she sympathizes with us. This is what the Southern journals have said openly all winter long. We must have a dreadful chastisement one day. I suppose it will come from our towns, from civil war."

In 1856, when the election of President was impending, Buchanan and Fremont being the candidates, he writes thus :

"Now I think that Fremont will be chosen on the 4th Nov., and then that the South will prepare to break up the Union, for

Father and our Mother" was more than bad taste, it was a defect in spiritual insight and judgment. We are sorry to find Miss Cobbe, in her edition of his *Collected Works*, defending this compound name for God; for its disownment and rejection is the kind of service that a philosophical and spiritual woman might with good effect have rendered to religious criticism. Surely the feeling that to know all the tenderness and graciousness of God we must call Him "Mother" as well as "Father," is at the very root of the Endeavour after Divine Worship that decked the inflammable altars of Santiago. We doubt not that God mercifully had regard unto the sacrifice of every pure and believing heart among the two thousand women there consigned to death; but not the Trinity only, the sinless Mother too, as a fourth Person in the Godhead, would be required, if "Our Father who art in Heaven" is not enough to express the fulness of Love as of Holiness. Miss Cobbe strangely asserts that an objection to call God our Mother is the remnant of a miserable asceticism: it is the Name, not the objection to the Name, that in Christian times must be referred to an ascetic origin. The Orphic Hymn said, "Zeus is Male and Female." To Christ, FATHER was the Name for Him in whom *all* Perfections dwell.

if he succeeds then Slavery is checked, and with it that wicked filibustering policy which has disgraced the nation, and gladdened the South so long. All this the South knows: the present administration continues in power till March 4, 1857, and it is quite friendly to the worst designs of the South. So it will allow the Slave power to take all the steps preliminary to a dissolution when Fremont comes into office."—"If Buchanan is elected, I don't believe the Union holds out three years."

Exactly what he had anticipated, even to the treason of the President and his Ministers, came to pass, only four years later.

In 1857, when a dissolution of the Union was projected by some of the despairing Anti-slavery party, he writes thus:

"I am glad to see any sign of manhood in the North, and I think a fire in the rear of some of our Republican members of Congress will do them no harm. But I do not myself desire a dissolution of the Union just now. Here is the reason. The North is seventeen millions strong; and the South contains eleven millions, whereof four millions are slaves, and four millions are 'poor whites.' Now, I don't think it quite right for the powerful North to back out of the Union, and leave the four millions poor whites, and the four millions slaves, to their present condition, with the ghastly consequences which are sure to follow. Men talk a great deal about the compromises of the Constitution, but forget the *guarantees* of the Constitution. The very article which contains the ambiguous 'Rendition clause,' has also these plain words, 'The United States shall guarantee a republican form of government to every State in the Union.' Now I would perform that obligation before I dissolved the Union. I don't think it would have been quite fair for strong-minded Moses to stay in Midian keeping his sheep and junketing with his neighbours. No. So the Lord said unto him, Down into Egypt with you; meet Pharaoh face to face, and bring up all Israel into the land I shall give you.—No, Sir; the North must do well by those four millions of slaves and those four millions of 'poor whites.' We must bring the mixed multitude even out of the inner house of bondage, peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must."

Though it may not be possible to approve of Mr. Parker's judgment in all his Anti-slavery action—as when he engaged to furnish John Brown with means and yet to be in ignorance of his objects and his methods—yet it is impos-

sible not to see in him the magnanimity of an heroic and far-sighted man, ready to sacrifice his dearest pursuits, and even life itself, in the cause of humanity,—impossible not to mourn that at this moment his nation has no teacher comparable to him in purity and power.

The extent, variety and minute carefulness of Mr. Parker's labours must put to shame less conscientious men. He read more than many who make study the sole employment of their life ; he sought rare and valuable books with the ardour of a collector, and on an income drained by the large charity that desires to help wherever the need is seen. He became a public lecturer, for the last eleven years of his life lecturing on an average a hundred times a year, often at great distances from home, with much suffering from fatigue, with want of sleep and proper food, that he might provide the means for this beneficence. He was a pastor, a friend among his people ready at every call, with as much devotion of heart and time to any occasion of sympathy or of usefulness as though he bore none of the burdens of the scholar, the preacher, the philanthropist. "He used to say that the parochial relation taxed him more heavily than all his work, and that the more closely he held it the more he was convinced that it was work for a genius ; to take a fluttering heart into the hand and calm its fears, to soothe its agonizing throbs, to penetrate the soul's wild weather with serene confidence and the warmth of personal feeling, to make the distracted mind resume or begin its faith in the Infinite Perfection at the very moment when finite imperfection was most palpable ; all this was business for angelic powers. But it was essential to his highest success, and to the affectionate cultivation of a true idea of God, and he never slighted it." His Correspondence exhibits the pains, the tenderness, the minute thoughtfulness and care, with which he sustained these relations of a pastor and a friend. He was trusted and consulted by all kinds of men and women on all kinds of interests, and many of his letters are models of wise and delicate counsel. How intimate these confidences were, will appear from a passage of a letter, strangely perhaps selected for publication, to a highly accomplished woman :

"But you remember that as Christian tranquillity is the fairest and the costliest fruit on the Christian stem, so it is the last that

matures. Even Paul, great-minded and deep-hearted as he was, could not find it till old age. Paul the *aged* alone could say, 'I *have fought* the good fight.' Even if you are not yet triumphant, I know that you will be. The human will is strong and excellent, but not the strongest nor most excellent; when perfectly coincident with the will of God, I suppose, we are not conscious of any *personal* will. Then the Infinite flows through us and we are blessed. Why should not you be egotistical in your letters? It would grieve me if you were not. Do not fear, in the name of all that is good, to tell me of your sorrows. I know by very bitter experience that the full heart finds comfort in communing with others, in telling its sorrows even to one who can only mingle kindred tears, but cannot stay them except with compassion and deeper love. I cannot 'wonder' at your sorrow; I only wonder that you bear it; that you do not faint beneath the cross. This disappointment is truly the greatest. Love is its own reward, but when changed to a different feeling, to one almost *opposite*, there is nothing but Christian faith that can bear it. Oh, the depth of the human heart that can suffer, and suffer, and still live on!"

What can be better, or in its way more beautiful, than this breeze of healthy life wafted towards a simple girl who had looked to him for strength in some heart sorrow? We say nothing of the subject matter of the correspondence; but that being granted, the letter is inimitably good.

"When your letter came to me I was too tired to do anything, but yet obliged to do much; and since I have had no time to write any answer. Now I have a moment of leisure while steaming down the Hudson, and write with a pencil as you see, and not a pen, for the convenience of the thing.

"I shan't *scold* you, having small belief in the good effect of that method of procedure; but I think you quite unreasonable in your unhappiness. Why, really, it is wicked for a fine, healthy, rosy-cheeked young maiden, with bright eyes and a good appetite, to be unhappy or sad in circumstances like yours. Think a moment how well you are situated. Father and mother rather over-fond of their only daughter; brothers whom you love, while they return the feeling; a congenial and useful occupation, wherein you learn while you teach; and a world of life before you, where you may shape your course as you like, at least very much as you like.

"I would disdain to be unhappy, but would chase off and put to utter rout all thoughts of melancholy. You have read too many works of a romantic and foolish character, and the mind like the hand gets 'subdued to what it works in,' or even *plays*

with continually. I think it is not grateful to allow such dreary feelings as you seem to cherish, if not cultivate.

"Your school will soon begin once more, and I trust you will cast all these complainings to the wind. By-and-by you will find some worthy young man of good principles, good habits, and with a hearty love for you, and then you will wonder you could ever have constructed so great a winter out of a cloud which hung only in your own fancy. But if this should not happen, and I make no doubt it will and *hope* it will, yet you have resources enough within yourself to make you happy. I would not be a piece of last-night hanging in the house, but rather a good piece of a bright to-day, spreading warmth and light all around. I would devote a considerable part of my leisure to the domestic duties of home, would be skilful in all housework, and famous for making *good bread*: the actual plain duties of life are the best outward medicine for the unreal romantic woes of our day-dreams."

With all these human interests and professional occupations, he had a love for universal knowledge, and, if he had cultivated it, what might have proved a genius for natural history. With every one around him eminent in science or literature he was in intimate relations, especially with foreigners, who often gave him opportunity of gratifying together his love of knowledge and his love of cheering the depressed hearts of men. In a letter to a scientific friend, Professor Desor, to whom Mr. Parker was warmly attached, and with whom he spent at his house in Switzerland a happy part of the last year of life, he mentions a remarkable instance of philosophic generalization by a very young child. "From my earliest recollections I have always had a tendency to make general rules and find out universal laws. I remember one example, when I was not quite seven years old. I looked over the lichens on a rock, and the rein-deer moss which grew close by it, and the huckleberry bushes, and then at the nut-trees, which were not far off, and said, 'Here, now, is a regular ascent,—the rock, the lichen, the moss, the grass, the bush, the tree; and it is so everywhere.' I went in and told my mother of my discovery of the scale of things, from the rock to the tree."

No one who looks at his Correspondence and Journals, and sees in how many directions his strength and sympathy were given, and how indeed he threw his life away in the ardour of his pursuits, will be unprepared for the appearance and development of consumption, a disease fatal to his

family. Exposure to cold and hunger on long journeys by ill-managed railways for days and nights, and some strange inhospitalities, with his restless spirit of service and insatiable appetite for work, hastened the end. We shall not linger over the melancholy details. On Sunday morning, January 9th, 1859, this most touching note was read to his congregation, awaiting the appearance of their great preacher in his accustomed place.

"WELL-BELOVED AND LONG-TRIED FRIENDS,—I shall not speak to you to-day ; for this morning, a little after four o'clock, I had a slight attack of bleeding in the lungs or throat. I intended to preach on 'The Religion of Jesus and the Christianity of the Church ; or the Superiority of Goodwill to Man over Theological Fancies.'

"I hope you will not forget the contribution for the poor, whom we have with us always. I don't know when I shall again look upon your welcome faces, which have so often cheered my spirit when my flesh was weak.

"May we do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with our God, and His blessing will be upon us here and hereafter ; for His infinite love is with us for ever and ever !"

He went to Santa Cruz, seeking healing, and thence to Europe, which he had visited before in 1843, when shattered in his first conflict, hurt and wounded by his brethren. After various alternations at Switzerland and in Rome, he was with difficulty taken to Florence, that he might not die in a land cursed by ecclesiastical oppression. He had strength only to reach his bed, never more to quit it. For some days the soul seemed flitting near the body before it finally left it. "I have something to tell you—there are two Theodore Parkers now. One is dying here in Italy, the other I have planted in America. He will live there, and finish my work." His heart was visiting his friends with the tenderest expressions of affection, and with fever fits of impatience to go back to them : "When is that vessel going—will it not go soon ?" He took a strange interest in bears, and "Bearsie" was his form of that coinage of love in which wedded hearts delight. When his wife in those days expressed fear lest speaking should injure him, he would say, "Oh, it does not hurt me to talk bear talk." On the 10th of May, 1860, he passed onwards ; and on the 13th, an old friend, an American clergyman, by Mr. Parker's

own desire, read the Beatitudes over his grave in the Protestant cemetery.

When Mr. Parker first visited Europe in 1843, it happened to the writer of these lines to see him immediately after his arrival in England. He presented himself as one who was uncertain of his reception. When asked to preach, he said with a pained expression, "Are you quite aware of what I am, and of how I am regarded by my brethren at home?" When assured that everything respecting him, his position, his writings, and his treatment, was fully known, his whole manner changed. And preach he did, with a rare richness and fulness of spiritual life and beauty, in a style of simplicity that bore no resemblance to his later pulpit speeches. One of the oldest and staidest of his hearers remarked, "He is a devout man." It might have been the sermon that made the prejudiced old lady who once heard him, without knowing who he was, utter the ardent wish, "Oh that that infidel, Theodore Parker, could have heard that!" He said then, in 1843, that he regarded his polemical work as finished, and that he meant the remainder of his life to be devoted to the preaching of pure Christianity and the writing of a History of Religion. Alas! he did not know the warfare with practical evil and with national sins that was to take the gentle sweetness from his face, and give the lion-look to his later portraits!

The year after his death the writer stood by his tomb. Heavy in structure and sombre in colour, it contrasts gloomily with the white marble and tender designs of the monuments around; but in all things else his last resting-place is perfect. Nowhere has this earth a more spiritual look. The "firmament," the "blue ethereal sky," is there indeed a "frame" for God, bringing near to sense the height and depth of infinite Love and Purity. Tall, slender cypresses, seeming not real but mystical trees, spring upwards in shapes of flame, as burning in the sun. The stainless light transfigures ordinary life and feeling. The ground slopes towards the embracing Apennines. Directly opposite, Fiesole, itself a monument, hangs on the mountain's side. Galileo could not look on Florence without letting his eye rest where Parker sleeps. Behind, within the walls, near and visible, is whatever speaks most of Savonarola—the Convent of St. Mark—the Cathedral Dome beneath which the great

Preacher, he too claiming for his pulpit universal dominion, purified the heart of the assembled city—the spectral Tower that looks down as with an evil human face, a priest's scowl, on the cavernous square where he gave his body to be burned. The great-hearted American, consumed in spiritual sacrifice, rests in “that piece of heaven fallen to earth,” with on either side of him the memorials of Italy's Confessors, the Martyr of Science and the Martyr of Faith. Where could a religious and moral Reformer more fitly lay down his body worn out by his zeal for the honour of God!

IV.—KENRICK'S BIBLICAL ESSAYS.

Biblical Essays. By Rev. John Kenrick, M.A., F.S.A.
London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green.
1864.

WE cordially hail Mr. Kenrick's appearance in the field of Biblical Criticism. Our only regret is, that with his great and accurate learning and his consummate judgment, he should have contributed so little during a long life, at least with his name and in a permanent form, to a branch of inquiry which has hitherto been so imperfectly cultivated, and to which recent events are daily giving new interest and importance. Thoroughly versed in the science of antiquity, acute, unprejudiced, and cautious almost to a fault, he is one to whose decision on obscure and controverted points we always listen with profound respect; and even where we are unable to acquiesce in his conclusions, his reasons invariably possess so much weight and are stated with such precision and clearness, that we dissent from him with a certain diffidence. Whenever he adopts views, as it will be seen that he occasionally does, which to the majority of even liberal theologians in this country wear a bold and startling aspect, we may be quite sure that this has not arisen in his case from any morbid love of novelties or passion for wild speculation, but from the submission which an understanding eminently judicial is compelled to yield

to overpowering evidence, and from the allegiance which an honest mind feels that it owes to truth above all things. The Essays contained in this little volume are a reprint of articles which have appeared from time to time in the pages of periodical publications. "In all important points," we are informed, "they remain the same;" but they have undergone a careful revision, and in their present form they exhibit the writer's matured and final views on the subjects of which they treat. They are on "the Gospel of Mark," which the author regards as "the Protevangelium;" on "the True Nature of the Gift of Tongues;" and on "St. Paul's Designation of the Athenians," Acts xvii. 22. The last-mentioned Essay is one of the happiest applications of classical scholarship to the elucidation of a passage of Scripture that we ever remember to have read. The learning is copious and varied, but never foreign to the point at issue. We confess we are of the number of those who do not consider classical scholars, as such, to be the best interpreters of the New Testament. The whole tone of thought and feeling, and the corresponding forms of expression, which distinguish the Hellenistic Greek, are so radically different from anything that is to be met with in the great models of pagan literature, that the most intimate familiarity with the latter, taken by itself, is rather a disqualification than a help towards penetrating into the spirit of the former. It is impossible to transfer exegetical rules which are applicable to the one, directly and without large qualification to the other. The transforming energy of the new ideas brought into the Hellenic tongue by Christianity, combined with the remoter influence of Hebrew idioms through the medium of the Septuagint, created a terminology so peculiar, that a Greek from Athens could hardly have understood the language of Paul without previous instruction; and a scholar acquainted only with the productions of Attic genius must find himself equally at fault.* It is observable, indeed, that the earliest heathen converts came precisely from the class where such preparation had been made—from the devout

* The influence of religious ideas in moulding the Greek language into a new form, has been well developed by Von Zetzeschwitz in his very acute and ingenious disquisition, *Profangrécitüt und biblischer Sprachgeist: eine Vorlesung über die biblische Umbildung hellenischer Begriffe, besonders der psychologischen*. Leipzig, 1859. Winer, in his *Grammar of New-Testament Greek*,

Gentiles who worshiped in the synagogues, and were familiar with the Messianic hopes of the Hebrew Scriptures through the Greek version. A large portion of the classical citations with which Wetstein has so richly garnished the margin of his Greek Testament, is altogether superfluous for the purposes of the interpreter. Some of Gilbert Wakefield's renderings and criticisms are open to objection, as being governed too much by the analogies of classical usage. Of course we do not mean to question the unspeakable advantage, or rather the indispensable necessity, of thorough classical culture to the biblical student, provided he does not trust to that culture alone, but fully understands the distinction between the Hellenic and the Hellenistic diction; for contrast will bring out more completely the peculiar genius of each. But then the distinction and the contrast must be constantly kept in view; and the biblical critic must not neglect the special studies which will render him fully aware what they are. The present volume furnishes abundant proofs how thoroughly both these branches of philological study have been cultivated by the author. In the Essay under notice, the point to be determined—in what sense Paul called the Athenians *δυσδαίμονες*—was one that turned directly on classical usage and required the evidence of classical authorities. In our judgment, Mr. Kenrick has shewn unanswerably that King James's translators were right in rendering the word, "superstitious" rather than "religious," as some critics have suggested; and that the force of the original would have been still more accurately expressed, if they had given it as "rather superstitious," instead of "too superstitious."

We cannot assent so entirely to the views put forth in the second Essay, on the Gift of Tongues. The negative side of his argument the author has, we think, completely established,—that this gift, whatever it might be, was certainly not, as is commonly supposed, the miraculous power of speaking foreign languages. In suggesting its probable nature and origin, he does not appear to us to have been equally successful. We differ from him, at the outset, as

appears to us, in his spirit of reaction against the extreme Hebraists of a former generation, rather to underrate the effect of Hebrew on Hellenistic Greek, and to make undue effort to reduce the forms of the latter to the analogies of Attic usage.

to the proper order of the inquiry. There can be no doubt that 1 Cor. xii.—xiv., and Acts ii 1—13, x. 46 and xix. 6, contain allusions to one and the same phenomenon of tongues. But where do we get the earliest and truest account of it—in the epistle or in the history? Mr. Kenrick sets out from the record of events on the day of Pentecost in Acts ii, and founds a good deal of his reasoning on circumstances supposed to be implied in that record. It is true, he subsequently goes to the church at Corinth for the facts which he believes gave occasion to the belief in a spiritual gift of tongues, and so uses the evidence furnished by the epistle for explaining the narrative exhibited by the history. But he employs the evidence—so at least we understand him—whether yielded by the Epistle or by the history, as of the same quality, without a sufficient discrimination of the different character impressed on the two parts of it by diversity of date and origin. We know the date of the first epistle to the Corinthians; we know its author; we know that he wrote from personal experience and observation; and we have in his words the earliest and most authentic account of the phenomenon in question. On the other hand, we do not know when the book of Acts was written, and what materials its author was possessed of for framing all the parts of his history. We only know that he must have written after Paul, and sufficiently long after him to have allowed the traditionary account of the gift of tongues to have acquired the legendary character which Mr. Kenrick admits it had already assumed in the narrative of Acts. It seems to us, therefore, the most likely course for ascertaining what this phenomenon was, to confine our attention in the first instance to the statements in 1 Cor. xii.—xiv. (for there is no distinct allusion in the epistles to its appearance anywhere but at Corinth); and afterwards inquire how the original idea was subsequently modified by the legendary accretions of the history. Mr. Kenrick supposes that the historical fact at the bottom of the assumed gift of tongues was this: that in the church at Corinth, connected as that city was by its double port and wide-extended commerce with all parts of the earth, there were converts from various countries speaking along with their bad Greek their several native dialects; that these persons in the public assemblies of the Christians,

overpowered by their religious feelings, often broke out into fervent prayers and ejaculations in their own language; and that these strange utterances, combined with the intensity of spiritual feeling which gave them birth, left a profound impression on the bystanders, and as they only manifested themselves under the influence of strong devotion, led to the belief that they were a special spiritual gift. Such outpourings of wild piety in a barbarous dialect, unless kept under control, would necessarily occasion disorder and confusion in the church, and required an interpreter to make them of any use to edification. Paul, who from his superior education and wider journeyings was acquainted with more languages than the other members of the church, might justly say: "I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all." This, in substance, is Mr. Kenrick's solution of the gift of tongues. It is conducted with his characteristic clearness and solidity of thought. But with all its ingenuity we cannot say that it appears to us to exhaust the question, or to satisfy the most important conditions of the case. Looking simply at what lies before us in 1 Cor. xii.—xiv., as an account of phenomena exhibited by a society in a high state of religious excitement, we find it difficult to believe, that by *γίνη γλωσσῶν* can be intended nothing more than the use of their native dialects by certain members of the church, even though it were a strong devotional impulse which caused them to recur to their vernacular speech, and to drop the sort of *Lingua Franca* which they ordinarily used in their intercourse with Greeks. This in itself we do not deny was natural. But then the gift lay specifically in the *γλώσσα*, not in the *πνεῦμα* which it shared in common with other gifts (xii. 11); and the *γλώσσα* must from the context have meant something more singular, and limited to the time, than the exercise of a natural endowment under high religious excitement. For it is placed towards the end of the enumeration of spiritual gifts, in immediate connection with *χαρίσματα λαμάτων*, with *ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων*, with *προφητεία* and with *διακρίσεις πνευμάτων*. Besides, were we to admit that it was religious fervour which exalted the use of a native tongue into a spiritual gift, this explanation will hardly suffice for *ἐρμηνεία*, which, if it merely signify the rendering of a barbarous dialect into Greek, would re-

quire little but an exercise of memory without any religious emotion, and yet is here placed (xii. 10, 30), though last, still in the list of spiritual gifts. The disparaging comparison of γλῶσσαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων with ἀγάπη, surely implies a higher sense, in the first conjunction of these words, than the barbaric dialects that are spoken in various parts of the world, as distinguished from the supposed language of angelic beings ; and when Paul proceeds in the same chapter (xiii. 6) to speak of the final consummation of the kingdom of God in love, accompanied by the cessation of prophecies, *tongues* and knowledge, we find it next to impossible to believe, that this mysterious gift, placed as it is here between two of the most exalted functions of the church on earth, could imply nothing more remarkable and out of the ordinary course of events, than a man's ability to express his religious emotions "in his own tongue wherein he was born." It is noticeable, that throughout this description the word γλῶσσα or γλῶσσαι occurs by itself without any accompanying epithet, except xiv. 21, where the sense of Isaiah xxviii. 11, is loosely rendered by ἐτερογλώσσοις—as if some specific meaning were felt to attach to the word ; and though in Acts ii. 11, it is used as the equivalent of διαλέκτος, ii. 6, yet it is rather surprising, if it denoted no more than the fact of men's speaking their native languages, the more familiar and appropriate word διαλέκτος should never once have been employed. For we presume it will not be disputed, that at the time when the New Testament was written, the word γλῶσσα had acquired a peculiar signification and was constantly used to express forms of speech that were strange, antiquated and obscure. Neander (Kirch. Gesch. i. 583) has cited a curious passage from Plutarch (de Pythiæ Oraculis, c. 24), where the enigmatical utterances of the ancient oracles are called γλῶσσαι. There was evidently something ecstatic in the working of this gift, which carried a person for the time out of himself, and rendered him insensible to the external world. It was a rapt colloquy with himself and with God (xiv. 28), which only those who were in a kindred state of mind could follow and comprehend, and render into a phrase intelligible to the multitude. As contrasted with the gift of prophecy—in regard to which it is expressly said (xiv. 32) that "the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets"

—it would seem to have been a power over which, if a person gave way to it, he soon ceased to have any control. In the early meetings of the Methodists similar phenomena manifested themselves, which tended to excess and extravagance, and required to be checked and controlled by the decided authority of Wesley. Opposed to this state of absorbing rapture, which was transitory and simply marked the passage into a higher spiritual life, was the calm prophetic utterance of divine truth “by the understanding” (διὰ τοῦ νοός). This was designed to endure for the perpetual edification of the church; and hence the great weight and significance of Paul’s words (xiv. 19), “In church I would rather speak five words with my understanding, that I may instruct others also, than ten thousand words in a tongue.” Believers who had already passed through this ecstatic crisis, did not need the evidence of such phenomena to convince them of the reality of the new life brought into the soul by Christian faith. What they required was tranquil and continuous edification. But it was otherwise with unbelievers, men in a state of rude, worldly animalism, living “without God in the world” (Eph. ii. 12). For such, the spectacle of a fellow-being, whom they had known perhaps under other circumstances, wholly absorbed in God and rendered indifferent by that awful consciousness to all the objects of the outer world, might furnish the only evidence which they could yet receive, that faith in Christ involved a real and mysterious change in man’s inmost being. We have heard an aged friend speak of the awful impression produced on him, when a boy, in a crowded meeting-house, by the sight of John Wesley in prayer. Though too distant to hear a word that fell from the lips, yet the trembling hands outspread in devotion, and the rolling of the sightless eyeballs as they were upturned to heaven, seemed instinct with religious fervour and imparted a contagious sympathy which did not soon pass away.

In the two passages of Acts, where “tongues” are mentioned among the gifts of the Spirit which announced or followed conversion, we do not find any confirmation of Mr. Kenrick’s interpretation of *γλῶσσαι*. Just before Peter administered baptism to Cornelius and his household (Acts x. 44—46), the Jewish believers were astonished to find the Holy Spirit poured out on Gentiles, “for they heard

them speak with tongues, and magnify God." "Speaking with tongues" is here made a distinct act from "magnifying God." It was a gift by itself. If nothing more had been intended in this description, than that Cornelius and his family began to praise God in Latin (for Greek was the ordinary vehicle of Christian devotion, and any other language is here out of the question), the words seem strangely selected to convey that meaning. The same remark applies even more strongly to the account of the baptism of certain disciples of John at Ephesus (xix. 1—6). When Paul had laid his hands on them, the Spirit descended, and they "spake with tongues, and prophesied." Here, as in 1 Cor. xii.—xiv., tongues and prophesying are distinct gifts. Whether these men were Hellenistic or (as is probable, from their being disciples of John) Palestinian Jews, there was no opportunity for the use of different dialects. In the one case they must have spoken Greek; in the other, the popular Aramæan. Should it be urged, that at the time when these passages were written, "tongues," which in the first instance simply indicated the use of different dialects in praising God, had acquired the character of a specific gift miraculously attesting the presence of the Holy Spirit, we are willing to admit the force of the remark as far as these passages in Acts are concerned; but it does not apply to 1 Cor. xii.—xiv., where *γλῶσσαι* is used by Paul to denote the phenomenon in its earliest manifestation; and the evidence furnished by him proves, in our judgment, decidedly, that whatever may have been involved in that extraordinary gift, it never could have suggested to Paul the marked and peculiar language which he employs respecting it, if it had merely represented the fact, that in the church of Corinth there were believers speaking different languages, and that these languages in moments of religious excitement became the spontaneous vehicle of their devout raptures.

Rejecting Mr. Kenrick's explanation as inadequate, if we are asked what these *γλῶσσαι* actually were, we are not ashamed to reply, we cannot say. We only get a glimpse of their possible significance through certain kindred phenomena which have marked the rise of new religious movements in all periods of the world's history. The logical faculty in man and the clear discriminative speech which is its organ, are exercised on the objects and events of the

external world,—an obscure feeling subsisting all the while, in the background, as it were, of our ordinary mental operations, of mysterious relationship to another and higher but invisible state of being. But in moods of intense religious consciousness this order of things is reversed. The outward world becomes dimmed; it recedes from view; and the mind is drawn up into a new sphere, where things invisible acquire unwonted power, and the monitions of conscience and the devout affections become for the time the great realities of existence. The ordinary speech of life is inadequate to the expression of what is felt in such moments; and uncultivated natures especially, who are the first to be acted on by new religious movements, and who are accustomed to ejaculate in the words that first offer themselves, whatever feelings are most strongly present to their mind, inevitably fall into a wild, broken, incoherent strain that sounds to the outer world very like gibberish. Such are, of course, exceptional states of mind; when more than a transient phase of feeling, they become morbid and dangerous states of mind; but they are facts which constantly reappear at the origin of fresh sects; and it is only with facts that we are now concerned. In phenomena of this description (for Christianity made its way in the world through the medium of ordinary human elements), we are inclined to believe, we must look for a proximate explanation of the *γλῶσσαι*, which formed so prominent a feature in the early Corinthian church. When Neander and Hilgenfeld describe this state, as a quickening of the intuitive side of the mind towards God under the action of the Spirit, with a corresponding suppression for the time of the logical faculty,—though no human terminology can adequately embrace these deepest and most mysterious conditions of mental existence,—we nevertheless think, though we differ from Mr. Kenrick in doing so, that they have at least approached the truth. Religious history abounds with such phenomena, and always under similar circumstances, and with similar effects—strange sounds and wild ejaculations. We meet with them among the ancient Montanists, the earliest Lollards of the Rhine, the Huguenots of the Cevennes, the French prophets in London at the beginning of the last century, the early Quakers and the early Wesleyans, and the Irvingites within recent memory. It was

to some powers of this kind that the writer of the concluding verses of Mark's Gospel probably alluded, when among the signs which he said should accompany believers, he included this, that they should speak *γλώσσαις καιναῖς*.

But in what sense could Paul thank God that "he spake with tongues more than all"? Of the experiences which followed his conversion we have no detailed account, for immediately after that event he went and buried himself in retirement in Arabia. But it is probable that he passed through all the stages of the spiritual transition from unbelief to belief, and, owing to his energetic and fiery temperament, with a more than ordinary intensity of feeling. To some early stage in this mental change it is not unlikely that he alludes in the obscure passage (2 Cor. xii. 1—4), when he speaks of being caught up into heaven, and hearing "unspeakable words" (*ἄβόητα ῥήματα*) which man is not permitted to utter. He alludes, we may suppose, to some strong access of spiritual consciousness when he felt himself in the immediate presence of God, and strange and awful thoughts came across his mind which he could find no human words to express. A mind less powerful and cultivated would have attempted to utter them, and they would have been *γλώσσαι*. The superior reticence and self-control of Paul induced him to suppress them; or perhaps he was satisfied with becoming his own interpreter of them in a calmer and more collected mood. Conscious of possessing these inmost communications of the Spirit, whether immediately interpreted or not, in richer abundance than any, he might truly thank God for speaking with tongues more than all of them. It would hardly have been a seemly boast for the apostle in such a connection that he knew Hebrew and Greek and a little Latin, and a little possibly of some other languages. This could in no sense be regarded as a spiritual gift. We agree with Mr. Kenrick that there is no certain allusion to the exercise of this gift in Ephes. v. 18, 19, and that *ἐαυτοῖς* may be very properly rendered "to one another." At the same time the mention of drunkenness (comp. Acts ii. 13), and such expressions as *πληροῦσθε ἐν πνεύματι* and *ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ*, seem to admit the possibility at least of a reference to the *γλώσσαι*. The strongest objection to this interpretation is, that the whole passage is an obvious recasting of a parallel one in Coloss. iii. 16, where such

an application seems wholly out of the question. An instance, free from the suspicion of all mythical exaggeration, and taken from our own clear and recognized history, may perhaps throw light on this subject. Lord Macaulay, in a well-known passage of his *History of England* (Vol. IV. p. 25)—the unqualified tone of which we cannot sympathize with, for it implies a remarkable insensibility to spiritual phenomena—has poured out a flood of contemptuous language on the strange utterances of George Fox. Alluding to his strong persuasion that he had the Spirit from God, he adds, that “so far from knowing many languages, he knew none; and that the most corrupt passage in Hebrew cannot be more unintelligible to the unlearned, than his English often is to the most acute and attentive reader.” He could not have described more exactly the *γλώσσαι* of the early Corinthian church. But Fox had his interpreters. “His gibberish,” adds the historian, “was translated into English; meanings which he would have been quite unable to comprehend were put on his phrases; and his system, so much improved that he would not have known it again, was defended by numerous citations from pagan philosophers and Christian fathers whose names he had never heard.” Let us turn now to the other side of the picture, and see what Penn, a scholar and a gentleman, says of this utterer of gibberish. “The inwardness and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behaviour, and the fewness and fulness of his words” (in another passage, quoted by Macaulay, p. 29, Penn speaks of Fox’s “sentences about divine things falling from him abruptly and brokenly”) “have often struck even strangers with admiration, as they used to reach others with consolation. The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say was his in prayer; and truly it was a testimony, he knew and lived nearer to the Lord than other men.”* The presence of God in our humanity is a fact, often most strikingly manifested in simple and uncultivated natures, where it proves its reality, in the absence of human learning, by the strength and directness of their moral convictions and the clearness of their insight into spiritual things. It

* Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers, p. 108.

reveals itself, in the striking language of Paul, "not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power." Nothing is more remarkable than the influence which such natures constantly acquire over minds of the highest education and refinement. It is the tribute of mere human culture to an element diviner than itself. The higher life having broken a way into the world through some rude and unpolished soul, spreads from its primitive source into other social regions, and animates with its vital power more intellectual forms of character. The strange γλώσσαι of Fox found an *ἑρμηνεία* in the cultured pens of Barclay and Penn. That life of God which his deep experiences, crudely as they were uttered, first brought to light in the midst of a fierce and contentious generation, with its simplicity and love of peace, its seclusion from the world and its abhorrence of verbal wrangling—silently penetrated, as we learn from the records of the 17th century, even to the summits of society, subdued the souls of statesmen, won the reverence of the noble and the princely, and led a poet like Davenant and a scholar like Hales of Eton to believe that in its spirit there was a foretaste of the true kingdom of God that would finally prevail in the earth. There cannot be a more striking instance, how God sometimes uses the foolish and the weak to confound in spiritual matters the wise and the strong. This is a lesson—taught not only at the origin of Christianity, but repeated throughout its history—to which the present age, with its wealth and its intellect and its vast material progress, is too often blind, and which a philosophizing theology has contributed to keep out of view, but which, if it be not timely attended to, we may perhaps have to learn in some great disruption of existing institutions.

We have already expressed our opinion that the true nature of "tongues" is to be investigated from the original account of them in 1 Cor. xii.—xiv. We do not profess to have explained, or by any means thoroughly to understand, them. The whole subject is dark and mysterious. We only think we discern the quarter where the solution of them may reasonably be sought. But what can we make of the narrative, Acts ii, which gave occasion to the present discussion? We are unable to resist the impression, that we have here a comparatively late representation of the popular

belief that on the day of Pentecost the gifts of the Spirit were in some extraordinary way communicated to the apostles; and that in this representation the traditional idea of a gift of tongues, handed down from the companion of Paul (from whom we can hardly have the whole of the book in its present form), had already passed into something like the later belief of the church—that it was a power of speaking foreign languages. We can put no other interpretation on vers. 7, 8: “These men are Galileans, and yet we each of us hear them speaking our several tongues.” It is to be noticed that here first *γλῶσσαι* is associated with an epithet, *ἐτέραις γλῶσσαις λαλεῖν*. Neander, who takes the whole transaction as strictly historical, so far agrees with Mr. Kenrick as to admit that some Galileans might possibly have learned foreign languages and used them on this occasion, in order to be better understood by the strangers who were present. But he expressly guards himself from the construction, that he considered this as the essential fact implied in the gift of tongues.* We can hardly think Mr. Kenrick himself regards this passage as historical (see pp. 80, 81, with the notes). Is it more than the announcement in a symbolical form, with which historical and traditional elements have been intermingled, of the fact, that in all the countries here enumerated the gospel would be ultimately preached in their own language to the inhabitants; in other words, a prophecy of the universal diffusion of Christianity through Jewish media and instrumentality over the whole of the then known world—*ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ*? It is certainly significant, that all the places here mentioned are those in which Jews are known to have settled, and where synagogues existed which offered a point of access for the new religion.

The most important Essay in the present volume is that on the Gospel of Mark, and we have therefore reserved our notice of it to the last. It enters into the great question, on which the right construction of the New-Testament narrative so essentially depends, What is the true relation

* “So wäre demnach das Reden einzelner in fremden Sprachen hier nur etwas zufälliges, nicht das eigenthümliche Merkmal der neuen Geistesprache gewesen.”—*Pflanzung u. Leitung*, &c., i. 18. In a note he speaks of his interpretation of this particular passage in Acts as mere conjecture, not at all affecting his general conception of the gift of tongues.

of the Synoptical Gospels to each other, and in which of them have we the oldest and most authentic account of the actions and teachings of Jesus? There are three theories on this subject, respecting which the judgments of learned men are still divided. According to one, Mark is the latest of the three evangelists; according to another, he is the oldest; and according to a third, he occupies a kind of neutral or intermediate position between Matthew and Luke. Mr. Kenrick had originally adopted the first of these theories, and supposed, with Griesbach and De Wette, that Mark had drawn the whole, or nearly the whole, of his materials from Matthew and Luke. For a long time this was the prevalent opinion. With some modifications, Schleiermacher and F. C. Baur embraced it. On analyzing and comparing, however, the statements of the three writers about the crucifixion, our author thought he discovered in Mark a clue to the disentanglement of the perplexing discrepancy which subsists between them; and this led him to the further inquiry, whether Mark might not after all be older than either Matthew or Luke, and entitled, where he differs from them, to prior authority as a biographer of Jesus. To this conclusion the opinion of the later criticism seems veering round. Lachmann,* Meyer† and Reuss‡—no mean authorities—substantially maintain it; though the theory which puts Mark between Matthew and Luke, still finds an able and learned representative in Hilgenfeld.§ With the admission, all but universal in the present state of biblical exegesis, that *Harmonies* in the old sense of the word are proved impossible by plain, undisputed facts, it becomes a matter of the highest interest and importance to ascertain, if we can, which of the Gospels lies nearest to the events of which it treats, and, amidst their irreconcilable differences, which has the fairest claim to be considered the guiding and controlling narrative. In calling Mark's Gospel the *Protevan-gelium*, Mr. Kenrick does not venture to deny that there

* "De Ordine Narrationum in Evangelis Synopticis" (*Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1835, 3); prefixed also to II. *Tom. Gr. Test.*

† *Kritisch-Exegetisch. Kommentar u. d. N. T.* 1. Abth. 2. Hälfte. 1860.

‡ *Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments*, 1860, § 189.

§ *Das Marcus-Evangelium*, &c. 1860.

may have been "a written record of still earlier data." All that he undertakes to shew is, that "the Gospel of Mark exhibits the Christian tradition of the life of our Saviour in an earlier form than either of the other evangelists as we now have them." This concession simplifies the question, and, by narrowing the grounds of controversy, renders it easier to arrive at an intelligible conclusion.

Without rejecting as unworthy of regard the very ancient external testimony of Papias, Mr. Kenrick proceeds to establish his point mainly by internal evidence—by the results of a comparison with the two other Synoptics, and by a careful analysis of the peculiar structure of Mark's own narrative. In saying that his inferences are exceedingly subtle and ingenious, we do not mean to imply that they are at all far-fetched and sophistical; but simply that, writing his Essay with a strong conviction on his mind that the conclusion lying before him was the only admissible one, he has seized and combined with a quick and sensitive sharp-sightedness, which perhaps only such a preconception rendered possible, the minutest incidents and slightest allusions in which the traces of an eye and an ear witness could be found. Putting all this evidence together and estimating its collective weight, however insignificant some of the separate elements may appear, it is impossible to resist a strong general impression in favour of the view, which seems to rest on so remarkable a coalescence of probabilities. What may be urged with some reason, in our judgment, on the other side, we shall briefly notice ere we conclude. Having indicated the general character of Mr. Kenrick's argument, we are obliged by the limits to which we are unavoidably restricted, to confine ourselves to a few selected examples of his reasoning and illustration. He lays great but not undue stress on the extraordinary concession of Griesbach, that "Mark surpasses Matthew in the perspicuity and distinctness of his narrative; nay, that he is even more accurate, and approaches nearer to the truth of facts." No small part of Mr. Kenrick's argument consists in the development of this idea. It is forcibly put in the ensuing observations:

"In numerous passages, Mark, whom I consider as the representative of the apostle Peter, relating the same event as Matthew or Luke, accompanies his narrative with the mention of those

minute circumstances which impress an eye-witness, and are as distinctly remembered and as naturally set down when he records the event, as the more important matters for the sake of which the story is related. But as the same narrative passes from a contemporary's record to a formal biography, and further to a history, these minute circumstances, the adjuncts, rather than the essentials of the story, are gradually dropped."—"In the account of the calling of James and John, Mark (i. 20) says, that they left their father in the fishing-boat 'with the hired servants;' Matthew (iv. 22) omits this last circumstance, but mentions their father Zebedee; while Luke (v. 11), who has introduced the call of these apostles in an appropriate place, makes no mention even of the father. In the history of the preaching of the Gospel such as it was his purpose to write, it was of no moment who remained behind in the vessel; the important point was, that the apostles immediately obeyed the call of Christ, left all and followed him."—"When Mark relates the crossing of the lake to the country of the Gadarenes (iv. 35), he notices that other small boats accompanied the vessel in which our Lord embarked. It was a circumstance which would strike one relating or recording what he had recently seen, but it was of no importance as a link of the narrative; for those boats gave no aid in the storm which ensued, nor is any further mention made of them. Matthew and Luke, though in other respects they closely agree with Mark, take no notice of these boats." Pp. 10—12.

The traces still discernible of growth in a tradition furnish a presumption in favour of the priority of Mark.

"The Temptation is briefly noticed by Mark (i. 12). 'And immediately the spirit driveth him into the wilderness. And he was there in the wilderness forty days, tempted of Satan, and was with the wild beasts, and the angels ministered unto him.' In Matthew (iv. 1—11) and Luke (iv. 1—13) the narrative is expanded, three several temptations being enumerated, with change of place from the desert to the Temple at Jerusalem, and thence to a high mountain. Matthew mentions a fast of forty days and forty nights; Luke says, 'In those days he did eat nothing.' Here is a gradual strengthening of the wonder; Mark saying nothing of the fast, and Luke changing the general expression of Matthew into an absolute abstinence from food." P. 41.

Among the peculiarities distinguishing Mark from Matthew, and pointing to a similar conclusion, Mr. Kenrick notices "the absence in the former of those misapplications

of prophecies in the Old Testament to our Saviour, which are so frequent in Matthew." Instances of this are given in two passages of Zechariah, applied by Matthew, with obvious perversion of their original meaning, to the story of Judas's betrayal of his Master for money, and to the description of Christ's entry into Jerusalem (where Mark's narrative is simpler and more intelligible), and in Matthew's account of the refreshment offered to our Lord on the cross, where that evangelist has evidently confused the true conception of the fact by his desire to bring in Ps. lxi. 21, as a prophecy. Mr. Kenrick's solution of the discrepancies in the four evangelists respecting this last circumstance, is a fine specimen of unforced and lucid criticism. We do not find the evidence equally conclusive, that in Mark's Gospel there is less expression of that reverential awe of Christ, as a being more than human, which already betrays itself in Matthew and Luke. At all events, it is remarkable that in Matthew (xiii. 55) the human parentage of Jesus is more distinctly recognized as the popular belief ("Is not this the carpenter's son? is not his mother called Mary?") than in the corresponding passage of Mark (vi. 3), where all allusion to his father is omitted ("Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?"). We also feel some difficulty in appreciating the true bearing on this question of the fact to which Mr. Kenrick has called attention, that in Mark's Gospel the use of natural means is several times recognized in the performance of miracles. His conclusion is thus stated:

"As the tendency of narratives—especially when they relate to events of an extraordinary kind—is to increase the wonder, we may fairly argue that the Gospel which acknowledges, and brings prominently into view, the use of natural means, exhibits an earlier form of the tradition than that in which they have disappeared, or are very slightly indicated."—P. 59.

The instances cited are—the anointing of the sick with oil (Mark vi. 13); Christ's taking aside the deaf-mute, spitting, putting his fingers into his ears, and touching his tongue (vii. 32) (where it is worthy of notice that John, the latest of the four evangelists, in describing the cure of a blind man, goes still more into a detail of means, and represents our Lord as spitting on the ground, and making clay of the spittle, and anointing the eyes with the clay, and then directing the subject of the cure to go and wash in

the pool of Siloam, ix. 6, 7); the healing of the blind man at Bethsaida, where spitting is still part of the process, and where the cure is completed only after two successive efforts (viii. 23—25); the cure of the lunatic boy, after inquiry respecting the duration of the malady (ix. 20—29); and the withering of the fig-tree, not immediately, as represented by Matthew, but in the course of twenty-four hours (xi. 12—14, 20). These are, no doubt, remarkable phenomena in the narrative of Mark. But it is curious, that Baur founds on them a conclusion the very opposite of that which is maintained by Mr. Kenrick, and sees in them, not the signs of the earliest record, but rather the gratuitous attempt of a later writer to specialize and rationalize the vaguer and ruder form of the primitive tradition.* As Mark's mode of representation still leaves the supernatural character of the events unchanged, and goes no way toward reducing them to natural occurrences, we can only regard it as a particular instance of the general vividness and picturesqueness of style which distinguishes his narrative from that of the other evangelists; and whatever solution best accounts for this general peculiarity of Mark, will carry with it an explanation of his mode of representing the miracles.

More weight seems to us to attach to the fact, that the limits of Mark's narrative, commencing from the baptism of John (possibly at i. 9, for the eight first verses read a good deal like a formal introduction subsequently prefixed) and terminating with the simple fact of the resurrection, xvi. 8 (for evidence external and internal is strongly against the authenticity of the twelve last verses), exactly coincide with the summary of our Lord's history given on two separate occasions by Peter in the book of Acts (i. 22, and x. 36—41), as containing all that was necessary to prove him to be the Christ.† This looks very much as if the Gospel was only an orderly and expanded statement of what that apostle had been accustomed to teach.

Evidence of the kind on which Mr. Kenrick has based his conclusions respecting the Gospel of Mark, derives a certain ambiguity from the fact that it is capable of being

* Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien, &c. Das Evangelium Marcus, s. 535—571.

† Meyer has noticed the same circumstance.

looked at from more points of view than one, and that it takes a decided colour from the subjective influence of the mind which employs it. It is certainly not a little perplexing to find two men so learned and acute, and so intent on truth, as Kenrick and Baur, drawing precisely opposite inferences from the very same data. We cannot but feel, therefore, with Meyer (whose views coincide with Mr. Kenrick's), that in citing particular passages from Mark, to prove or disprove his dependence on the other Synoptics, the greatest caution is necessary to escape assuming in them the very issue which the critic has already in his eye.* It is always satisfactory when we can get some good external testimony as a *point d'appui* for the higher criticism in its construction of internal evidence. The inward and outward testimony combined make a strong case. We agree with Mr. Kenrick in attaching much value to the fragments of Papias. We have no witness of equal antiquity to the origin of our two first Gospels. The later statements of Irenæus and Tertullian have been enlarged by the successive accretions of unauthentic tradition, and are at bottom based on his. What Papias tells us, confirms in the main Mr. Kenrick's view of the origin and character of Mark's Gospel, and justifies the inferences which he has drawn from an analysis of its contents. Mark, who had himself never heard or followed Christ, was the companion and interpreter of Peter, and took down from his lips, just as it occurred, without any regard to chronological order, whatever he heard him say of the actions and teachings of Christ. As the object of the early apostolic preaching was to prove Jesus the Christ, it must have consisted quite as much in the recital of events and occurrences, out of which the Messianic character shone forth, as in the exposition of doctrine. The selection of incidents would be determined by circumstances; and those who first proceeded to put down any written record, would probably gather together a number of detached anecdotes and memoranda of remarkable discourses. The

* "In der Benutzung einzelner Stellen des Markus zur Erhärtung seiner Unabhängigkeit oder Abhängigkeit von den beiden anderen Synoptikern, ist die größte Vorsicht nothwendig, um nicht aus ihnen herauszulesen, was man als kritische Anschauung des Verhältnisses bereits im Auge hat. Davor warnt die Erfahrung der neuesten Kritik, in welcher sehr oft was der Eine für sich ansieht, von dem Andern gegen ihn gekehrt wird, je nachdem die Subjectivität die Färbung einträgt."—Meyer, *Marcus*, Einleit. z. 7.

reduction of these to chronological order and a historical form would be an after-thought. This is very much the account which Papias gives us of the memorials collected by Mark from the preaching of Peter; they were rather materials for a gospel than a gospel in our sense. But from what we know of the warm feelings and sensitive temper of Peter, it is not unlikely that his affectionate reminiscences of his Master would be marked by all that picturesque fulness of expression, and those little details of bygone days on which a loving nature so fondly dwells,—that still survive in the animated narrative of Mark, and imply a freshness and directness of impression not equally perceptible in the other Gospels.

It must not, however, be forgotten that our present Mark, whatever may be the character and origin of its materials, is something very different from the memoranda put down after the preaching of Peter. Our Mark follows a definite chronological order, in which the Galilean and Jerusalemite periods of our Lord's ministry are clearly distinguished from each other; and it seems to us that he may have furnished the type after which the distribution of events in our Greek Matthew and in Luke were not improbably cast. Lachmann considers Mark's order the best and most self-consistent of the three. But this is quite at variance with Papias's account of its origin.* Peter, whom Mark followed, did not himself propose to give a complete and connected survey of our Lord's teachings (σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν λόγων); and Mark, whose simple object was to omit nothing that he heard, recorded what had fallen from his Master's lips just as memory suggested it (ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν), but without any regard to chronological order (οὐ μέντοι τάξει). A process of *rédaction* must therefore have intervened between these original memoranda and our present Gospel. By whom this was effected we are nowhere distinctly informed; we must gather it from early tradition and internal evidence, or may infer it from the unbroken retention of the name. Besides its brevity and compactness, Mark's Gospel is distinguished by a remarkably neutral tone. It is equally free from the strong Hebraistic feeling of Matthew, and from the Pauline catholicity of spirit which belongs to Luke.

* Euseb. Hist. Eccles. iii. 39.

Had it been written with an express view to avoid collision with either of the antagonistic tendencies which distracted the first age of Christianity, it could not have assumed a character more admirably suited for the purpose. If it took its present form from the hands of Mark, whom we may presume from his office to have been a devoted adherent of Peter, it is remarkable, as Baur not unreasonably argues, that, while Mark has preserved in all their force the strong condemnatory words pronounced by Christ against Peter (Matthew xvi. 23; Mark viii. 33), he should wholly have omitted the warm, encomiastic language, and the decided expression of confidence in that apostle as the rock of the future church, by which they are shortly preceded in Matthew. Irenæus, a century after the time of Peter and Mark (*Contr. Hæres.* iii. 1), tells us that Mark, after the decease of Peter and Paul at Rome, delivered in writing the things preached by Peter; whereas Matthew put forth his Gospel (*γραφὴν ἐξηνεγκεν ἐναγγελίου*) during the life-time of those apostles; and that certain docetic heretics had a fancy for the Gospel of Mark (iii. xi. 7). The Latinisms and some other peculiarities of this Gospel render it not improbable, that it was written for the use of converts living in Rome. It ought, however, to be noticed that Irenæus says nothing of the reduction of Mark's materials to chronological order and historical form, and uses language almost identical with that of Papias, τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδίδωκε. Vague traditions also have come down to us of an early writing, of which it is impossible now to form a very exact idea, that appears under the various names of *κήρυγμα Πέτρου*, *ἐναγγέλιον κατὰ Πέτρον*, *Petri doctrina*, etc., to have had an extensive diffusion, especially among those who were inclined to docetism (*Euseb. H. E.* vi. 12; *Theodoret Hæret. Fab. Epit.* ii. 2; *Origen, De Principiis*, i. viii.). And there is another fact more directly accessible and more important than this. Justin Martyr, in a passage (*Dial. cum Tryph.*, § 106), where he speaks of Christ's giving Simon the name of Peter, and of his calling the sons of Zebedee, Boanerges (a circumstance which is mentioned by Mark alone of all the evangelists, iii. 16, 17), adds, *γεγράφθαι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτοῦ γεγενημένον καὶ τοῦτο*,—with a reference, most obviously in accordance with the ordinary rules of construction, to certain memorials of Peter. It is singular

—if this be the true rendering of the passage—that, while Justin abounds in references τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἃ καλεῖται ἐναγγέλια, he nowhere else cites their authors by name;* and further, that while the copious citations of Christ's words and acts in Justin (so copious, indeed, that they might almost furnish out of themselves a complete history of Christ) have constantly a very close resemblance to words which occur in Matthew and Luke, in a comparatively few is there much affinity with the extant text of Mark.† Hilgenfeld suggests that Luke has drawn a portion of his materials from an earlier Gospel of Peter, which was used by Justin and on which our Mark is also founded; and that this employment of a common source will account for an occasional coincidence of expression between Mark and Luke. This theory would place the *rédacteur* of our actual Mark in the second degree from Peter; but it does not exclude the possibility of his still retaining many of those sharp, individual touches of reality which were derived in the original collection from the vivid personal remembrances of Peter: though we are inclined to believe that this characteristic of Mark's Gospel may have arisen not, as Mr. Kenrick supposes, from this circumstance alone, but possibly from the intellectual temperament of the later writer, whoever he was, that reduced the original materials into their

* So far as we have observed, the apostle John is the only one of the New-Testament writers whom Justin ever quotes by name (*Dial. c. Tryph.*, § 81, p. 278, edit. Otto), and here—it should be noticed—as the author of the Apocalypse.

† The whole passage runs thus: Καὶ τὸ ἐπεῖν, μετωνομακίνας αὐτῶν Πέτρον ἕνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ γεγράφθαι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτοῦ γενημένον καὶ τοῦτο, μετὰ τοῦ καὶ ἄλλους δύο ἀδελφούς, υἱοὺς Ζεβεδαίου ὄντας, μετωνομακίνας ὀνόματι τοῦ Βοανεργῆς, &c.

Τὸ ἐπεῖν is the form of citation. The question is, does αὐτῶν here refer to Πέτρον, the immediate subject, or to Christ, the general subject of the whole paragraph. Were it not that in no other passage Justin associates ἀπομνημ. with the name of a particular apostle, we should at once say that the reference must be to Peter; for the genitive after ἀπομνημ. in all other cases denotes the *author* of the work, not its *subject*. Nowhere in Justin do we meet with ἀπομνημ. Χριστοῦ, but everywhere ἀπ. ἀποστόλων. 'Απομνημονεύματα is the very title which Xenophon has chosen for his "Memorials of Socrates;" but the title runs Ξενοφώντος, not Σωκρατοῦς,—with the name of the author, not of the subject. Otto, the latest editor of Justin, has felt this so strongly, that, against the authority of all copies, printed and MS., he proposes to substitute αὐτῶν for αὐτοῦ, with a reference to ἀποστόλων. Hug (Introduct. N.T. II. § xxiii.) refers αὐτῶν in this passage to Peter, and thinks there is an allusion to some Memoirs that were specially his.

present form.* And the supposition of another and an earlier Gospel interposed between our present Mark and the primitive memoranda taken down from Peter's lips, may serve to account for the otherwise perplexing statement, that with a Gospel bearing sometimes the name of Peter and sometimes that of Mark, we find certain docetic tendencies associated, of which we are not aware that one clear, indisputable trace can be discovered in the Mark which we now possess.

With regard to Matthew, though the account of the origin of his Gospel by Papias, follows in Eusebius (iii. 39) that previously given of Mark, and it might seem therefore from this circumstance to have been a subsequent event, yet tradition is unanimous in affirming, that he was the first of the apostles who reduced to writing—and that in the Aramæan dialect—any record of the teachings of Jesus. This is distinctly affirmed by Irenæus in a passage already quoted (*Contr. Hær.* iii. 1); and the same priority may be inferred from the fact, that whereas in ancient lists variations occur in the order of the three last evangelists, the name of Matthew always stands first. The marked Judaic tone, conspicuous to this day even in the Sermon on the Mount, which characterizes the Gospel of Matthew, furnishes strong internal proof of its having been originally drawn up for the use of Palestinian converts in the very first age of Christianity; while the early diffusion and retention to a late period of a Gospel closely allied to it, among believers of this description, who ultimately acquired the heretical designations of Nazarenes and Ebionites—all over Palestine and Syria, and, if one account may be trusted (*Euseb. H. E.* v. 10), as far as southern Arabia or western India—point to the same conclusion, that the original Matthew was the oldest of all the written memorials of Jesus. But this original Aramæan Matthew, it is most probable, was something very different from our present Greek Matthew. What Matthew first put down, was the nucleus out of which larger works, amplified by successive accretions, subsequently grew. The somewhat perplexing relations, which appear to have disconcerted Jerome, between our present Matthew and the Gospel of the Hebrews in use among the Jewish

* The characteristic picturesqueness of Mark's style shews itself in passages which could not possibly have been affected by the vividness of Peter's memory; as, for instance, in the insertion of *κύριος* in the Baptist's expression of his own inferiority to Christ, i. 7. Comp. Matthew iii. 11, and Luke iii. 16.

Christians, seem best explicable on this supposition. Both issued from the primitive Matthew; but the two lines of derivation diverged constantly further from each other, each tendency attracting kindred traditions to itself—as the Catholic Church gradually assumed its definite type of doctrine and discipline, and the old Jewish Christians fell more and more within the category of heresy,—till at last the substantial agreement and the particular discrepancies between the Gospel of the Hebrews and our Matthew became a critical puzzle which Jerome himself could not solve.

It seems to us, that the relation of our present Mark to the original memoranda collected from Peter, may have been analogous to that of our present Matthew to the old Aramæan Matthew. Both our two first Gospels are *mediately* apostolic, i. e. the mass of materials out of which they have been ultimately framed, came from apostles; but between those primitive materials and the Gospels as we now have them, there must have been intermediate stages of transitional formation which we cannot now distinctly trace. Nevertheless their existence seems plainly inferrible from traditions pervading the ancient church, of writings closely allied to our Matthew and Mark, and founded on the same materials, though not identical throughout with those Gospels as they now exist in our hands. Matthew's collection of the *λόγια* of our Lord was the corresponding element in his Gospel to the *τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα* narrated by Peter and taken down by Mark. *Λόγια*, a word used in the Septuagint to signify the divine commands conveyed through the prophets,* and by classical writers of the ancient oracles, im-

* Trommil, *Concordant. Græc. in LXX. in loc.* Mr. Kenrick, p. 65, note, and additional note, p. 180 (in reply to Renan) denies that *λόγια* can mean the discourses of Christ, and considers the word as equivalent to gospels. He says, "There is no authority in Scripture or in the ecclesiastical writers (referring to Suicer, in verb.) for rendering *λόγια* discourses." Words have a history. We must notice the date of the writers employing them, to determine their use. Trommius will shew that in the LXX. *λόγια* is the Greek rendering of Hebrew terms denoting the words of God spoken through the prophets. In this sense the term is fitly applied to the teachings or discourses of Christ. If (Rom. iii. 7) Paul calls the Scriptures of the Old Testament *τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ*, it is because in the sense in which Paul regarded and used them, they were a collection of prophetic utterances everywhere announcing the Messiah; and Christ's own words, which at the commencement of his ministry announced in like manner the kingdom of heaven, were also in that prophetic sense *λόγια*. Papias (Euseb. H. E. iii. 39) says of Matthew, in a bald, curt way, *ἐβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράφετο*. But we surely cannot render this off-hand, "He wrote the Gospel in Hebrew." What he meant by *λόγια* appears more clearly from the

plies, that what Matthew chiefly busied himself to collect, were the discourses of Jesus, viewed as a continuation and completion of the old prophetic utterances; but as these were all occasional, embedded, as it were, in the events of his public ministry—apart from some notice of which, as either occasioning or accompanying them, they would be unintelligible—any record of them must from the first have partaken in some degree of a biographical character; and so the collections of Matthew, though directed mainly to what Christ said, would not be so wholly unlike the more strictly historical record of Mark. Nevertheless, the difference of principle suggesting and guiding the two collections of Matthew and Mark, influenced the character of the Gospels which respectively grew out of them, and is distinctly perceptible at the present day. The relation which our present Gospels hold to the original authors of the materials on which they are based, is well expressed by the preposition *κατά* prefixed to their names, denoting not so much direct authorship, in the sense in which Paul was the author of the Epistle to the Romans, as an account of the glad tidings announced by Christ, as it was conceived or represented by them. We are aware that in the pleonastic usage of the later *Κοινή*, *κατά* with the accusative is often substituted for the genitive, especially to avoid a concurrence of two or more genitives, and that *ἡ κατά ἡλιον ἀνατολή* or *πορεία* is used for *ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀν.* or *πορ.*; and in a passage quoted by Mr. Kenrick from Plutarch (p. 121), we have *τῇ κατὰ Νυμῶν ἐνσεβείᾳ* in the sense, we presume, of “the piety of Numa.”* We do not say,

title of his own work, *λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις*, where it must signify “The Lord’s Oracles or Teachings.” The “Lord’s Gospel or Gospels,” in our sense of the word “Gospel,” is hardly intelligible; and when Mr. Kenrick supposes Papias’s work was an exposition of the Gospels, he introduces an idea which seems to belong to a later period of Christian literature. We do not deny that ultimately, when a New Testament had grown up beside the Old Testament, *λόγια* may have been used as the equivalent not merely of *ἐναγγέλια*, but of inspired Scripture generally. But we observe that Suicer, under the first head of meanings (agreeing in this with Biel, Thesaur. Philol. Vet. Testam., and Wahl, Clav. Nov. Test.), has *oraculum, responsum divinum*, quoting Hesychius, *λόγια* = *ῥήματα, μαντήματα, χρησμοί*; and only under subsequent meanings and in later writers quotes the word as equivalent to *ἐναγγέλια*. Even in these cases, it is rather used of the sayings or utterances preserved in Scripture, than of a history like our present Matthew. As late as the time of Photius, we find from Suicer (ii. h.), the whole of the New Testament divided into *τὰ κυριακὰ λόγια* and *τὰ ἀποστολικὰ κηρύγματα*, where *κηρύγματα* in the second division shews what must be the force of *λόγια* in the first.

* See the examples cited of this usage in Schweighæuser’s Lexicon Polybianum.

therefore, that this form positively excludes direct authorship, but that it is not the most natural way of expressing it; and that in its most obvious use, it would rather denote such a relation as we have presupposed. In this latter sense it was employed widely in the ancient church. *Τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Πέτρον* or *κατὰ Ἑβραίους* did not denote authorship; and *ἡ κατὰ Παῦλον* instead of *ἡ Παύλου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους* would sound strangely, and seem to imply a different relation between the apostle and the writing, from that which we now believe to exist.

In reviewing the facts now recited—and we have wished to confine ourselves to facts so far as they are at present accessible—we agree with Mr. Kenrick in thinking, that of the three first Gospels, in the shape in which we now possess them, Mark's is probably the oldest, though we do not feel equally sure, that it is to Mark, the interpreter of Peter, that we owe the reduction of the original materials to the form and order in which they have been handed down to us. Nevertheless, we are inclined to believe that there are portions of Matthew which are older than anything in Mark; and that the Sermon on the Mount, the nucleus probably of the collections of Matthew, is the most ancient and authentic record of the teachings of Jesus now in existence.

V.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

AMONG books which have been sent to us for review, we notice first the recently published translation of Dr. Réville's *Manual of Religious Instruction*,* for which we are indebted, if report speaks truly, to a distinguished minister of our own church. Here we are at once struck by a peculiarity in the author's treatment of the materials for the life of Christ afforded by the Gospels. Many who have no hesitation in accepting as historical facts the miracles recorded in the New Testament, would readily concede to the anti-supernaturalist that they are not to be regarded as the distinguishing characteristic or the sole foundation of Christian faith.

* A Manual of Religious Instruction. By Albert Réville, D.D., Pastor of the French Reformed Church at Rotterdam. London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co. 1864.

It is contended, indeed, that the natural and supernatural elements in the life of Jesus are so blended together as to make it impossible to disunite them, and this no doubt is a consideration of great importance. Still it is certainly too much to say that nothing would remain to us of the life of Jesus after the elimination of the supernatural; and, especially when it is remembered that the first three Gospels are not any of them in their present form the work of eye-witnesses, and that the only one which bears the name of an apostle undoubtedly embodies pre-existing materials, it cannot be thought very arbitrary to make allowance for the admission of a certain amount of legendary narrative, and to estimate different statements according to their intrinsic value.

Such apparently is the view of Dr. Réville in this work. The subject is not discussed at length; but, as far as we can gather from his brief notices of the life and power of Christ, he seems to assume the actuality of certain events corresponding to the traditional belief in Christ's miraculous power, without pronouncing whether these events were, strictly speaking, miraculous. The ascendancy of Christ over the insane, and his power of curing certain diseases, are particularly referred to. "Those marvellous cures," we are told, "readily cast a miraculous light over the actions of Christ. It may be very interesting for the historian, but it is of small consequence for the Christian, to try to explain the miraculous scenes which are drawn for our instruction, such as Jesus walking on the water of the lake, the calming of the tempest, the multiplication of the loaves of bread, &c. So much the less is it of consequence to the Christian, because Jesus himself did not make miracle the certain sign of a truly divine mission (Matt. vii. 22, xxiv. 24), and categorically refused the sign from heaven, the striking prodigy, which was asked as the ground of belief in him (Matt. xii. 38—42)."

It is impossible for us to enter here upon so difficult a subject, and we have no wish to act as umpire between Dr. Réville and his English editor, who shews in copious notes that he takes a different view of the question of miracles. And so far as their individual opinions are concerned, we will content ourselves with commending the largeness of spirit which enables them, notwithstanding a difference in

critical judgment, to act in harmony, both of them no doubt perceiving that Christian truth lies much deeper than any mere historical problem. It is not, however, without a purpose that we have fixed upon those passages especially in Dr. Réville's volume which refer to the miracles of Christ. In the first place, in noticing a work which passes in review (however cursorily) the whole of religious history from the year 1 to our own times, it was almost unavoidable to single out some particular point; and secondly, we wished to indicate the point of view from which this history is regarded. The life of Christ is the grand centre of human history. It is the consummation of the past and the beginning of a new life for the world. It is therefore of the greatest importance whether it is permitted to fill its natural place in the scheme of Providence, as the highest expression of that spiritual life which had been struggling in the heart of man from the beginning of the world, or regarded as in its nature wholly exceptional. The inconsequent reasoning of modern times not unfrequently handles the Old Testament and the supernatural elements it contains with the utmost freedom, while it shrinks from touching the Christian records. But once acknowledge that the Bible is a literature, distinguished from other literatures by its subject but not by the mode of its composition, and it becomes legitimate to apply the rules of criticism to its every part. And this is the course which Dr. Réville has pursued. He has treated Christian history in its connection with Judaism and its relationship to the outside world, which could not but react upon its development; and in dealing with both Old and New Testaments, he has indicated, with as much clearness as the limits of his Manual would allow, the best-established results of recent critical inquiry. A rapid sketch of religious history, beginning from the origin of religion in the human mind itself, glancing at its various manifestations in the different forms of polytheism, and following its growth in the monotheistic form from the patriarchs down to modern times, completes the first part of the work. The second gives a brief summary of the teachings of Jesus, the Synoptical Gospels being assumed as the most authentic source. And the third fitly concludes the work with a sketch of religious doctrine, under the heads of God, Man, Sin, Christianity, the Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Christian Life, the Life Eternal,—these

subjects being treated in their vital connection with the human heart and conscience, and the ecclesiastical dogmas in regard to them viewed as imperfect attempts to give expression to rational truth.

The Manual is well fitted to serve as a guide in religious inquiry, and contains much that is instructive and more that is suggestive. To be fully furnished, however, for its purpose, it requires to be supplied with copious references, and we venture to suggest that these might be added in future editions.

Three volumes of Sermons next invite our attention. We have read the first, Mr. Robertson's,* with great interest. Not the least of its merits is the evidence it affords that dulness and sermon-writing are by no means so inseparable as is commonly supposed. The style is lively and interesting, and the illustrations numerous, well selected and aptly applied. Sustained vigour of thought, with considerable originality, and a happy combination of imaginative feeling and strong, clear common sense, characterize these admirable addresses. In a modest introduction, the author explains the circumstances under which they were prepared and delivered. Although intended for a congregation chiefly composed of operatives, Mr. Robertson rightly judged it his duty to expend on their composition a full measure of care and all the skill of which he was master. He was rewarded by the unflagging attention of his audience, and cheered by proofs that the sermons which he was himself disposed to regard as his best, received the heartiest commendation. Perhaps no mistake is so frequent, nor so mischievous, on the part of ministers who appeal to the humbler classes of society, as to underrate their intellectual and moral capacity, and to regard it as the simple dictate of economy to reserve their more elaborate compositions for the refined and cultivated. The same pernicious error has till lately pervaded our educational works for the young—nor is it yet entirely eradicated. Possibly it may have been erroneously considered that imperfect knowledge was invariably accompanied by feeble power of reasoning and a destitution of fancy and sentiment. And yet the fact is patent enough,

* Sermons preached to Congregations chiefly composed of Working Men. By John Robertson. London: Whitfield, Green and Son. 1864.

that the greatest of human preachers addressed audiences the most ignorant, and that fishermen and tax-gatherers were converted by the magic of his eloquence into apostles and martyrs. If the problem of the day is ever to be solved, how to absorb those portions of the poor who are unenslaved by vicious indulgence, into the religious organizations of our schools and churches, it must be sought by such a mode of address as will conciliate their self-respect, and give evidence that they are deemed not unworthy of the best gifts and finest powers of the public teachers of Christianity.

The discourses are mainly practical, but there is abundant evidence of the author's theological principles and tendencies. These are set forth positively rather than controversially. He is obviously cognizant of the most recent conclusions of biblical criticism, and whilst profoundly religious in tone, he is not less fearless in the utterance of his convictions.

Mr. Brooke Herford has rendered an acceptable service to all preachers who address congregations of working men, by collecting under a common title, *Sunday Parables from Sheffield Work*,* eight lectures, which had before appeared as part of his well-known series of tracts. In these he attempts to point a moral for his hearers from familiar phrases and facts of their daily toil. With what we think a wise discretion, he discards the use of a text, which could have but a forced and partial application to the matter in hand, and goes straight to the subject of his parable. "Hirings,"—the usage by which men, for the sake of a bonus, bind themselves for a specified time to the service of a single master,—lead the preacher's thoughts to the bounty offered by sin and self-indulgence, and the ultimate necessity of working out the bond. The tilt-hammer, forcing the flaws and imperfections out of the ingot of steel, typifies the hard discipline of experience. The quaint phrases, "walking" and "talking," applied to the blade of a penknife which perfectly fits its place and closes with an audible click, illustrates the moral truth that men also have their places, which they ought to fill completely, and a work which is to be performed with a spring of hearty goodwill. "Wasters,"

* *Sunday Parables from Sheffield Work*, &c.; to which is appended a Lecture on Trade Outrages. By Brooke Herford. London: Whitfield.

or spoiled goods, at once conduct the mind, by many sad trains of association, to wasted lives; while "scraps" are made to illustrate the precept, "Gather up the fragments." If we add to this description of Mr. Herford's method, that his style is lively and vigorous, without ever descending below the true dignity of the pulpit, and that the truths which he chiefly enforces are those moral and spiritual principles which lie at the root of a godly and manly life, our readers will see that he has produced a series of sermons which, with reference to their avowed purpose, are of singular merit. It results from the choice of subjects and the kind of treatment, that they would fall with peculiar impressiveness upon the ears of Sheffield grinders and cutlers; but the fact that they are so admirably adapted to a special end, really renders them the more fit for general use. The parables, from which these have endeavoured to catch their inspiration, have not the less echoed through all after generations because spoken directly to the wants of Galilean fishermen and vinedressers.

No greater external contrast to Mr. Herford's homely little volume could well be presented, than by Mr. Baldwin Brown's five sermons on *The Divine Mystery of Peace*,* which come recommended by the adornments of antique type, ornamental headings and red edges. Mr. Brown is well known as a thoughtful and eloquent preacher, belonging to that section of the Independent church known, whether by way of praise or blame, as "liberal." These sermons, which are really an exposition of the author's doctrine of the Atonement, while likely to maintain or even increase his reputation as a preacher, might almost be designed to shew how little he has departed from the traditional theology of his school. He has indeed discarded some of its most offensive peculiarities; he puts a strictly moral meaning upon the word salvation; and he draws back in horror before the naked deformity of the doctrine of substitution. "Salvation means soundness. A soul united to fear God's name is saved—saved from the only thing which can destroy a soul, inward insurrection and discord; the only pit that can gorge it, inward selfishness and lust." (P. 21.) "To me there is something terrible in the picture of the God whom I

* *The Divine Mystery of Peace.* By James Baldwin Brown, B.A. London: Jackson, Walford and Hodder. 1863.

am called to believe in and to love, waiting for some equivalents of anguish due to Him as a Ruler, before He could sink the Ruler in the Father, and needing to be turned from an alienation to a reconciliation by the awful spectacle of unutterable, unmeasurable pain." (P. 31.) At the same time, for substitution, he adopts, and that only hesitatingly, the word representation; in one of the few clear sentences among those which treat of this topic, he identifies "the work of the Lamb of God" with the "satisfaction" "due to the Father by consequence of sin," and even protests against theories of atonement which "ignore this element of the work." And although we cannot but accuse Mr. Brown of that habit of using religious phrases without ascertaining their correspondence with actual fact, which is the characteristic vice of a certain school of theologians, these sermons are well worth reading, not only for their high moral earnestness, but as a proof that all deviations from old-fashioned orthodoxy are not necessarily in a Unitarian direction. There are high Calvinists who will scent deadly heresy in this little volume; but at the same time it is, in its liberality and in its orthodoxy, almost equally discordant with Unitarian theories of the nature of God and the method of redemption.

But what does Mr. Brown mean by the statement that "our Lord intended us to know that he was in person 'God manifest in the flesh'?" The inverted commas are his own, and are, we suppose, intended to mark a quotation. Does he then really consider the reading of the *Textus Receptus* in 1 Tim. iii. 16, so well substantiated as to be a fit basis for dogmatic statement? We can hardly suppose that he is ignorant of the controversy, and are therefore driven back upon the hypothesis that he is willing to rest the Deity of Christ upon a microscopical difference between Omicron and Theta. And yet so to rest it, without explanation or comment, is hardly fair to unlearned readers.

Golden Words,* a selection of passages from the English divines of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, made by "a lay member of the Church of England," comes to us adorned in the same pomp of type and paper as Mr. Baldwin Brown's sermons, and, though bearing the name of a London pub-

* *Golden Words*. Oxford and London : Parker. 1863.

lisher, proves that the art of Baskerville still flourishes in Birmingham. The authors from whom these selections are made are, with one or two exceptions, divines, of whom only Dr. Bates belongs to the Nonconformist section of the Church. The passages are arranged under various heads of practical divinity, and are sufficiently long to give some idea of the author's method of thought and expression. Both externally and internally, this is a truly attractive volume, which, to those who have neither the leisure nor the inclination to explore the treasures of sound thought in clear language locked up in many bulky folios of theology, may convey some truthful impression of an important department of English literature.

Another volume, which less successfully fulfils the excellent purpose with which it sets out, is Mr. Briggs' essay on *Modern and Apostolic Missions*.* It takes the form of an exposition of the narrative of St. Paul's first missionary journey, with a running commentary of application to the Protestant missions of the present day. We have little to object to Mr. Briggs' execution of the first part of his task, although the exposition is characterized by that kind of loose amplification which inevitably suggests the pulpit as the place where its sentences first saw the upper air. It is when he turns to his practical application that the author becomes hopelessly trite and commonplace. He is quite right in thinking that the principles which lay at the root of Paul's missionary success will, if rightly applied, ensure a similar success now; but he does not even attempt to grasp the facts, a knowledge of which must precede the application of any principle. It is useless to examine an argument which is based upon the assumption that the relation in which Paul stood to the inhabitants of Lycaonia, and that in which an English missionary stands to a Zulu Kaffir and a Hindoo Brahmin, are all identical. Paul himself found that he could not speak to "certain of the Epicureans and Stoics" at Athens as he had spoken to the rude inhabitants of Galatia; and Bishop Colenso would undergo a different questioning at the hands of a Bengali pundit and his own "intelligent native." When our "Propagation" and other

* *Missions, Apostolic and Modern: an Exposition of the Narrative of St. Paul's First Missionary Journey, in relation to the Protestant Missions of the Present Century.* By Frederick W. Briggs. London: Hamilton, Adams and Co.

kindred Societies have once discovered the difference between missionaries *to* civilization (as was St. Paul preaching at Corinth and Rome) and missionaries *from* civilization (as Bishop Selwyn is now in Australasia), they will have learned a great practical lesson.

Among the pamphlets which lie upon our table, *Mr. Martineau's Charge** at the ordination of Mr. Alexander Gordon is valuable, both as preserving the memory of an occasion full of all joyful anticipation, and for the sake of its own admirable counsels to the young minister,—counsels which, from the lips that uttered them, could nowhere be so impressive as in the place where they were uttered. Under the somewhat affected title of *Instrumental Strength*,† the Rev. Charles Stanford commits to the press an address delivered to the students of the Baptist College at Bristol. It is longer, more discursive, less dignified in style, than similar addresses among ourselves; but gains in vividness what it loses in perfection of form, by descending to plain advice upon very practical emergencies of ministerial life. It is full of wholesome admonition, and to the heedful reader suggests many minute differences in the relation between minister and people, as it subsists in Independent churches and among ourselves.—*A Sermon upon the Colenso Controversy*,‡ by the Rev. James Cranbrook, an Independent minister at New Brighton, is, considering the position of its author, a really remarkable production. If his assertion that unlearned Christians are elevated by the witness of the Spirit to a position which renders them independent of debates as to biblical inspiration and authenticity, be justly susceptible of some modification, the clearness and impartiality with which Mr. Cranbrook states the points at issue between Dr. Colenso and his critics, and the calmness with which he awaits the result of the controversy, are worthy of all praise. He admits that the method applied by the Bishop of Natal to the Pentateuch, is equally applicable to the books of the New Testament, and that the consequent

* The Service at Hope-Street Church, Liverpool, on Thursday, Dec. 31st, 1863, on occasion of the Induction of the Rev. Alexander Gordon, B.A. London: Whitfield. 1864.

† *Instrumental Strength: Thoughts for Students and Pastors.* By Charles Stanford. London: Jackson, Walford and Hodder.

‡ *The Faith of the Unlearned, its Basis and Foundations: a Sermon upon the Colenso Controversy.* By Rev. James Cranbrook. Liverpool: Holden. 1863.

debate cannot be avoided. But he believes that the truth of the gospel, and the evidence on which it is received by the soul of man, lie too deep to be touched by these difficulties, and in effect boldly repudiates the statement that "our dearest hopes in time and for eternity" rest upon a successful resistance to a scientific and historical criticism of the Bible. We wish that more such sermons were preached from orthodox pulpits.

We cannot resist the temptation of laying before our readers the concluding paragraph of a *Correspondence** between Dr. Newman, Messrs. Macmillan, an unknown Mr. X. Y., and the Rev. Charles Kingsley. The last-named, in an article in the January number of Macmillan's Magazine, on Froude's History of the Reign of Elizabeth, indulged in some strong reflections upon the moral teaching of the Roman Catholic Church in regard to truth. "Truth for its own sake," he says, "had never been a virtue with the Roman clergy. Father Newman informs us that it need not, and on the whole ought not to be"—and so forth. Dr. Newman remonstrates, and asks for evidence that he had ever said any such thing. Beyond a general reference to a sermon preached at Oxford *before* his conversion, he can get none. He reiterates his demand for chapter and verse, but without effect. Mr. Kingsley will apologize—does in fact apologize—is sorry he has mistaken Dr. Newman—is glad to find him on the side of truth, but will not or cannot point out the passage in Dr. Newman's works on which his statement was founded. So at last the controversy is concluded by the publication of the correspondence, and the following serio-comic summing up, which we are bound to say is substantially correct. All we have to regret is, that a very interesting and important moral question receives no discussion, while Dr. Newman is proving his dialectic subtlety upon an opponent who is far less than a match for him:

"Mr. Kingsley begins by exclaiming,—‘O the chicanery, the wholesale fraud, the vile hypocrisy, the conscience-killing tyranny of Rome! We have not far to seek for an evidence of it. There's Father Newman to wit: one living specimen is worth a hundred dead ones. He, a Priest writing of Priests, tells us that lying is never any harm.’

* Mr. Kingsley and Dr. Newman: a Correspondence on the Question, Whether Dr. Newman teaches that Truth is no Virtue! London: Longmans. 1864.

"I interpose: 'You are taking a most extraordinary liberty with my name. If I have said this, tell me when and where.'

"Mr. Kingsley replies: 'You said it, Reverend Sir, in a sermon which you preached, when a Protestant, as Vicar of St. Mary's, and published in 1844; and I could read you a very salutary lecture on the effects which that sermon had at the time on my own opinion of you.'

"I make answer: 'Oh! *Not*, it seems, as a Priest speaking of Priests;—but let us have the passage.'

"Mr. Kingsley relaxes: 'Do you know, I like your *tone*. From your *tone* I rejoice, greatly rejoice, to be able to believe that you did not mean what you said.'

"I rejoin: '*Mean* it! I maintain I never *said* it, whether as a Protestant or as a Catholic.'

"Mr. Kingsley replies: 'I waive that point.'

"I object: 'Is it possible! What? waive the main question! I either said it or I didn't. You have made a monstrous charge against me; direct, distinct, public. You are bound to prove it as directly, as distinctly, as publicly;—or to own you can't.'

"'Well,' says Mr. Kingsley, 'if you are quite sure you did not say it, I'll take your word for it; I really will.'

"My *word*! I am dumb. Somehow I thought that it was my *word* that happened to be on trial. The *word* of a Professor of lying, that he does not lie!

"But Mr. Kingsley re-assures me: 'We are both gentlemen,' he says: 'I have done as much as one English gentleman can expect from another.'

"I begin to see: he thought me a gentleman at the very time that he said I taught lying on system. After all, it is not I, but it is Mr. Kingsley who did not mean what he said. '*Habemus confitentem reum*.'

"So we have confessedly come round to this: preaching without practising—the common theme of satirists from Juvenal to Walter Scott! 'I left Baby Charles and Steenie laying his duty before him,' says King James of the reprobate Dalgarno: 'O Geordie, jingling Geordie, it was grand to hear Baby Charles laying down the guilt of dissimulation, and Steenie lecturing on the turpitude of incontinence!'

What a warning to reckless Protestant controversialists, that within the quiet walls of the Oratory at Birmingham is at least one recluse, whose logical skill has not been blunted, nor the vigour of whose sarcasm abated, by retirement from the arena of theological combat!

VI.—ECCLESIASTICAL CHRONICLE

THE chief events of denominational interest during the first two months of the present year have been the annual meetings of Manchester New College and the Home Missionary Board. Turning first to the elder Institution, we are glad to note both that in the number of its divinity students it maintains the elevated standard of the last five years, and that the ability and industry of its pupils, so far as these qualities can be tested by University and College examinations, are all that can be desired. Three University scholarships (at the degree of B.A.) and a Gold Medal at the M.A. examination, within a single year, is no small measure of success for perhaps the smallest College in connection with the University of London. Notwithstanding this, and although our most important congregations are finding their ministers among its students, the list of subscribers to the College diminishes, and the expenditure during the past year has exceeded the receipts by £133. 17s. 1d. The fact is simply, that had not the Institution possessed accumulated funds, it could not have met the cost of its own increased activity since its removal to London; and that in proportion as it has performed more work for the public, the public has grown more languid in its support. Every additional student costs the College, in actual disbursement—over and above the payment of Professors, rent and all other establishment expenses—a sum of about £315 during the six years of his course; and although, up to the present time, no candidate has ever been refused admittance on the score of want of funds, it is well to bear in mind that this is by no means an impossible contingency. We are unwilling to believe that any other diminution has taken place in the subscription list than is the result of natural causes and the absence of any effort to replace the inevitable annual loss, and we are sure that the recognition by the public of the fact that the College is doing its work well and needs support, will excite the necessary interest in its behalf. Meanwhile, it cannot be too distinctly understood that the success or failure of such an Institution depends, in other than a pecuniary way, upon the society for which its functions are performed; that the number and quality of its stu-

dents is a finer test than any subscription list can be, of the diffusion and purity of our religious life ; and that the perfection of its methods is, after all, of less importance than the character of the material to which they are applied. From the fact that students for the Christian ministry are but few, it is a logical inference that among the homes whence we might expect them to come, there are but few where the tone of religious life rises to the height of this calling.

The pecuniary condition of the Home Missionary Board is much more desperate. Its receipts for 1863 were £891. 5s. 9d.; its expenditure, £1211. 10s. 7d. A sort of reserve fund, formed by donations chiefly made at the beginning of the enterprize, and applied year by year to remedy deficiencies of income, has now been exhausted ; and unless the subscription list be enlarged, the Institution can only be carried on at the risk of heaping up a disastrous debt. Nine students left the Missionary Board last month, all of whom are now at work ; two as domestic missionaries in London, and the majority of the rest with missionary congregations in the North. Although there has from the first been an uncertainty of aim and method about the Missionary Board, which has given rise to a domestic criticism, aiming to make it something else than it has hitherto been, it can confidently appeal to practical tests of success. The Board does not lack students, nor the students opportunities of labour. It is possible that too large a command of funds might infuse an element of conservative sluggishness even into this young and vigorous Institution ; but it makes no more than a just demand in asking for adequate support ; while it can answer no useful purpose to keep the perpetual threat of a deficit hanging over the heads of its managers. It is true both of the Missionary Board and of Manchester New College that the years in which they spend most are also the years in which they do most and deserve most.

We have lost something of matured strength in the retirement, after twenty-five years' service, of Dr. Cromwell from the pulpit of Newington-Green chapel ; and by the close of Dr. Beard's ministry in Manchester. Of the incessant labours of the latter, during the thirty-eight years which he has devoted to almost every form of public usefulness, it is not for us to speak. Our readers will be glad to learn that he retains his office of Principal at the Home Missionary

Board, and proposes to spend in it the remaining years of a life which is still vigorous. Other ties with the past have been loosened by the death of Miss Lucy Aikin, herself an authoress of reputation, and dear to English Presbyterian hearts as the niece of Mrs. Barbauld ; as well as by that of the Rev. H. H. Piper, who closed, at the age of eighty-two, a life that throughout its whole course was kindly, laborious and refined. His ministerial activity began in days when great Presbyterian families still maintained a private chaplain, and the schools kept by Nonconforming ministers afforded by far the best means of middle-class education. If the interval of thought and feeling which separates those times from the present be broad indeed, how thorough and catholic must have been the religious training which enabled Mr. Piper and others of his generation to keep themselves abreast with the hopes and aspirations of a new world, and permitted them to be perplexed at the last by no fear of theological change !

Beyond the limits of our own church, events of historical importance have followed one another with startling rapidity. Mr. Sergeant Shee's elevation to the Bench—the first Catholic Judge in England since the Reformation—was a crowning triumph of religious liberty. We were about to record by the side of it, that the University of Oxford had arranged the shameful dispute as to Mr. Jowett's salary ; the orthodox party taking the precaution of introducing a clause into the statute, to the effect that the University, in paying the Regius Professor money which he has earned by teaching Greek, do not commit themselves to any approval of his theological opinions ! But though Dr. Pusey and Dr. Stanley have shaken hands over this compromise, and it has been carried in Congregation by 105 to 65 votes, it has still to pass through the ordeal of "Convocation ;" and non-resident M.A.'s are now being invited to repair to Oxford, and to record their votes against the quasi endowment of neology. Of the late ecclesiastical appointments, some are excellent and all unobjectionable. Dr. Trench is no unworthy successor of Archbishop Whately ; while the only just regret attendant upon Dr. Stanley's transference to the comparative ease and independence of the Deanery of Westminster, is the necessity of abandoning his chair of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford. What shall we say of Professor

Harold Browne's elevation to the see of Ely, and of Mr. Cook's succession to his vacant stall at Exeter? Both are moderate and learned men: the mitre of Ely always goes to Cambridge, and few heads are fitter to wear it than that of the Norrisian Professor; while Mr. Cook, as Canon Residentiary, will have more leisure to edit the great Scripture Commentary, projected by the Speaker, and approved by all the Fathers of the Church, than he could have as Preacher of Lincoln's Inn. "But a word spoken in season," and especially if spoken on the right side, "how good is it!" Of the writers in "Aids to Faith," one has been made successively Bishop of Gloucester and Archbishop of York; another Dean of Exeter and Bishop of Gloucester; another Bishop of Ely; yet another Canon of Exeter. A worldly moralist, not without some touch of cynic scorn, might compare, on the one hand, the new Bishop and Canon, on the other, Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson, with Hogarth's Industrious and Idle Apprentices, and hold out their various fate as a warning against ecclesiastical rebellion. Dignities and prosecution; revenues and costs;—the contrast, on the worldly side at least, is complete!

But the three events, which are of themselves enough to make 1864 an *annus mirabilis* in the annals of the English Church, are Bishop Colenso's trial at the Cape, the final judgment in the case of "Essays and Reviews," and the issue of a Royal Commission to consider the question of Subscription. The first of these is less important in its result than in its illustration of the spirit and method of those clerical tribunals for cases of heresy, which a party in England, smarting under the righteous judgment of lay judges, is clamouring to restore. The Bishop of Cape Town, acting as Metropolitan of South Africa, summoned his suffragan the Bishops of Grahamstown, and the missionary Bishops of the Orange River and the Zambesi, to hear and adjudicate upon charges of heresy preferred against Bishop Colenso, by the Dean of Cape Town, the Archdeacon of Grahamstown and the Archdeacon of George. It is to be noted here, that if as Metropolitan under Royal Patent the Bishop of Cape Town has some shadow of authority over the Bishops of Natal and Grahamstown (though the recent decision by the Privy Council in the case of Mr. Long throws grave doubt even upon this), the two mission-

ary Bishops, whose sees, if they have any defined limits at all, lie altogether outside of her Majesty's dominions, can have no claim to form part of a court which rests its jurisdiction upon a patent. The question of Episcopal authority in the Colonial Church, as well as its relation to authorities of Church and State at home, are sufficiently obscure, and will presently find work for the legal advisers of the Crown. But it is quite certain that no Englishman in any corner of the world will ever submit to the jurisdiction of a spiritual court which has no firmer base than ecclesiastical pretension. Take away the patent—which, as we have already said, is of doubtful validity—and all that remains for the Bishop of Cape Town is to fall back upon the hierarchical theory, and to maintain that as Metropolitan he has an inherent right to summon suffragan Bishops to his side, and by their aid to try and condemn whom he will. We were not surprised to see that, under these circumstances, the Bishop of Natal refused in the first instance to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court, and, in the second, tacitly to withdraw from this position by appealing to the Archbishop of Canterbury. His intention is now to pray the Queen in Council to declare null and void the whole of the Cape Town proceedings. The result, since the decision in the case of Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson, can hardly be doubtful.

When we recollect of what materials the clerical class in the colonies is composed, it is perhaps superfluous to wonder at the tone of confident dogmatism which ran through all the proceedings of the court. Neither judges nor prosecutors seemed to feel that hesitation in interpreting the formularies in which the Church's opinion upon the most difficult subjects of theological thought is expressed, which has given so great a gravity to the judgments of Sir Stephen Lushington and Lord Westbury. It was abundantly clear that what the Church meant was the shibboleths of their own party: equally clear that Dr. Colenso meant something quite different; therefore condemn and deprive him! There is no rejecting and reforming of articles here; on the contrary, a wholesome decisiveness in the verdict: "Guilty on all the nine counts of the indictment." We do not doubt that a court composed exclusively of Bishops (unless, perhaps, London and St. David's might have demurred) ad-

dressed by a bar of Deans and Archdeacons, would have made equally short work of Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson in England: the tone of the Episcopal mind is not pre-eminently judicial. But we were not prepared, even in a clerical court at the Cape, for gross deviations from the simplest principles of equity. The Bishop of Natal, refusing to appear before the court, authorized Dr. Bleek, a distinguished German scholar resident in Cape Town (the son of the late eminent Professor of the same name at Bonn), to act as his proctor, for the purpose of entering a protest against the jurisdiction, and generally of watching the progress of the trial. Is it credible that one of the prosecuting clergy sought to make a point against the defendant, by asking Dr. Bleek whether he himself—the legal representative, not the culprit—was not a Socinian, and that the presiding Bishop permitted the question to be put? That the clergy of Natal should so far prejudge the case as to join in public prayer that their diocesan should be restored to a better frame of mind, is perhaps not wonderful; prayer, on some modern theories of it, is one of the best means by which divines covertly “hint a fault or hesitate dislike.” But what shall we say of a judge who communicates to prosecutors, and allows them to use as evidence in support of their charges, extracts from private and confidential letters, extending over a period of five years, and addressed to himself in the outspoken trust of friendship, by the defendant? It is impossible to conceive of a more flagrant violation of the sanctities of private life or the fundamental principles of public justice. Well may all Churchmen who are not bitten by the madness of persecution, thank Heaven that there is still a Privy Council!

It is not necessary to recapitulate the circumstances under which the case of Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson came before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council for final decision, or to announce the fact of the reversal of even the partial condemnation pronounced against them in the Court below. The Court consisted of the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, and the Law Lords Cranworth, Chelmsford and Kingsdown. It expressly guarded itself, both at the beginning and the conclusion of the judgment, from being supposed to pass judgment on the general tenor of “*Essays and Reviews* :”

all it had to do was with the special articles of accusation exhibited against the two defendants, and the evidence adduced in their support. The first article (the seventh in the original order), alleged against Dr. Williams, referred to the question of biblical inspiration, and was founded upon his celebrated phrases, that the Bible is "an expression of devout reason" and "the written voice of the congregation." Interpreting these by help of the context, in which Dr. Williams speaks of the Spirit as dwelling in the church, the Lord Chancellor decides that the incriminated passages do not, "taken collectively, warrant the charge * * that Dr. Williams has maintained the Bible not to be the Word of God nor the rule of faith." The second article, originally the fifteenth, accuses Dr. Williams of having contravened the 11th Article of Religion—"We are accounted righteous before God only for the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings"—inasmuch as he had spoken of "the doctrine of merit by transfer" as "a fiction." The Chancellor condemns these words of unseemliness, but of nothing worse. The Article says something of faith, nothing of transfer: the proposition which Dr. Williams is accused of denying does not, in distinct terms, exist. To turn to Mr. Wilson's case: the eighth charge is similar in substance, though not identical in form, with the seventh against Dr. Williams. "It involves," according to the Court, "the proposition, that it is a contradiction of the doctrine laid down" in certain specified passages "to affirm that any part of the canonical books of the Old or New Testament, upon any subject whatever, however unconnected with religious faith or moral duty, was not written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit." Upon which the Chancellor goes on to say in very memorable words, "The proposition or assertion that every part of the Scriptures was written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, *is not to be found either in the Articles or in any of the formularies of the Church*"—and so acquits Mr. Wilson. The last, or fourteenth, article is founded upon the well-known passage at the end of his Essay, in which he expresses a hope of final universal restoration, and which Dr. Lushington, in common with the world in general, held to be clearly contrary to the declarations of the Athanasian Creed. Clergymen, holds the Court, have no business even

to express a hope contrary to the express teaching of the Church. But firstly, the charge—manifestly and injudiciously overdrawn by the prosecutors—is that Mr. Wilson denies a judgment of God to come at the end of the existing state of things, a charge not supported by proof. Next there is the “everlasting fire” of the Athanasian Creed. But Mr. Wilson alleges that “everlasting,” though it mean everlasting in English, and can mean nothing else, “must be subject to the same limited interpretation which some learned men have given to the original” *αἰώνιος*; and there was once a 42nd Article of Religion, directed against this very heresy, which was omitted from the final revision of the Thirty-nine, yet which would in effect be restored if the Court sustained the judgment of Dr. Lushington. The conclusion therefore is, that the Court finds in the formularies no such distinct declaration of the Church upon this subject “as to require us to condemn as penal the expression of hope by a clergyman, that even the ultimate pardon of the wicked who are condemned in the day of judgment may be consistent with the will of Almighty God.” So the appellants are victorious, receiving from the respondents, the Bishop of Salisbury and Mr. Fendall, the costs of the appeal. Meanwhile, in regard to the charges referring to inspiration, the Archbishops do not concur in the judgment, a statement which brings into stronger relief the fact that the Bishop of London is so concurrent.

Since the publication of the judgment, a persistent attempt has been made by those who would have welcomed a different result, to prove its unimportance, on the ground that the Judges declined to pronounce any opinion upon the general tone of the “*Essays and Reviews*,” and that the charges submitted to them were few in number, and supported only by isolated passages of the defendants’ writings. The weight of these facts really lies in the opposite scale. Out of seven authors of the detested book, two only, for various reasons, could be dragged into a court of law; while the reason why two charges only against each of these were adjudicated upon by the Privy Council was, that by previous process of law all the counts of a voluminous indictment had been compulsorily dropped, one by one. The case has been gradually breaking down from the first, and the judgment in the Privy Council was the coup-de-grace.

And the latest fact which has fallen under our notice is, that the orthodox party, unable to derive comfort from the sophism with which they have tried to blind the public, propose an amnesty between High and Low, in order to direct their whole united strength against the Broad Church. Dr. Pusey (how distasteful must have been the necessity!) has actually written to the Record, entreating all true believers in the eternity of hell-fire to forget their differences in a common effort against the monstrous doctrine, that at some distant period the Almighty Father may possibly recall to the embrace of His love all His sinful and suffering children! We can wish no better for the cause of Truth than that such an alliance should be formed, and an issue of battle joined, intelligible and momentous, as none has yet been.

But, indeed, no estimate of the importance of this judgment can be too high. With the exception of the Gosham judgment, which, in comparison with this, is of little moment, it is the first step made in the direction of liberty since the Act of Uniformity finally closed the door against further possible modification or comprehension in the Church of England. Still it is only the first step. It declares that certain opinions as to the inspiration of Scripture, the doctrine of Atonement, and the final restoration of the wicked, are *not penal*. It will operate indirectly to discourage prosecutions for heresy, and will remove the dread of the Arches Court from the minds of many conscientious inquirers among the clergy. It will encourage the same men to clear thought and definite speech upon many matters which they are now afraid to look in the face. It will give a strong impulse to theological inquiry, so as to be the necessary forerunner of changes even greater than it has itself produced. But we cannot see how, as some of its warmest defenders allege, it liberates "the consciences of the clergy." The case has not been tried "in foro conscientie" at all. Surely, if a thoughtful man has given his personal assent to Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, expressed in distinct language which he is able to understand, and which he can accept only in the sense in which his own mind understands it, he can have no "relief of conscience" from any external source at all, much less from the decision of a legal court which does not profess to determine what is true or what is right, but

only what is punishable. No metaphysical shuffle, it appears to us, as to the "*animus imponentis*," can shift the responsibility of ascertaining the meaning of an obligation from him who undertakes it. To him the obligation means what his own reason makes it to mean; no legal judgment can make it mean anything else; and when he comes to carry it into effect, he is bound, if a just man, only by the dictates of his own conscience. We draw a clear distinction in common life between a legal contract and a moral obligation in the same transaction; but when the latter is wider than the former, it is by the wider, not the narrower, that a man of honour regulates his actions. So is it in this case. If Dr. Pusey believes that "*everlasting*" means "*lasting for ever*," as he may do with some show of reason, this judgment will not clear his conscience, should he reject the eternity of punishment and still repeat the Athanasian Creed. And the private obligations of every clergyman remain unchanged. There is no alteration in the stringency or the compass of subscription. The Prayer-book is still to be used in public worship. Every practical security for orthodoxy—except the penal character of three incriminated opinions—remains as it was. Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson have escaped a year's deprivation, and have probably passed under the yoke for many of their brethren. But that is all: we cannot for a moment admit that Broad Churchmen have not to reckon for subscription with their own consciences exactly as they had before.

It was possibly with an outlook to the coming judgment that Her Majesty's Speech at the opening of Parliament startled the Church with the announcement of a Royal Commission to inquire into the subject of Subscription. The names of the Commissioners, twenty-four in number, including all parties in the Church, have since been made known. Beyond the fact that the principle of Subscription is assumed in the terms of the Commission, and that a body of men of such varying opinions are hardly likely to propose any substantial reform, we are entirely in the dark as to the probable issue of this measure. Something perhaps we may learn from a report on this subject recently presented to Convocation, from which it appears that subscription is imposed upon clergymen by several Acts of Parliament, in more forms than one, and in some cases with needless rei-

teration. It would be quite possible to codify, if we may so say, these various enactments, and to produce one comprehensive form of subscription, which, without opening the door to heresy, would render both the law and the practice upon the subject more intelligible. Who knows but that in the process some relaxation of the bonds might almost unconsciously be adopted? Meanwhile, without waiting for the result, a Bill has been brought into Parliament to abolish the necessity of subscription before taking the degree of M.A. at Oxford, and to substitute for it, as a qualification for fellowships and other administrative offices, a declaration of bonâ-fide membership of the Church of England.

Strangely enough, this is the moment chosen by the Independents to re-affirm their faith in creeds. We have no explanation to offer of the following resolutions, which were passed by the Board of Congregational Ministers in and around London on the 16th of February. They were moved by the Rev. John Kennedy, M.A., and seconded by the Rev. Dr. Vaughan. We leave the reconciliation of their various clauses to the ingenuity of our readers.

"That this Board is deeply sensible that neither the provisions of Trust Deeds, nor forms of Church polity, are sufficient to preserve soundness in the faith; and is conscious of the entire dependence of the Church, for all true spirituality and enlightenment, on the presence of its living Head, and on the teaching of the Holy Spirit.

"At the same time the Board, while disclaiming the authority of any party to restrict the freedom of the churches of Christ, recognizes the right and affirms the duty of those who erect places of worship to secure that these buildings shall continue to be used for the purposes for which they were erected, by the insertion in their Trust Deeds of doctrinal clauses judiciously framed."

Can it be that our Independent friends are already intent upon providing a refuge for those whom the increasing freedom of the Church of England will soon drive from her pale in despair?

THE THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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I.—DOMESTIC MISSIONS.

AMONG the changes which have taken place in the opinions of this country during the last sixty years, none perhaps has been more marked, or more complete, than the revolution which has been made in the views entertained respecting the social and political importance of the people, and the duties of the Church in reference to them. For some time before this period, several causes had been at work which served to invest their condition and numbers with a significance which they had possessed at no former epoch in our history. The socialistic speculations of Rousseau, which had not only leavened French society, but had found a welcome reception in England and America; the revolt of the American colonies; the outburst of popular passion at the French Revolution; the turbulent agitation and social discontent during the reign of George the Third,—proved that the amelioration of the intellectual and moral state of the people was a political necessity, and directed the minds of thoughtful men to the consideration of social questions. The philanthropic labours of Howard in the last, of Mrs. Fry in the early part of the present century, made known the miserable state of our prisons, and created an interest in the vicious and criminal portions of the community. Lord Brougham began his public career as the champion of popular education and general reform. The generous exertions of Sir Samuel Romilly, the enlightened advocacy of Sir James Macintosh, the parliamentary influence of Sir Robert Peel, were instrumental in bringing about those reforms in our criminal laws which have wrought a complete change in their administration and spirit. The religious interest ex-

cited by the evangelical preaching of Whitfield and Wesley, the extension of Methodism as an organized sect, together with other causes, helped to arouse among all religious parties a sense of the neglected, ignorant, and degraded condition of the masses of the population, as well as to stimulate them to a more faithful and energetic performance of their duties. The rapid increase of the population, combined with the ruinous effects of the Poor-laws, which had aggravated the evils they were intended to cure to such a degree as not only to threaten to exhaust the local revenues of the nation, but to plunge the labouring portions of the population into the slough of pauperism, pressed on the notice of economists and statesmen questions which vitally concerned the prosperity, if not the organization, of the country. The development of manufacturing industry and the extension of commercial enterprise, at the same time, by modifying the old relations of class to class, by concentrating large numbers of the people in the towns, thus removing them in some measure from the restraints of public opinion, no less than from the influences of religion, tended to multiply these questions, and to render their settlement a more needful as well as more difficult task.

The career of Dr. Chalmers furnishes the earliest instance of that kind of effort for the elevation of the people which, as being distinctively missionary, falls within our notice. On his removal to Glasgow, in the year 1815, he was brought face to face with most of those evils which are characteristic of large towns. The church to which he had been invited was situated in one of the lowest and most neglected localities of the city; the bulk of his parishioners, sunk in ignorance and vice, were, for the most part, alienated from public worship. As soon as he had ascertained the actual state of the population under his care, his strong and capacious mind at once set to work to devise means for their improvement. It will be unnecessary to follow the development of the various plans which his experience suggested, or to give any detailed account of their application in the different places where they were tried; it will be sufficient for our purpose to point out the principles he approved, and to bring into view some of the advantages they possessed. His conception of the office of the Christian church concurred with the opinions he had formed on the subject of

pauperism, in leading him to the conclusion that it was his duty to undertake the charge of the temporal necessities of his people, as well as the supervision of their spiritual concerns. The plan he adopted was territorial ; the boundaries of his district formed the limit, his church the centre, of all his operations. A portion of his parish was divided into small districts, over which were appointed an elder and a deacon of his church : it was the duty of the former to watch over the education and the spiritual interests of the district ; the business of the latter to attend to the relief of the sick and the poor. Schools of various kinds were established, and religious services conducted during the week, in the different localities. On the Sunday evening, the parish church was thrown open for the use of the working people. Church collections, assisted by private charity, supplied the means for the prosecution of these benevolent schemes ; and there is abundant testimony to shew that the results obtained were highly satisfactory. The great reputation of Dr. Chalmers, backed up by his remarkable administrative abilities, enabled him to secure an amount of co-operation and efficiency in the working out of his plans, which a less eminent man would fail to obtain ; while his position as the minister of an Established Church, during the larger part of his public career, was greatly favourable to the success of his undertakings. Nevertheless, the methods he employed suggest many useful hints, and possess some independent advantages. The church under his charge became, what every church should be, a centre of missionary effort and Christian influence ; the results achieved demonstrate the power of Christian truth and Christian zeal, when rightly and faithfully directed, to solve the most difficult of our social problems. By the subdivision of the field of labour, the work to be done was reduced to a manageable compass. The intercourse established between rich and poor tended to lessen the distance from class to class, and to turn the substantial influences of wealth, refinement, and rank, into a means of elevating the social and moral state of the people. In separating the spiritual functions of his church from the administration of its charities, he displayed a wise appreciation no less of the character of the people than of the conditions on which the success of his enterprise depended. The officers who were placed in the dif-

ferent districts, by being limited in their visiting to a small number of families, were thus enabled to reach a degree of perfection in their work, which would have been impossible on a more extensive, or less systematic plan.

Contemporaneously with the philanthropic labours of Dr. Chalmers, several of the orthodox churches of Boston, in the United States, had begun to take an interest in the neglected poor of that city, and to use exertions for their elevation. A few years later, in 1822, several laymen, members of the Unitarian congregations of that place, constituted themselves into a society, having for its aim their own improvement and the extension of Christian influences to the working people unconnected with the churches of the city. Through the zeal of its members, seconded by the active support of Dr. Henry Ware and Dr. Channing, this society expanded into the first Ministry at Large. In connexion with this institution, Dr. Tuckerman commenced his missionary labours in 1826. Animated with a generous faith in human nature and the sublime aims of the gospel, he entered upon his new work with enthusiasm. His singular fitness for the office he had undertaken, the consequent success which crowned his labours, the exposure which he made of the actual condition of the poor, and his earnest advocacy of their claims, aroused a wider and deeper interest, both in America and this country, on the subject of Missions to the Poor. It was the experience he gained, the principles he laid down, which determined the peculiar character these societies have assumed in the Unitarian denomination.

As yet no ministry specially designed for the poor, detached from and independent of ordinary places of worship, had been started in this country. Though many general causes were in operation, as before stated, to lead the thoughts of religious persons in this direction, the country was too much distracted during the first thirty years of this century with party contentions, and too entirely occupied with constitutional reforms, to have much time to devote to more peaceful undertakings. The National Church was only just waking up from the slumbers of the last century, and the Dissenters were too deeply engaged in political struggles, to spend either energy or means upon projects not seriously demanding their immediate attention. But the repeal

of the Corporation and Test Acts, the accomplishment of Catholic Emancipation, and the passing of the Reform Bill, left all parties at leisure to consider those social questions, the solution of which, though not so exciting as political agitation or religious controversy, is, nevertheless, of equal importance to the public weal. The Unitarian body, we believe, has the credit of originating the first mission to the poor in England. Manchester took the lead in this movement by inaugurating a Domestic Mission Society, on New Year's-day, 1833. Similar societies were soon afterwards established in London, Leeds, Liverpool, and other large towns. As we desire to limit our observations to the discussion of the practical working and constitution of our own Domestic Missions, we must content ourselves with the mere statement of the fact that, through the zeal and disinterested exertions of David Nasmyth, the first Town Mission Society was instituted in London in 1835. This was the parent of the numerous Town Missionary Societies which now exist in most of the large towns throughout the country.

The first and foremost object of the Ministry at Large, as set forth by Dr. Tuckerman, "never to be lost sight of, and to which no other is ever to be preferred, is, as far as shall be possible, to extend its offices to the poor and the poorest, to the low and the lowest, to the most friendless, the most uncared for, the most miserable." In his practical labours, he acted upon the conviction that "their claims are the strongest whose necessities are the most pressing." When he commenced his ministry, according to the statement of Dr. Channing, he did not contemplate the establishment of a place of worship as a part of his missionary agencies, but intended to confine his labours to house-to-house visitation. He soon, however, modified this part of his work, and a chapel, with other auxiliary institutions, was connected with the Mission. In his intercourse with the people, he sought to inculcate the broad, practical spirit of Christianity, rather than to teach the tenets of a distinctive theology. Instead of trying to convert the persons he visited to his own particular views, he made it his aim to restore them to the churches to which they professed to belong. In the formation of his own congregation, he aspired after the attainment of that ideal, in which the spirit of practical religion so far surpasses the speculative elements of faith, as to

enable persons of the most divergent creed to join together in a common work and a common worship.

As the labours of Dr. Tuckerman gave the impulse to domestic missionary enterprise in the Unitarian denomination, so did his opinions largely influence the character and the constitution of the Domestic Mission Societies. It is true the latter were not moulded on the exact model of the Ministry at Large in Boston ; still they are founded on the same principles, employ the same methods, aim at the same results. The objects of these societies, as set forth in their respective articles, are, for the most part, identical. The aim of the Ministry at Large in Boston is declared to be "the improvement of the moral state of the poor and irreligious in the city of Boston." The Committee of the Manchester Domestic Mission Society state, in their first Report, that "the minister to the poor is not sent out in a sectarian character. His mission is to those who are not connected with any religious society ; and his business is, if possible, to awaken attention to religion, and to recommend attendance upon public worship, without urging the claims, or having in view the interests of any particular sect." The Domestic Mission at Leeds was founded "to assist in the diffusion of religion and morality among the poor of Leeds, (more especially those unconnected with any place of worship,) and in the general amelioration of their condition." The object of the Liverpool Domestic Mission Society is defined to be, "to bring under the influence of Christianity, those who are now excluded from the means of moral and religious culture. The destitute who cannot provide, and the degraded who do not desire such culture, are to be the subjects of this charge."

These institutions rest on the obvious fact that a majority of the working people who inhabit our great towns and cities are alienated from the public ordinances of religion ; that many of them are known to be poor and ignorant, and, in the lowest stratum of the population, vicious and criminal. In their practical working, they have resolved themselves into agencies for bettering the physical circumstances of the people, by the distribution of charities, the suggestion of sanitary improvements, and the encouragement of the moral habits of prudence, sobriety and industry ; for the extension of education ; and lastly, for the diffusion of a simple, prac-

tical, religious faith, independent, as far as possible, of all distinctive doctrinal teaching. The chief means relied upon for the accomplishment of most of these ends has been visiting from house to house. As auxiliary to this pastoral work, but in the estimation of the supporters of our Missions in every way secondary to it, numerous other instrumentalities have been made use of. Among the principal of these may be mentioned religious services, Sunday-schools, tract distribution, day-schools, evening classes, popular lectures, working men's institutions and clubs, temperance and provident societies, loan funds and penny banks. We enumerate these institutions not as exhaustive of the methods employed by our Domestic Mission Societies, but to indicate the general character of the agencies by which they seek to effect their work.

No societies, we will venture to affirm, could be more benevolent in purpose, more catholic in spirit, or more comprehensive in scope, than these Missions. They have been so constituted as to approach man's nature on many sides, to attack the sins of the people with manifold weapons. It cannot be doubted that much good has been done through their instrumentality. Columns of statistics, shewing the number of houses visited, of persons addressed, of tracts distributed, it may be admitted, give, at best, but an imperfect representation of spiritual results; still, they afford some indication of the amount of effort made, and work done. The labours of our missionaries are, for the most part, performed in secret; the good effected can be known only to the Searcher of hearts, and the individual soul. Under such circumstances, it would be manifestly unjust to judge of the results of their ministrations by those outward signs of success and activity which indicate the vitality of ordinary churches. When the sick are relieved, or the guilty admonished, the effect can never reach the public eye or ear; nor could the missionary, if he were to attempt it, succeed in gauging the depth of the penitent's sigh, or in testing the strength of his resolution; so that a considerable share of his work is of a kind incapable of being presented in either the facts, or the figures, of a public report. But making a due allowance for the peculiarities of the work, and leaving a broad margin for invisible results, it remains to be confessed that our Domestic

Missions have hardly answered to the expectations which were at first entertained of their utility ; that they no longer excite the interest, or attract the notice, which they did when originally started. It may be affirmed, with some show of truth, that this diminution of interest is due to the loss of novelty, to the circumstance that their methods are well known, that as much has been said, as can be said, of the state of the people. We give expression, however, to an opinion which is rather prevalent, when we aver, that it is to be attributed to a declining faith in their usefulness, and to a growing conviction that the good done is not commensurate with the means, or the labour expended. The oldest of these Missions has now been established thirty years ; many others have been in existence a large part of that time ; but scarcely in a single instance within our knowledge, can the fruit borne be regarded as a fair return for the toil bestowed ; nor would the results be looked upon as at all satisfactory by any orthodox denomination. Other churches, though employing inferior agents, have, as a rule, been far more prosperous than ourselves in the same field of labour. Their district churches, their Ebenezers and Bethels, their Tabernacles and Zions, in the obscurest districts of our towns, are generally successful in obtaining congregations which exceed in numbers the attendance at our most flourishing mission stations. This difference, indeed, might be set down to the score of general causes which are not peculiar to our Missions, but characterize the entire denomination. Without attempting to estimate the precise force of these general causes, other reasons can be pointed out, more obvious in their play and more within the power of our control, which have worked together with these in bringing about a common, but an unsatisfactory result. The knowledge and experience accumulated by the labours of our missionaries, with a comparison of the methods made use of by other denominations and by ourselves, will help us the better to understand this disparity of result, and will, at the same time, suggest modifications in the constitutions of our Missions and their mode of working, which, we believe, would greatly increase their efficiency.

Our Domestic Missions, it may readily be allowed, are an admirable theoretical contrivance for curing the people of their defects, their vices, their sins ; but, like most other

theoretical arrangements, they fail to produce the effect anticipated, from leaving out of sight that practical adaptation to the end in view, which is far more essential to the successful working of an undertaking than mere abstract perfection of method, or completeness of plan. We have bestowed too much consideration on the absolute needs of the people, and too little on their real desires; our methods have been well fitted to supply their deficiencies, but hardly calculated to arouse their attention, or to influence their conduct. The error has been committed of judging the people by a wrong standard of thought and feeling; while sufficient account has not been taken of their circumstances, habits and intellectual tastes. Time has often been wasted in our mission work on fruitless projects and inferior methods, to the neglect of more profitable measures and more powerful agencies. We have been too much inclined to underrate the taste and the capacity of the working classes for theological knowledge, and too ready to give them credit for the desire of pure practical religion, which it cannot be said they possess. The limits of profitable missionary labour can only be fixed by an actual acquaintance with the character of the people in our large towns; the most effectual methods of doing it can only be discovered by a study of human nature as it is, and not from theoretical notions concerning it.

The first impression made upon the mind of a person who has been accustomed to a life of refinement and comfort, on visiting the homes of the working people in the lower districts of our large towns, is the apparent physical impossibility of ever realizing the decencies and enjoyments of civilized existence, in the circumstances in the midst of which they are placed. The density of the population, the pooriness of the accommodation within their reach, the filth, the noise, the commotion of the streets, the unhealthiness of the cellars, courts and alleys, the entire absence of the freshness and the beauty of outward nature, the practice of over-crowding, so common, yet so detrimental to delicacy of sentiment and refinement of feeling, constitute a formidable series of hindrances to social respectability, to intellectual culture, to moral improvement. On the first view, the removal of these adverse circumstances appears to be a necessary condition of the elevation of the people. But

whatever may be the importance of sanitary reforms to the wellbeing of the people, which indeed we have no disposition to undervalue, they are always slow of accomplishment, and generally beyond the reach of a missionary's direct influence ; nor can they be regarded, in any practical sense, as an indispensable preliminary to the social and religious progress of the labouring poor. In this age of external reform, in this era of social science, we may be in some danger of running from one extreme to another, of overlooking the weightier matters of the law, of forgetting that it is out of the heart that are the issues of life. Besides, a careful observation of the lives of the people, an intimate acquaintance with their condition, render necessary many qualifications, of one kind or another, of this first impression. Side by side, in the same locality, in the same street, often in the same court, are to be seen marked contrasts in the state of the houses, and in the comfort, decency and refinement of their inmates ; proving, if proof were needful, that physical circumstances, however wide their scope, however great their force, are not the most decisive elements in human life, and are not entitled to any large share of the missionary's attention. Moreover, it will be found that in a great majority of the cases of families living together in a single house or room, in a large proportion of the instances of sickness and distress which fall within a missionary's notice, these evils might have been easily avoided by a right mode of life and a proper expenditure of the means at their disposal. After the examination of a number of such cases, the conclusion becomes irresistible, that it is to sanitary improvement in a very small degree, to moral and religious influences almost entirely, we must resort for the effectual amelioration of the state of the masses of our population.

As looked upon at a distance and from the outside, the great body of the working people form a dense homogeneous mass of human beings, closely packed together in the streets and courts of our towns and cities. It is needless to add that a closer scrutiny discloses the utmost diversity of taste, material circumstance, intellectual bent, and moral condition. With respect to circumstances and character, they are broadly divisible into several distinct classes. At the bottom of the social scale lie the dregs of the population, the vicious and criminal portion of the community, a drunken,

depraved, wretched, and, it must be added, as far as human effort is concerned, an almost hopeless class of men and women and children : for experience is but too sadly unanimous in its testimony, that when the way of honesty has been deserted, the tastes depraved, the moral sense deadened, the character broken down, honour and rank lost, the chances are small indeed of social and spiritual restoration. Those who have attempted to recall the lost, to lift up the fallen, alone know how awful is the doom of long-practised sin, how unrelenting is the tyranny of vicious habit. By the grace of God's holy spirit, which cometh and goeth where it listeth, some are redeemed and saved ; but it seems as if some other means of social regeneration, as far as human agency goes, must be sought and found, than the recovery of those who have become corrupted and have given their lives to sin.

The missionary becomes acquainted with a second class of persons still below the rank of the bulk of the working people. The weak and the unfortunate, widows and orphans, the aged and the sick, women and children, neglected or deserted by their friends, furnish the elements of this section of society. Some of them are the subjects of irreversible misfortune ; it has been their hap to fall on evil days ; things have gone ill with them beyond control. Such as these call for all tender treatment at our hands, are worthy of all sympathy Christian hearts can feel, of all help Christian charity can supply. But in the majority of these cases, in one view it is sad to think, in another it is cheering to know, that their poor, dependent, unhappy position is directly referable to moral causes in themselves, or in others associated with them. Neither charity nor parish relief can do much to raise the condition of this class ; for as most of them have sunk through moral causes, so nothing but moral principles can ever raise them.

The average condition of the masses of the population of our towns and cities, both in position and character, is superior to the classes enumerated above. Engaged in daily toil, absorbed with the cares and the duties of life, neither pre-eminently virtuous nor remarkably vicious, neither intellectual in taste nor grossly ignorant, unrestrained by conventional notions, but not wanting in a sense of respectability, some rising, some sinking, with an ever-varying interchange

of light and shade, with all sorts of exceptions and all sorts of peculiarities, the bulk of them have heavy tendencies to a material, animal life. The vast majority have no connexion with the churches and the chapels of the country, are outside the reach of the ordinary appliances of religion. This estrangement arises from many causes. Want of dress and family duties hinder some; but the principal reasons for this alienation must be looked for in other directions. Some have conjectured that it is to be attributed to the intricacies of the common theology, that the people are unable to receive a religion when it is conveyed to them through the medium of incomprehensible dogmas. But this at best is a very imperfect explanation of the phenomenon, and is inconsistent with some of the facts of the case. It appears unquestionable that orthodoxy in some of its aspects is better calculated to influence the ignorant and the morally low than a more intellectual and spiritual faith; and it is certainly true that those of the working classes who do attend on the public ordinances of religion, are generally members of orthodox churches. Some of the more thoughtful of the working men have, no doubt, been driven into the extremities of infidelity by the intellectual difficulties inherent in the popular creeds. Others have rejected Christianity on theoretical grounds; but those who have done so after an examination of its claims and evidences, those who prefer secularism or atheism as a more philosophical creed, form an inconsiderable portion of the mass of those who absent themselves from public worship. This alienation is owing chiefly, we suspect, to practical indifference, is to be ascribed to the circumstance that the need of worship has never been greatly felt, the habit of worship never formed. The services of religion have only come into contact with their lives slightly and at distant intervals; the sentiment of religion, though finding expression in many homely virtues, has never been quickened into a vital and an ennobling power. The religious ideas of those who have never been indoctrinated are most vague and imperfect. A belief in the existence of God and heaven, of the devil and hell; a feeling that Jesus is in some way their Saviour, and the Bible the word of God, blended with many superstitious notions, constitute the substance of the popular faith. Intellectual difficulties are never experienced by any but the more

thoughtful. Although they never attend on the public services of religion, still many of them profess to belong to some church or chapel, or lay claim to some denominational name. They are neither unsusceptible of religious influences, nor destitute of the mental capacity to understand a system of theology. The truth is, that their minds have never been opened to the great themes of religion; their indifference is often but another name for ignorance. The claims of religion have never been pressed upon their attention, its interests never brought home to their hearts.

This great class of the people, we conceive to be the proper field of missionary enterprise. One reason that the labours of our missionaries have not been more fruitful in permanent results, is, that they have confined their attention too exclusively to the lowest of the low, and the poorest of the poor. We differ altogether from the opinion enunciated by Dr. Tuckerman that the latter ought to be the first object of the missionary's solicitude. In theory this may seem true, but in practice it is certainly inexpedient. Human agency can do comparatively little to raise those who have already fallen, or to enlighten such as have grown up in ignorance; and so long as our means are so few, the work to be done so vast, the soundest policy, the most effectual way of achieving our ends, is, not to waste our energies in unproductive fields of labour, but to devote our services to the endeavour to prevent, rather than to the almost hopeless attempt to cure, the ignorance, the vice and the crimes of the people. At any rate, if this is a duty which cannot be put on one side, it ought to be reduced from the principal to a secondary place in the aims of Domestic Mission Societies. The best way of reaching and raising the lowest classes is, we are inclined to think, by enlightening and evangelizing those immediately above them in rank. The example and social influence of the latter operate much more strongly upon them than any power which a missionary, in occasional visits, is ever likely to exercise. The more respectable of the working people, not connected with the churches and the chapels of the land, furnish, in every way, the best materials for the building up of congregations. They are the most susceptible to the influences of religion, and the least removed from the position into which our missionaries would wish to raise them.

When full allowance has been made for the physical and the social disadvantages in which the people live, it will be found, after all, that the fertile source of almost all the evils and the misfortunes which afflict them is the want of character, of moral principle, of religious motive ; that the best mode, if not the only mode, of removing these is, by dealing with their causes, to endeavour to prevent their coming into existence ; that the most effectual instrument for the attainment of this end is that placed in our hands by Christianity. These considerations, which rest on a very general experience, should, we think, be made the guiding principles in the management of our Missions and in the practical work of our missionaries.

The education and the religious training of the young should always be a special object of attention. Every effort ought to be made to surround them with right associations, to enlighten their minds especially in reference to moral duty, and to strengthen their characters by the formation of right habits, and by careful instruction in the great positive truths of religion. If this duty is put off until the children have grown into men and women, the opportunity, most likely, will be for ever lost. Youthful impressions and early associations are generally the most powerful and lasting. When the stage of youth is passed, the chances of education are fewer and more uncertain ; other tastes are acquired, other duties and other wants of a more pressing nature spring up and demand attention. Those who have had little or no training in early life seldom afterwards display a taste for intellectual culture, or shew any earnest desire for the acquisition of knowledge. What is true of intellectual matters is no less true of spiritual concerns. The most hopeful, the most promising region in which the missionary can exert himself is among the young. Sunday-schools and day-schools, evening classes and bands of hope, afford ample room for the exercise of the most beneficial influences over their characters. The great aim should always be to indoc-trinate their minds with those holy and exalted principles of religion which give inspiration to noble and generous thought, and minister incitement to a pure life and honourable action.

Among the secondary means which may be employed for the elevation of the adult population may be mentioned

popular lectures and mechanics' institutions, the temperance movement and co-operative societies. The experience, however, seems to be almost universal that but little can be accomplished for the education of grown-up people, that most institutions having that object in view have been hitherto to a large extent unsuccessful; so that the probabilities of usefulness lean strongly in favour of the latter institutions. It is impossible to visit the homes of the people, or to have the smallest acquaintance with their circumstances, without being convinced that the deadliest enemy to the prosperity of the working classes, the most extensive, the most fruitful source of misery, poverty and crime, is the vice of intemperance. Every other vice dwindles into insignificance in comparison with this monster vice, both as to its cost and the disastrous consequences which it produces. The fanaticism of the advocates of the temperance movement, by exaggerating its importance, has done much to injure their cause; but though it can only be regarded as a temporary expedient, as the cure of an evil specially characteristic of the working classes, we are compelled to acknowledge its usefulness as the servant of religion, and as an admirable agency, when rightly applied, in the social elevation of the people. Co-operative societies may be briefly adverted to as a movement of a similar character. Their tendency is to promote habits of sobriety, forethought and care; and, on that account, they deserve the encouragement of the missionary.

All other agencies, however, for the elevation of the people are inferior to the redemptive efficacy of Christian truth and Christian love. The themes of religion are of infinite importance, and in missions to the poor they ought to receive varied illustration and ample enforcement. In our own Missions, or at least in some, time and means have been expended on agencies of secondary moment quite out of proportion to their real value; while religious teaching has never had given to it that practical pre-eminence to which it is justly entitled. In missionary work, religious instruction, both from the importance of the subject and its value as a means, ought to be made paramount, the one instrumentality to which every other institution should be subordinated. Religion cuts down the tree of evil at the roots. To implant in a man's mind a fresh view of life, to

awaken in his soul a heavenly aspiration, to fix in his heart a new moral principle, is to do more for his spiritual regeneration than the most lavish charities, the best education, or the widest sanitary reforms could ever effect. The lack of moral and religious principle is the source from which spring many of the defects of the people, and it is more especially to the diffusion of religious knowledge that we must look for their removal.

The bulk of the people have never been brought under the power of religion, have never been made acquainted with its richness, its beauty, its consolations. One of the most vital questions of the day, a question which our Missions were founded to solve, is, How can the mass of those who are alienated from public worship be brought under the influence of religion? It has to be confessed that they manifest small disposition to enter churches and chapels of their own accord; nor do they appear to experience any deep sense of their deprivation. To meet this difficulty, the ready expedient is suggested of carrying religious instruction to them at their own homes. The systematic visitation of the homes of the people is one of the distinctive features of our Domestic Missions, and it has been generally adduced as one of their peculiar excellences. This appears a most happy way of bridging over the gulf which divides the people from the public ordinances of religion; but we hold it as questionable whether it works as well in practice as it promises to do in theory. Regular visiting, week after week, in the same round, it is to be feared, has a natural gravitation towards commonplace, and is apt to degenerate into the interchange of small civilities about one's health or the state of the weather. These little social amenities may be agreeable enough, but are hardly the objects contemplated in the establishment of missions. It is true visiting is an indispensable part of a missionary's duty. Without it, he would be able to gain a very imperfect knowledge of the condition, the wants, or the habits of the population among whom his work lies; but attached to it are many practical inconveniences, which detract considerably from its usefulness as a means of religious culture. During the day, when the visits are usually paid, the children are, as a rule, at school, the men absent at their work, the women busy with their household duties. Time cannot well be spared for

lengthened instruction, nor are the surrounding circumstances generally favourable to serious conversation, or deep impression. The most appropriate occasions on which to visit the people for spiritual purposes are at times of sickness or sorrow, when the outward circumstances are of a character to call for religious instruction, and to render its lessons lasting and salutary. At ordinary times, visiting must be considered as but an imperfect method of religious teaching, and should be employed rather as an auxiliary to public worship, than as a principal means of usefulness.

In the Unitarian denomination there has generally existed a feeling, that, in order to make religious instruction palatable or effectual with the poor, it must be preceded or accompanied with material help. As a consequence, in the practical working of our Missions the distribution of charities, in one shape or another, has become a characteristic feature. This sentiment is praiseworthy and plausible, but we believe fallacious. Christianity, no doubt, inculcates the practice of beneficence, and the ability to help the necessities of the poor, or to remove the infirmities of the weak, must be acknowledged to be a delightful privilege; but the proper limits to the exercise of this active benevolence must be determined by experience, its propriety judged of by the consequences which flow from it. Indiscriminate charity is worse than waste; and experience demonstrates that, leaving aside a few exceptional cases, it is never safe or wise to extend it beyond the relief of the sick. The practice of our Lord corresponds closely to this limitation. Among the numerous miracles which he is recorded to have performed, a large proportion are miracles of healing, only two having for their direct object the supply of temporal necessities. The effect of one of these affords a remarkable proof of the inherent and essential tendency of this kind of charity, and caused him to utter to the people who sought after him these memorable words: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, ye seek me, not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye did eat of the loaves, and were filled. Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give unto you." The entire discourse to which this incident gave occasion may be referred to with advantage as illustrative of the spiritual aims and means of the

gospel. The most successful missionaries have been those who have had the least to do with temporal charities, and who have relied the most on religious truth. If the early disciples of Christ had been rich men, it is certain that the dissemination of the gospel would not have been so rapid, nor its impressions so deep and pure. To make a minister to the poor the almoner of the rich, to any large extent, is to take the best possible course to neutralize the influences of his spiritual office. The simple knowledge of the fact, (and it is no easy matter to conceal it,) that a missionary has the means, whether of his own or of others, of affording relief, or that he has any connexion with the charities of the town, is of itself sufficient to arouse the rapacity of a poor neighbourhood, to surround his door with a crowd of needy, and very often undeserving, applicants for his bounties. In such circumstances, it is never wise to render help without the most careful scrutiny into the cases before him. If the missionary is conscientious, he will spend a large amount of time and energy in making the melancholy discovery that, in the majority of the instances, the distress is the offspring of vice, carelessness, and improvidence, or in unravelling the tangled web of falsehood and deceit fabricated for the occasion by those who have claimed his consideration. As a general rule, charity does far more moral harm than it can ever do physical good. In many instances, alms are a direct temptation to falsehood and hypocrisy, or an encouragement to idleness and improvidence. In connexion with religious institutions, they are always a greater hindrance than benefit. Ordinarily, those persons who are surrounded by the most evident signs of distress are the least deserving of sympathy or assistance; for, where the facts can be ascertained, it almost invariably turns out that their wretchedness is only the penalty of folly or vice. Such being the case, no amount of charity, however wisely bestowed, would permanently improve their circumstances. It was the experience of Dr. Chalmers that some of his least wealthy officers made the most efficient superintendents of their missionary districts, for the simple reason that they had nothing to spare, and therefore the people did not expect help from them. In his own missionary labours in Glasgow, he was compelled to relinquish all connexion with the charities of the city in order to gain his proper influence as

the religious guide and spiritual head of his parish. The aim of religion, it is well to remember, is to raise, strengthen and purify the character, while the general effect of charity is to induce improvidence, to cut the sinews of toil, to sap some of the most sterling qualities of the heart and mind. The right principle to adopt is to encourage the people to help one another, but mainly to depend upon themselves. The most successful instance of missionary labour, in recent years, within our knowledge, is the Albion-Street Mission, Aberdeen, which has been conducted chiefly, if not entirely, on this plan. We only state a pretty general experience in saying, that among the poor of large towns, under ordinary circumstances and in ordinary times, with the qualifications already mentioned, those who seem to stand the most in need of help are the least served by it, because its tendency is to foster those habits and practices which are at the bottom the cause of their poverty and distress. The more a religious society degenerates into a charitable institution, the less likely it is to do its spiritual work with efficiency and success.

The principal, if not the sole, object of a missionary's work should be, in our estimation, the inculcation of religious principles, the dissemination of religious truth. This is his highest function, this is his most powerful instrument. The easiest as well as the surest way of effecting this object is the formation of a Christian church. The chief aim of the missionary's visiting should be to persuade, to urge the people to attend on public worship, to become members of his own congregation. From the value which has been attached to visiting as a primary religious agency in connexion with our Missions, little consideration has been bestowed upon the subject of church organization; yet the fact of being a regular attendant at a church has a marked effect upon the character. The observation of all persons who are in the practice of frequenting the houses of the people, we think, will support our assertion, that among the working classes those who are members of a Christian church are more respectable in character, have decenter homes, are more refined in manner, than those who are not in the habit of attending a place of worship. Dr. Tuckerman, in speaking of the results of his observation of the condition of the people of Boston, says, "I was now

also impressed with the value of our religious institutions, as I had never before been. I had been made to feel, as no description could have made me feel, the general superiority of the character and condition of the poor who were connected with our religious societies, over those who were not so connected. This superiority became so obvious as almost to supersede the necessity, when calling upon a family I had not before visited, of inquiring whether or not they were so connected. And quite as great, I doubt not, would be the improvement in condition and happiness in all the families who go to no place of worship, if they could be brought into a regular connexion with religious societies." In several of his Liverpool Reports, the Rev. Francis Bishop, whose wide experience in this matter gives authority to his words, speaks with emphasis on the same point.

This moral superiority on the part of those connected with religious societies, it is true, admits of a double interpretation: it may be regarded as the cause as well as the effect of church-going; but as a matter of fact it is much more the latter than the former. The habit of attending a place of worship, irrespective of the positive religious instruction received, is in many ways most beneficial. The effort made to attend, the laying aside, even for a short time, of the cares and the anxieties of daily life, the specialty of the place, the forms of worship, the direction of the mind to heavenly things, the endeavour to comprehend the preacher's words, the voice of praise, the solemn words of prayer,—all exercise a tranquillizing, a refining, and a holy influence upon the heart, which cannot be produced in any other way. Moreover, the people come prepared to listen to instruction; there is a fitness in the time and place which induces a sober and a reverent frame of mind; while the minister can address them with a warmth, a directness, a solemnity, a fulness, which would be quite impossible in their own homes, or at any other time. The drawing together of a congregation, the organization of a church, ought to be esteemed the foremost object of the missionary's thought and labour; his visiting should be made use of as one of the principal means in the accomplishment of this purpose. Religion, in the abstract, is, without doubt, independent of time or place; but the feeble aspirations of the people require to be strength-

ened, to be supported, by associations of thought, of habit, of sentiment, of memory, with times and places and forms. Our neglect of, or indifference to, these secondary but proximate feelings of the religious life, may be enumerated as one of those causes to which must be attributed the partial failure of our missionary enterprise. Other denominations are wiser in their day and generation in this matter than ourselves. Their desire is to make a congregation, to unite the people together in a religious service, to connect them with a place. By the associations thus formed, the foundations of a habit and a taste are laid which make religious instruction possible, acceptable, oftentimes delightful.

The duty of public worship should be made a frequent topic of conversation when the missionary visits the houses of the people. The latter should be invited, even pressed, with earnestness and affection, to join some Christian church, and in our opinion to become members of his own congregation. The Mission should be the centre of all the missionary's labours ; the church its most prominent institution. Mission work requires concentration ; general labours are, to a great extent, effort thrown away. The thing to be aimed at, on the part of the missionary, should be to obtain an intimate connexion with a small number of families, and to devote himself almost entirely to their welfare. If he is earnest in his work and has the good of the people at heart, he will achieve far more substantial results by this limitation of the sphere of his activity than by the most extensive labours, which are only the more superficial for being spread over a wider area. The work should be neither general nor indiscriminate, but individual ; to win soul after soul from the wastes without, to turn the reclaimed into members of his own church. Independent of personal feeling, or of party consideration, we conceive this should be a predominant aim in all the missionary's labours, as the best policy to pursue for the attainment of the objects of the Mission, as the readiest way of bringing the gospel to bear upon the lives of the people. The Christian church has at all times been aggressive ; and so long as human nature remains what it is, it must continue to be aggressive. This is the attitude which must be assumed by every party in relation to the moral wastes of our large towns, or they will never be re-

claimed. In face of the ignorance, the vice, the indifference, of the masses, it is little more than trifling or playing with the work, to prosecute it without distinct and pointed aims, or by mere general methods.

The congregation worshipping at the Mission should be the missionary's principal charge ; but a useful support to it may be found in the establishment of cottage services. If this work be gone about in the right way, there will be but little difficulty in making arrangements for such services, or in persuading the people to attend them.

The value which we attach to religion as an agency for the improvement of the people, the prominence which we consider should be given to congregational life and church organization at our Domestic Missions, make all the more important and all the more necessary a definite answer to the question, What should be the nature of the religious instruction which our missionaries should convey to the people ? In any other denomination but our own, the necessity for putting this question would be unintelligible, as in their estimation it could admit of only one answer. The practical answer which has been given to this question by our body in the constitution of Domestic Missions, we regard as a fundamental mistake ; nor can we abstain from expressing our conviction that it is as illogical in theory as it is inadequate in practice ; that it rests on a total misapprehension of the best mode of reaching the people, and strips our missions, at least, of one half of their usefulness. Having an intense perception of the spiritual destitution of the people, we have attempted to regale them with solid quantities of unadulterated morality, forgetful of the feeble and languid appetites of our patients, overlooking the necessity of stimulating their tastes by a variation in their spiritual food. No doubt, what we have offered is what they need ; but it presents little or no inducement to them. In conception, our Missions are untheological ; in practice, the services have been divested as far as possible of distinctive teaching. This character has been given to them from a generous motive and with a catholic aim, but it appears to us a mistake, both as a matter of policy and in the interest of Christian truth.

In spite of the earnest desire we have shewn to impart to our Missions a general Christian character, free from

party aims, devoid of theological bias or distinction, they have nevertheless incurred all the theological odium which falls to the lot of Unitarianism, and Unitarian churches, in general. The position we have taken has not only prevented our missionaries from doing a positive and valuable work in enlightening the minds of the people, but has exposed us to the charge, either that we are indifferent to our distinctive principles, with the inference that they cannot be of much worth as we set so little store by them, or that we are seeking to teach the people our doctrines in disguise and under false pretences. There is not a Mission in the body which is not known to belong to the Unitarian denomination, nor which does not meet with the open or the secret opposition of other churches. Deprived of the advantages of a definite theological position, of the freedom of unshackled movement, our missionaries have to contend with all the prejudice which exists against our name, and are consigned by the nature of their work to the most unpromising fields of labour. They may be misrepresented without the privilege of explanation; they may be attacked without the power of reply; they may encounter ignorance or superstition in religious matters without being at liberty to correct this or enlighten that, if it would lead them to trespass, in the slightest degree, on the forbidden domain of a distinctive theology. These restrictions on the missionary's action, moreover, spring from a refinement of thought, from a spirituality of aim, which quite surpass the comprehension of the people, and which, indeed, if they did understand, they would hardly appreciate. To surround our missionaries, to this extent, with the swaddling clothes of theory, is, to speak in the mildest way, to seriously interfere with their usefulness and success.

It may be easy to conceive of the distinction between religion and theology, between morality and our intellectual ideas on the great subjects of faith; but there is a logical as well as an intimate practical connexion between them; nor can they be sundered without creating an unnatural divorce. In the long run and on the large scale, they depend upon each other; they advance together; they rise and fall together. The nature of theological opinions, the vividness or the dullness with which they are conceived, the strength or the weakness of the conviction of their reality, have immense

influence in the determination of the tone of religious feeling, and of the character of the practical life. Positive law, custom, prevalent sentiment, may largely affect our conduct, may have much to do with the formation of our habits; but if moral duties do not directly emanate from theological ideas, they receive their most powerful sanction, their highest inspiration, from them. Many obvious facts demonstrate the practical connexion which subsists between them; but there are many manifestations of that bond which do not appear on the surface of social life, but which are familiar to those who have an acquaintance with the opinions and the actions of the people. In instructing the masses of the population, it is as needful to explain the ideas which give sanction to their duties, as to explain the duties themselves. If faith is dead without works, works are likewise dead without faith; and it seems impossible to expound the elements of faith without laying down a distinctive theology.

In conjunction with the vice and the depravity of our large towns are found both ignorance and superstition; and the office of the missionary should be no less to inform the mind with right views, than to raise the character by sound principles. The people need light as well as spiritual regeneration. If their notions of duty are often rudimentary, their religious ideas are equally defective; why should not the missionary then endeavour to raise and expand the one as well as develop and stimulate the other? The separation is attended with no advantage, but often causes great spiritual loss. To excite in the people a new life, we must appeal not merely to the conscience and the affections, but also to the intellect and the imagination. To influence them it is necessary to present to their apprehension clear, definite, tangible forms of thought, which they can picture to the imagination, can grasp by the intellect, can realize to the affections. Moral maxims must be associated with examples; spiritual principles converted into personal relations. It is motive-power and inspiration which the people need. Moral platitudes cannot touch them. The loftiest incentives to duty and a pure life come from the inspiration of noble ideas and great hopes. Where shall we seek these but in the region of theology? Plant in the mind the germinant truths of religion, and you sow the seeds of fruit-

ful and generous action. Exalt a man's conception of the character and the disposition of God ; inform his soul of its true nature, of its spiritual capacities, of its relations and duties to God, of the purposes of its existence, of the sublimity of its destiny ; present to his vision the grace of immortal life ; speak to his affections and his imagination by the delineation of spiritual joy and heavenly beauty ; and his mind will be expanded, his aspirations awakened, his motives multiplied, his will captivated. But this cannot be done, it cannot be attempted even, without the statement of distinct theological opinions. The nature of the motives presented—nay, even the character of these, the greatest of all themes—will be determined more or less by the school of theology to which the teacher belongs. If we think it right to give the people the best fruits of our spiritual life, why should we think it wrong to confer upon them the highest truths of our theological faith ? They need both ; they have the capacity for both ; they would receive both, if we offered, expounded, illustrated and enforced them. It may be said that this is the work undertaken by the new District Missionary Associations ; but why should it not be done likewise by Domestic Missions ? The difference between these two societies is not essential, and in outward form they might be approximated to each other with advantage. It has been a mistake to give Domestic Missions the character of charitable institutions, and to support them exclusively by means derived from extraneous sources. There are some in all our Mission congregations who could afford to subscribe a little, if not to the minister's salary, yet towards the support of the services ; and they should be allowed and encouraged to do so. In one or two instances within our knowledge this is done. The seats in the Mission chapels should all be free ; every distinction among the people avoided ; but a box at the door, periodical collections, or a voluntary list, would afford the opportunity to those who have the means and the desire of contributing towards the expenses. In this, as in most other things, what the people get for nothing, they do not value so highly as that for which they pay. The bare notion of charity is sufficient to repel the more independent of the working people, and only tends to corrupt the motives of a lower class. Under no circumstances, however, is it likely that

our Domestic Missions would ever be self-supporting, as they will always be composed of the poor ; while the District Missions may become independent, and comprise different classes of persons. But this outward distinction need not make any difference, either in the substance of their teaching, or in their modes of operation. What is good for one is good for both ; the methods which are successful in the one will be successful also in the other. The gifts of intellect and soul are pretty equally distributed by Providence to all classes ; the fundamental religious wants of the heart are the same in every rank. Without being guilty of sectarian littleness, without indulging in uncharitable denunciation of others, the least we can do for the people, the least we can do for what we believe to be the truth, is to make a plain, full, decided statement of our distinctive views. Domestic Missions will never do the work they are capable of doing, will never attain the success which they deserve, until those conditions, expressed or understood, in their constitution are modified by which the operations of the missionaries are fettered, and their teachings emasculated.

In these remarks we simply plead that our missionaries should have a free and a positive theological position ; in short, that they should be left at liberty to speak out to the people their whole mind and heart. In their teaching, the practical should always preponderate over the speculative ; affirmation hold a more prominent place than denial. A Christian life cannot be built up on controversy ; and we have no desire to see our Domestic Missions diverted from useful practical labours, to be turned either into sectarian institutions, in any narrow sense of the word, or into mere propagandist agencies. Let them be positive, let them be free ; and we feel assured that their influence will be wider, deeper, and more permanent.

II.—BISHOP COLENZO ON THE CREATION AND THE FLOOD.

The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined.

By the Right Rev. John William Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal. Part IV. London: Longmans. 1863.

English Biblical Criticism and the Pentateuch from a German Point of View. By John Muehleisen-Arnold, B.D. London: Longmans. 1864.

A History of the World from the Earliest Records to the Present Time. By Philip Smith, B.A. Part I. London: Walton and Maberly. 1863.

“POOR Bishop Colenso” is about the mildest term the Bishop of Oxford has to bestow upon one who has laboured more successfully than any other writer of his time to make popular rational views of the character and composition of a very important portion of Scripture. The tone of compassion, we are afraid, is not confined to the defenders of literal inspiration. Dr. Colenso has not only been abused and pitied and prayed for by his enemies, but has been needlessly and, as we conceive, unjustly depreciated by not a few whose sympathies are upon his side. It is true he came somewhat late to his task, and having been accustomed from his youth up to regard the Bible as absolutely infallible, he expresses the utmost surprise at the discovery of his error, and as a natural consequence places in the most startling light those critical results which, in the hands of a thoroughly-trained scholar writing merely for the learned, would have attracted no special notice. But it is this very circumstance which gives a character to his work upon the Pentateuch; it is this which has made that work so generally interesting, and kindled against it the rage of orthodoxy. It is true perhaps that he has not exhibited the same breadth of scholarship and thorough command of his materials, the same wide range of sympathy, the same philosophical appreciation of the spirit as distinguished from the letter of the old documents, as Dean Stanley in his treatment of the same subject; but then it should be remembered that he writes from a very different point of view, and with a very different purpose. It is certainly to the credit of Bishop Colenso that his meaning is always perfectly intelligible;

and for our part we do not envy the man who can read his work without being impressed by the strong love of truth it everywhere displays. That some of his conclusions are open to question is a matter of course; but these he has always stated with becoming modesty; and when he is conscious that the ground is uncertain, he confines himself to acknowledged conjecture. That he may have fallen into some inaccuracies is probable enough; nor does he anywhere lay claim to independent research. Nevertheless, we are not aware that he has been convicted of any gross blunder; nor, though his acquaintance with the subject is confessedly of recent date, do we know of any instance in which the charge of ignorance has been substantiated. Certainly the industry, the candour, the severe love of truth, the honesty of the man in expressing his opinions, the admirable temper, with difficulty roused even to a gentle sarcasm in answer to the most cruel opprobrium, can never be too highly praised.

We have now before us the Fourth Part of Bishop Colenso's work upon the Pentateuch, which treats of the first eleven chapters of the book of Genesis. It furnishes an ample field for criticism, embracing the history of the Creation, the Fall, the Deluge, the Dispersion of Mankind, besides discussing or rather elucidating the composite nature of the Pentateuch. The well-known fact that throughout the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua there may be traced evident signs of at least a double authorship, is more clearly marked in the opening passages of Genesis than anywhere else.* Farther on, and especially after the sixth chapter of Exodus, there is more difficulty in the attempt to analyze the narrative into its constituent materials; but the whole of Genesis, with the exception of a very few passages, may be divided with almost absolute certainty between two writers distinguished from one another by characteristic marks; and in the opening chapters the proofs of a double authorship are so clear, as to place the question beyond doubt for any one able to appreciate evidence, and willing to apply the rules of evidence to the scriptural narrative.

* In Deuteronomy, however, there are only a few fragments which require to be separated from the remainder of the book. We do not here pronounce any judgment upon the question whether the Pentateuch is the work of *more* than two authors.

The reader to whom this question may chance to be new, should turn in the first place to that remarkable passage in the book of Exodus where God is represented as revealing himself to Moses by the name Jehovah (Exod. vi. 2, 3), and expressly affirming that this name was unknown to the patriarchs: "By my name JEHOVAH was I not known to them." Now to any one familiar with the book of Genesis, it must at once occur that this statement is inconsistent with the earlier narrative. The name Jehovah is there frequently introduced, and in the mouths of the patriarchs themselves. How, then, is this contradiction to be accounted for? Was the writer of the passage just referred to, supposing that he was also the author of the book of Genesis, simply guilty of an anachronism, in making use of the name Jehovah antecedent to its actual introduction into history? Or was he altogether a different person from the author of Genesis, and ignorant of the contents of that book? Obviously our choice would lie between these two solutions of the difficulty, were the name Jehovah used indiscriminately throughout the earlier history, and in every part alike. This, however, is not the case. A careful examination shews that there are passages running through the book of Genesis in which the name Jehovah is avoided, and the Supreme Being invariably called Elohim (God), or El Shaddai (God Almighty), that these passages contain marks of unity of authorship by which they are distinguished from a second set of passages characterized by the admission of the name Jehovah, and that when taken out and set by themselves they form a consistent and connected narrative. It is only reasonable to conclude that these passages, and not the whole book of Genesis, were written by the author of the sixth chapter of Exodus, and every subsequent investigation confirms this opinion. Were the two sets of passages indeed distinguished merely by the occurrence of the name Jehovah in the one and its absence from the other, this, it must be owned, would be a very precarious foundation on which to build so important a conclusion; but not only are they marked by many other peculiarities of diction not so easily appreciable by the English reader,*

* The two sets of passages generally known as the Jehovistic and Elohistie, may be easily distinguished without a knowledge of Hebrew. The reader has simply to note the recurrence of the word LORD in order to obtain the Jeho-

but the Jehovistic passages, as they are called, sometimes supplement, sometimes simply repeat, and sometimes contradict, the Elohistie, while at the same time they are pervaded by a less lofty spirit, giving a gloomier view of life and expressing more material conceptions of God.

It will be sufficient to illustrate these differences in the narrative of the creation and that of the deluge. Applying the test already explained, it will be found that the fourth verse of the second chapter of Genesis carries us from the Elohistie to the Jehovistic writer, for it is here that the word LORD first occurs; and the attentive reader will quickly perceive that he now begins to breathe a less pure and less elevated atmosphere. The description of the creation in the first chapter, however irreconcilable it undoubtedly is with scientific fact, is unmatched for simplicity and power. If the acts of God are to be expressed in human language at all, it is impossible they should be expressed in any language more worthy of the subject. But there is a much more human air about the action of the LORD God in the Jehovistic narrative. God merely issues his command and it is done; but the LORD God makes use of means, and forms man of the dust of the ground, and woman of a rib taken out of the man. The LORD is also represented as acting in many respects like a human being; he plants a garden, he takes the man and puts him into it, he brings the beasts to Adam to see what he would call them, he walks in the garden in the cool of the day. The one narrative, moreover, is at variance with the other in some important particulars. In the first, man is the crowning work of creation, and, like the animals before him, is created male and female. The second, on the other hand, assumes that the man was made first, then the plants, and then the animals; and it was only after the cattle, and the fowl of the air, and every beast of the field, had been brought to Adam, and no help meet for him found, that the LORD made the woman of one of his ribs. The first narrative is silent about Eden, and the temptation, and the expulsion from Paradise. The second never tells us that man was made in the image of God, and while it omits the blessing

vistic passages. Those in which this word is not used are the Elohistie. The other characteristics are made sufficiently clear by Bishop Colenso in chapter vi. of Part IV.

pronounced by the Creator upon his works, is careful to record the curses incurred by disobedience. These differences, then, taken in connection with the recurrence of certain phrases in either narrative which are not found in the other, leave no doubt as to the composite character of this part of the book of Genesis.

In the account of the flood, the traces of more than one hand are equally clear, and the narrative in its present form exhibits one or two remarkable contradictions. The first announcement of the coming destruction belongs to the Jehovistic or later writer. The second announcement, embracing the command to Noah to build an ark for his own preservation and that of his family, is Elohistie, though Dr. Colenso excepts the detailed instructions as to the fashion of the ark (Gen. vi. 15, 16), which, he thinks, have more the character of the Jehovist. Now in this first form of the covenant with Noah, the patriarch is commanded to take with him two of every kind of animal, and the language is so emphatic as to leave no room for supposing that he was intended to take more than two: "Of every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be male and female. Of fowls after their kind, and of cattle after their kind, of every creeping thing of the earth after his kind, two of every sort shall come unto thee, to keep them alive" (Gen. vi. 19, 20). But in the second form of the covenant which immediately follows, and which in its substance is a repetition of the first, a distinction is drawn between clean and unclean beasts, and of the latter only is Noah to take two, but of the former by sevens. The reason of the greater number of clean animals no doubt lay in the fact that some would be required for food and sacrifice. But it is no solution of the difficulty to say that the writer at first intended to speak only of those animals which were designed to keep alive the species upon the earth, and afterwards supplemented his statement by the addition of those required for other purposes. For the narrative subsequently confirms the original impression by telling us that "of *clean beasts*, and of beasts that are not clean, and of fowls, and of everything that creepeth upon the earth, there went in *two and two* unto Noah into the ark, the male and the female, as God had commanded Noah" (Gen. vii. 8, 9). Here, as in the

preceding passage, the distinction appears between clean and unclean animals, but there is no reference to the command to take of the former by sevens. The only admissible explanation therefore is, that the earlier narrative, having been interrupted by the later one at the beginning of chap. vii., is resumed again at the sixth verse of the same chapter. But has the Elohist then made no provision for animal food? He represents God as commanding Noah to "take unto him of all food that is eaten" (Gen. vi. 21). Does not this injunction almost necessitate some modification of the original command to take only two of every kind of animal? It would be sufficient to reply, that no such modification is admissible in the face of the statement twice repeated that no more than two actually entered the ark;* but the fact is, the Elohist supposes that animal food was unknown previous to the flood, after which we find its use was expressly permitted (Gen. ix. 3). The food assigned to the first pair by their Creator was "every herb bearing seed, and every tree in the which is the fruit of a tree bearing seed," and to the animals "every green herb;" and the manner of the permission subsequently given to eat flesh clearly implies that up to that time both man and the lower animals lived upon vegetable food. Another contradiction alleged by Dr. Colenso, though perhaps not quite so striking as that just noticed, is the assertion in one place that Noah entered the ark seven days before the beginning of the flood, compared with that in another that the two events happened the same day. Read from verse 7 to 13 of chapter vii., and the sense will be found to be, that Noah and his family entered the ark; that seven days after this the flood began; that the flood began upon a particular day, the date of which is given; and that upon this very day Noah and his family entered the ark;—which, of course, is absurd. But the difficulty is easily got over by removing verse 10 and regarding it as a later interpolation, and it can be got over satisfactorily in no other way.

* The words, "there went in two and two" (Gen. vii. 9), and "two and two of all flesh" (verse 16), certainly have the force of "no more than two," at least so far as to exclude any other definite number appointed by divine command. The reader should note that verse 16 must be divided between the two writers, the concluding words, "and the Lord shut him up," belonging to the Jehovist.

In assigning verses 6—16 of chapter vii., with the exception of verse 10 and the awkward interpolation of verse 12, to the Elohist, we follow Dr. Colenso and other recent critics, whose analysis, we are satisfied, is correct. De Wette, indeed, with the sanction of Parker, refers the opening passage of chapter vii. down to the end of verse 10, to the Jehovist, following the Samaritan and one Hebrew MS. in reading Jehovah instead of Elohim in verse 9. But the language from verse 6 is otherwise that of the Elohist; and besides, this distribution would leave the contradiction between the "seven" and the "two" quite unexplained. The only difficulty in Dr. Colenso's view is the mention of the clean and unclean animals, a distinction not intelligible on the supposition that animals were used neither for sacrifice nor for food. But there is no reason why the words which mark the distinction of clean and unclean in the Elohist narrative, should not be referred to the Jehovist, having been inserted to bring the early tradition into agreement with the ideas of a later age. The writer to whom we owe the Pentateuch in its present form was too conscientious, we may suppose, to change a single word, or he did not think the case before us required it; but he had no scruple in making interpolations.

Obviously it is much easier to prove the existence of an earlier and a later writer, than to determine their mutual relations. That there was once an Elohist document, or a narrative embracing those passages in the book of Genesis characterized by the use of the word Elohim (God) to the exclusion of the name Jehovah, follows from the consideration that these passages have marks of greater antiquity than the remainder of the book; and if they pre-existed, they must of course have had a separate form. But was there ever a Jehovistic document? Was the Jehovist an independent author, whose history was afterwards incorporated with that of the Elohist, or did he merely edit the earlier narrative, himself enlarging it with matter derived from some different source? This is an interesting critical question, but we do not propose to discuss it here. A good deal would depend upon the consideration whether a compiler having two independent documents before him, both of which perhaps he regarded with great veneration, would be more likely to overlook any discrepancies that might exist between

them, or an editor unconsciously to insert interpolations contradicting his text. Much might be said for either view. But there is one fact of considerable weight: the Elohist passages form by themselves a consistent narrative, whereas the Jehovistic are merely fragmentary; and although they must no doubt have had their source in some distinct tradition, they have not the appearance of having ever existed independently in a written form. This is the view to which Dr. Colenso inclines. Either conclusion, however, is equally fatal to unity of authorship, and destructive of that gross Bible-worship—the baneful delusion of modern orthodoxy—which insists, in spite of every warning, that the Word of God is nothing higher and nothing holier than the *words* of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures.

Were there, however, no doubt of the unity of the Pentateuch, and could it be proved beyond dispute that Moses was the author of the whole, no progress would be made towards establishing the inspired character of the narrative itself. That portion of the history in which the great Lawgiver himself took part would indeed gain immensely as the work of an eye-witness of the events it records; but the scientific and other difficulties affecting the credibility of the earlier narrative would remain untouched, and would prove that Moses, by whatever divine wisdom he might have been guided in giving laws to the emancipated Hebrews, was possessed of no more than human knowledge in regard to questions of science and of fact. The doctrine of plenary inspiration falls to the ground upon whatever side it is attacked, and can be substantiated by an appeal to facts no more than by an appeal to authority. The author of “English Criticism and the Pentateuch from a German Point of view,” coming forward as the representative to this country of the orthodox reaction in Germany—(Ewald and Hüpfeld he regards as isolated stragglers)—undertakes to establish the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, and to refute the argument for diversity of authorship founded upon the use of the words “Elohim” and “Jehovah.” The latter was the covenant name, and wherever it occurs there is a special reason for its appearance; and the remarkable expression in the book of Exodus, “By my name Jehovah was I not known to them,” does not mean, it seems, that the name was altogether unknown, but merely that “the covenant name was

not known to the fathers in its full meaning by actual experience." What the full meaning is, however, we are not informed, unless the author intends us to believe that it signifies Redeemer, which, of course, is not the case. Let such reasoning satisfy whom it may. In any case, let it be remembered that the name Jehovah, though the most conspicuous, is by no means the only mark which distinguishes the later from the earlier portions of the Pentateuch. It is perhaps the only one which the English reader can fully appreciate; but the conclusion to which it points is, as we have already said, confirmed by many peculiarities of style and language. These, which so clearly divide the opening passages of Genesis between two distinct authors, are very briefly dismissed by Dr. Arnold, and the contradictions contained in the narrative are ingeniously "reconciled." The scientific difficulties will probably be discussed in a subsequent volume, but judging from what is before us, although we shall not look for the extravagances in which some of our own countrymen indulge, we cannot hope for much new light upon the subject. Dr. Arnold's treatise is upon the whole written in a temperate spirit, but we have in it only the old story—an attempt to explain the difficulties which arise if it be assumed that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch, but no more than the scantiest evidence to shew that that assumption has any foundation.

We will now return to Bishop Colenso, and, following his footsteps, notice one or two of the scientific difficulties which encounter us in the book of Genesis. These difficulties, indeed, have been already so fully and so ably discussed by different writers by whom the subject has been nearly exhausted, that it may seem almost superfluous to revive them here; and, on the other hand, the defenders of scriptural infallibility are so insensible to the demands of reason, that it would be almost waste of labour to endeavour to convince them of the untenable nature of their position. As we can hardly expect to say anything that has not been said before, we must content ourselves with hoping that these pages may meet with readers not yet tired of the subject.

The comparison of the six days' creation with the countless ages of geological science is so familiar a question, that we propose to pass it by altogether, and simply recalling the fact that the stories of the Creation, Paradise, the Fall,

and the Dispersion of Mankind, involve geological, astronomical, physiological, philological, ethnological and chronological difficulties which make it necessary that they should undergo a process of "reconciliation" before they can be received even by the most willing believers, we shall pass on to the account of the Deluge, and briefly review the scriptural narrative in the light of scientific fact. To those who examine Scripture with unprejudiced eye and with the sole desire of ascertaining what Scripture means independently of every other source of knowledge whatever, it must seem quite beyond dispute that the deluge was literally universal. Unless the Bible had affirmed in express terms that "the deluge was not partial, as will hereafter be supposed," it is impossible that its language should have been more explicit. We are told that it was God's intention to "destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; and everything that is in the earth shall die" (Gen. vi. 17); and that "*all* the high hills that were under the *whole* heaven were covered" (chap. vii. 19). Upon statements so strong as these it would be perfectly justifiable to rest the entire issue, so far as regards the doctrine of plenary inspiration. But there are many who admit the human element so far as to say that the author of this narrative wrote from his own limited point of view, while they maintain notwithstanding the substantial truth and divine authority of the record. The form of expression, they would perhaps say, is human, but the substance is divine. The deluge, they would argue, was not strictly universal; but it submerged all the earth known to the historian, and it literally destroyed all flesh, because that portion only of the world was yet peopled. This statement, which we believe expresses the sense of the more moderate defenders of the divine authority of the Hebrew historical writings, sounds plausible enough, but it will not bear examination. A deluge overspreading several countries in Western Asia to the depth of about three miles is not quite so startling as one which should envelop with water the whole round world; but, as we shall presently see, the one is as much opposed to the facts of science as the other. The conclusion to which a scientific view of the case leads us may be very briefly expressed: there was not a universal deluge; there could not have been a partial one.

It is sometimes supposed that geological phenomena con-

firm the wide-spread traditions of a general deluge. They may no doubt have suggested them ; and marine fossils, or the remains of animals and plants, found upon high mountains above or near the snow-line, must have appeared to the uninstructed observers of early times a striking evidence of the action of a tremendous flood, which they would naturally infer had destroyed every living thing from off the face of the earth. But the traces of the presence of water, which undoubtedly exist in many parts of the globe, at elevations far above the reach of any ordinary flood, unfortunately do not all belong to the same time. The geologist would ridicule the idea of their having been produced in the space of a single year ; and, moreover, he knows well that they carry us back to a period ages anterior to Noah or Adam. Nor, on the other hand, will it suffice for the defender of the universality of the deluge to say that perhaps Noah's flood took place precisely as described in Scripture, and yet left no trace behind. A mass of water five miles deep sweeping round the globe, would not only have destroyed the entire animal and vegetable creation, but would have carried away or flattened down innumerable deposits not yet firm enough to resist its pressure ; and, in fact, there cannot be the slightest doubt that we should be able to read the story of such a flood quite as clearly in the face of the earth as in any written revelation. But in the face of the earth we read no such story. There are various places over which a flood like that described in Scripture has not passed for thousands of years before the time of Noah. An eminent authority declares that for at least twelve thousand years Mount *Ætna* has been exposed to no such flood. In *Auvergne* and *Languedoc* there are mountains—extinct volcanoes—on whose summits are piled up great masses of loose cinders, such as would be totally unable to sustain the pressure of a flood, but which exhibit no traces of having been ever exposed to the action of water. How easily such volcanic formations would have been swept away is evident from a parallel case adduced by *Hugh Miller*, whom *Dr. Colenso* cites as a witness to the impossibility of a universal deluge. "*Graham Island*," he says, "arose out of the sea early in July, 1831 ; in the beginning of the following August it had attained to a circumference of three miles and to a height of two hundred feet ; and yet in less than three months the waves had washed its immense mass down

to the sea-level; and in a few weeks more it existed but as a dangerous shoal."* This was a formation similar to the mountains just referred to, and placed in very much the same position in which they would have been, had a deluge reaching above their tops overwhelmed the earth, except, indeed, that the rush of water in the latter case would have been far more destructive than the ordinary action of the sea.

But passing by these difficulties, we come to another equally great. In the rivers and seas, and held in solution by the atmosphere, there is a certain quantity of water, and there never has been more or less. Whence, then, was derived the great body of water required to cover all the high hills under the whole heaven? Either it must have been specially created for the purpose and afterwards annihilated, or the land must have been made to sink below the level of the sea, both of which suppositions are inconsistent with the scriptural narrative, which simply tells us that the fountains of the great deep were broken up and the windows of heaven opened. It has been maintained, indeed, that the land and sea merely changed places; but this supposition is not only inconsistent with Scripture, but is absolutely forbidden by it. The biblical narrative clearly implies that the land which emerged from the flood was the very same as had been overwhelmed by its waters; and the identical countries and rivers reappear, as is evident from the names which are mentioned. It need hardly be added that such explanations can be offered only by those who have the most utter contempt for geology, which affirms that the land and sea have maintained their present relations, with only slight exceptions, for a period incalculably long.

These are the grand difficulties in the way of a universal deluge. But the scriptural narrative, if minutely examined, involves us in numerous smaller ones which sometimes take us from the sublime to the ridiculous. Noah is commanded to build an ark or floating vessel of vast size—Dr. Colenso makes it seven times as large as the Great Britain—capable of containing at least two of all kinds of animals, and food enough to sustain them for a year. He executes this stupendous work, although he lives far from

* Quoted by Dr. Colenso from the *Testimony of the Rocks*, pp. 341, 342.

the sea and can have had no previous knowledge of the art of ship-building. He executes it in the midst of an unbelieving generation, none of whom could have had any interest in aiding his project, and who must only have ridiculed his labour. He gathers into his ark two and two of all flesh; from all parts of the world the animals come trooping; to all parts of the world, to their various *habitats* to which they are now confined, they return after the waters of the flood have subsided. The sloth and the armadillo must have come from the tropical regions of South America. There is a wood-hen peculiar to New Zealand, having the merest rudiments of wings, which nevertheless must have found the means of crossing the ocean in order to reach the ark. Every continent has animals peculiar to itself. Yet over sea and land, over desert and mountain, they flock together, or else Noah and his sons find the means of conveying them. They take no advantage of the catastrophe to choose for themselves new abodes, but return to their own countries, leaving behind them no trace whatever of their long peregrination. The ark was to have in it one window "finished to a cubit above," which probably means, as Noah could open and shut it, that it was to be a cubit every way, and it was to be three stories high. What particular use was to be made of each of these stories we are not informed, and upon this point there have been various conjectures; but in any case, and even admitting that the one window extended the entire length of the ark, many of the animals must have been left destitute of light and air. Upon this point the opinion of Dean Wilkins, F.R.S., with the commentary of Bishop Colenso, is far too amusing to be passed over. The Bishop has a certain quiet humour which occasionally relieves his otherwise dry manner, and we cannot forbear to give our readers the benefit of the following *morceau*. Dr. Colenso quotes from Dean Wilkins's *Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language*, pp. 163—166.*

"'Tis agreed upon as most probable that the lower story [of

* This is a curious book (date 1668), the object of which is nothing less than to remedy "the judgment inflicted on mankind in the curse of the confusion" by means of a system of real characters, or characters connected, not through the medium of sound, but directly, with real objects and their qualities, relations, &c. The chapter on Noah's Ark is a digression suggested by the remark that the species of animals are not nearly so numerous as is generally supposed.

the Ark] was assigned to contain all the species of beasts, the middle for their food, and the upper story in one part of it for the birds and their food, and the other part for Noah, his family and utensils. . . . As for the Morse, Seal, Turtle or Sea Tortoise, Crocodile, &c., these are usually described to be such kind of animals as can abide in the water; and therefore I have not taken them into the ark, though, if that were necessary, there would be room enough for them, as will shortly appear. The *serpentine* kind, Snake, Viper, Slow-worm, Lizard, Frog, Toad, might have sufficient space for their reception and for their nourishment in the drain or sink in the Ark (!), which was probably three or four foot under the floor for the standings of the beasts. As for those lesser beasts, Rat, Mouse, Mole, as likewise for the several species of Insects, there can be no reason to question but that these may find sufficient room in several parts of the Ark, without having any particular stalls appointed for them.

“The carnivorous animals upon a fair calculation are supposed equivalent, as to the bulk of their bodies and their food, unto *twenty-seven Wolves*; but, for greater certainty, let them be supposed equal to *thirty Wolves*; and let it be further supposed that six Wolves will every day devour a whole Sheep. According to this computation, five Sheep must be allotted to be devoured for food each day of the year, which amounts in the whole to 1,825. Upon these suppositions, there must be convenient room in the lower story of the ark to contain the fore-mentioned sorts of beasts, which were to be preserved for the propagation of their kinds, besides 1,825 Sheep, which were to be taken in as food for the rapacious beasts. And, though there might seem no just ground of exception, if these beasts should be stowed close together, as is now usual in ships, when they are to be transported for a long voyage, yet *I shall not take any such advantage*, but afford them such fair stalls or cabins as may be abundantly sufficient for them in any kind of posture, either standing, or lying, or turning themselves,—as likewise to receive all the dung that should proceed from them for a whole year, [so as (we may suppose) to save Noah and his family from the necessity of cleansing daily the stalls. Alas! for the boa-constrictors and others of the serpentine kind, ‘snakes, vipers, slow-worms, lizards, frogs, toads,’ condemned to live in the ‘drain or sink’ containing the whole year’s drainage !]”

Evidently Bishop Colenso is not of the number of those who would needlessly set foot upon a worm. These were valuable creatures, the entire species depending upon the preservation of the individual. But the flood is over, and an olive-leaf brought to Noah by the dove is a sign

that the waters have subsided. One olive-tree has escaped that tremendous deluge! After an immersion of several months, and under a pressure of 474 tons of water upon every square foot of surface (or somewhat less if it be supposed a little above the sea-level), it yields a fresh leaf as a sign that the danger is past. Other trees and plants must have been no less marvellously preserved, seeing that Noah receives no instructions regarding them; and indeed had not the earth become green and fruitful as before, in a few days' time man and the animals would have been saved in vain, and would have escaped drowning only to die of starvation.

But why proceed? These are but some of the difficulties which must be encountered by those who persist in looking for historical veracity in a myth handed down from the childhood of the world. Will it be believed that a German critic, notwithstanding, has the confidence to remark that "here, if anywhere, everything is combined which can give the Bible narrative the stamp of the highest credibility"? No wonder Dr. Colenso, in quoting the remark, should affix to it one of his favourite notes of exclamation. On the contrary, as has been sufficiently shewn, the story is utterly incredible; and the explanations which have been attempted of the difficulties it contains, only serve to shew how substantial those difficulties are. For example, one writer—following, however, the probable meaning of the Elohist narrative—supposes that no provision was made for feeding the wild beasts upon animal food, and accordingly approves of the notion that "the *carnivorous* animals were originally created *herbivorous*, and were, in fact, *omnivorous*." Another, still more strongly impressed with the difficulty of providing so many creatures with food for a year, thinks the animals may have been kept during their sojourn in the ark in a state of torpor. Others, far outstripping the boldness of Mr. Darwin, and willing to accomplish in a few years what he assigns to thousands of centuries, think that only a few types were preserved in the ark, and that from these all other species have been developed. One is really confounded at the mingled simplicity and assumption of these speculations. The audacity of free inquiry is often censured, but what is it compared with the daring of orthodoxy?

We have thus far postponed the discussion of a partial deluge. In truth, there is little to be said upon the subject, except to repeat that a partial deluge is simply impossible. By the universal law which makes water everywhere seek its own level, a flood could never reach the top of Mount Ararat—about three miles high—until it had covered the entire globe. A body of water covering all the country familiarly known to the writer of the Bible narrative—let us say a space one hundred miles square—and reaching to a height of three miles, even if we suppose it called into being for the purpose (which, of course, is a very unwarrantable assumption), could not maintain itself for a single day in that position, but would immediately begin to rush down upon every side with the most tremendous violence. Much less could the water of the rivers and seas, however swelled by rain, ever rise to so great a height. Yet a writer otherwise sober and moderate gravely informs his readers that the law of a uniform level only applies to standing water, and that the water of the deluge might have been sent up with such force as to give it a conical form. Whence this great force was derived, how the cone of water preserved its symmetry for a year, how it was that the ark was not swept away by this tremendous rush of water,—these are points he does not seem to have considered. It may be said, however, that possibly the depth and duration of the flood may be exaggerated, that the Ararat of Scripture may be different from the mountain now called by that name, and that by a very extraordinary increase of rain the rivers may have become so flooded as to have destroyed all life in a wide circuit round the dwelling-place of Noah and his family. All this is very probable, but it is not what we find in Scripture; and if it be allowed that the deluge of Noah was simply such a flood as might take place at any time, why then all controversy upon the subject is at an end. A partial deluge in this sense there might have been; of course there must have been many such; but *not* a partial deluge covering the top of Mount Ararat.

However the story of the deluge may have arisen—and it belongs to that group of legends which, as though they claimed a kindred origin, appear in forms more or less resembling one another in different parts of the world;—whether it grew from any dimly remembered facts far back

in the infancy of the human race, or whether it merely came into being under the same laws of the human mind looking out upon the same imperfectly understood world of fact ;— it is not, we think, wholly impossible to conceive the state of mind which gave it birth. The child is ever full of questions, and sometimes astonishes by the pertinence of his inquiries ; but he does not reason closely, and in fact cannot reason beyond his knowledge. So it is with the childhood of the race. Man looks out upon this wonderful world, with its irresistible forces, its stored-up fire and water, and the great threatening dangers it hides beneath its calm bosom. He has felt perhaps the power of water, and has trembled to think what a terrible destroyer it might become. He has seen, too, high up upon the hills the marks of great inundations, and he dreams of a submersion of the world. He thinks, if such a submersion were to take place, that a single pair escaping would suffice for the preservation of the race, and a floating vessel naturally suggests itself as the most probable means of escape. Perhaps he entertains the same dread about fire, but he finds no marks of a general conflagration having yet taken place, and he can devise no escape from such an event. So he puts the destruction by fire into the Future, and the destruction by water into the Past, and lives a more reverent life, burdened with the memory of the one, and in dreadful anticipation of the other. But as the tradition of a deluge receives a more definite shape and becomes more circumstantial and precise, those who hand it down do not pause to consider the difficulties which disturb the mind of a more reflecting age. They have no answer for the questions which trouble us, for they do not even ask them. The Jehovist asked how Noah knew when he might leave the ark, but he did not ask how an olive-tree could survive the deluge. He knew that animals might be preserved in a floating vessel, but he did not inquire how many kinds of animals there were, nor can we suppose that there was any attempt to calculate the space their food for a year would occupy. He knew also that fish live in the water, and so never thought of asking whether any kind of fish could survive the mingling of fresh and salt water which the deluge supposes. Had not reason been much less active than imagination, some difficulties might readily have suggested themselves even to that early age : others, again,

are quite beyond its knowledge. Some of the difficulties connected with the story of the deluge belong entirely to modern times. Indeed, during the last few hundred years the horizon of our knowledge has been rapidly enlarging, and every century has brought an accession of light to bear upon the statements of Scripture. It was much easier to believe in a universal deluge before any one had been to the antipodes. It was much easier to believe that all kinds of animals were preserved in one vessel, when there was no knowledge of the geographical distribution of the animal kingdom. But for a long time past every year has been adding to the number of known species; and during the present century geological science has finally proved that neither in the narrative of the creation nor in that of the deluge can the Hebrew legends vindicate their claim to be regarded as infallibly true.

We have now very little to add, except that in the foregoing remarks we have made no use of Mr. Philip Smith's *History of the World*, which, as bearing upon the same subject, we have classed with Dr. Colenso's work. Perhaps the only praise he will care to receive from us is that which we can honestly give—that, so far as we can judge, his work is, as it was evidently meant to be, entirely orthodox. Writing ourselves, however, from the critical and not from the orthodox point of view, we could hardly avail ourselves of a work which assumes as proved “the genuineness and historic credibility of the writings ascribed to Moses,” which therefore accepts the six or seven thousand years of the Bible chronology, the expulsion from Paradise, the universal deluge, and all the other “improbabilities and impossibilities” of the primitive legends, and presents us with those old stories divested of their antique charm in the cumbrous phraseology of modern fine writing. Thus we are told that “the scenes of creation were probably exhibited to Moses in vision simply as phenomena,” while the interpretation of the phenomena was left to the discoveries of science; that “the presence in Eden of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, the appearance and address of the serpent to the woman's senses, and the eating of the forbidden fruit, instead of needing any mythical or allegorical interpretation, shew us the reality of the whole transaction;” and that “when we read of the inventions of the Cainite race, and

reflect upon the opportunities furnished by antediluvian longevity for retaining that knowledge which the short-lived races of later men are ever losing and regaining, we may well believe that they had reached a material civilization still unknown to us." Yes, indeed! when men lived a thousand years, what astonishing progress they must have made! For our own part, we do not see the least reason to doubt that Tubal-Cain invented the steam-engine! But in sober earnest, does Mr. Smith know, or does he not know, that the above sentences are simply childish? If he does not know it, ought he not to be ashamed of himself? And if he does know it, and only fears the tattle of a thousand tea-tables, ought he not to be still more ashamed of himself? Does he not know perfectly well—or, if not, let him now be informed—that if the scenes of creation were exhibited to Moses, they were not *correctly* exhibited? What does he mean by saying that the story of the serpent requires no mythical or allegorical interpretation? An actual serpent, then, spoke to an actual Eve in a real Paradise somewhere near the Euphrates! Perhaps Moses saw this in vision also; but if so, what assurance have we that it was more than a dream? Then, how fine is this upon the deluge: "After a solemn pause of seven days, the sources of the earth's waters and the clouds of the sky were broken up at once, and poured forth their floods for forty days and nights, covering the whole surface of the earth. The surprise and terror of this sudden judgment form a theme for the poet and the painter. It is enough for us to see in that unbroken sheet of water the first end of a world ruined by sin," &c. &c. Will it be believed that the writer of the above splendid parody has the assurance to claim by implication a noble breadth of thought and contempt for vulgar prejudice? He actually speaks scornfully of "those narrow literal views which justly incur the contempt of science." He affirms that he tests and interprets the statements of Scripture "by the same rules of common sense which we apply to other historic records"!

We need say little more. The literal interpretation of the primitive Hebrew records, which, in calm reliance upon a theory of verbal inspiration, blindly passes by the results of science, is respectable by the side of the interested apo-

logy, which assumes the disguise of impartiality, only to give greater weight to the utterance of foregone conclusions. We reserve our chief hatred and contempt, not for the Pharisees who honestly fought against the truth, but for the false apostle who betrayed it with a kiss. So Mr. Smith begins his work with the most sonorous platitudes on the philosophy of history, and proceeds to prove his philosophic insight by turning primæval history into a monstrous tract on the fall of man. We can conceive no more effectual way of bringing philosophy into contempt, and that without conferring any benefit upon religion. But our readers hardly need the beacon of warning which we have lighted. If they desire to follow the footsteps of critical and scientific analysis in the first chapters of Genesis, they will turn to Dr. Colenso; if they wish to stand face to face with the naive simplicity, the unconscious sublimity, the calm, pastoral beauty, of these earliest records of primæval man, they will go to the familiar pages themselves, which Mr. Smith has so cruelly and pompously paraphrased.

III.—SCOTCH RELIGIOUS LIBERALITY.

Phylax on Buckle. Reprinted from the Scotsman of 28th December, 1861, and 1st January, 1862.

How does Scotland stand affected toward the English movement in favour of a free theology? This is a question which has often occurred to us lately. Scarcely a day passes in England without some fact turning up which indicates the presence of an active party who are bent upon shaking off the trammels of religious dogmatism. The directions which this activity takes are so varied and general, as to entitle it to be considered a national characteristic of the time. Whether or not, or to what degree, the northern part of the island partakes of the influence to which we southerners are exposed in this matter, is a speculation of some importance. We are disposed to enter into this speculation, though we shall do so quite informally. We have neither the knowledge nor the inclination needful for a discussion of the subject, but we think we can put together a few statements

which, as arranged to answer to the heading of this paper, may not be destitute of significance.

The similarity in character and influence that exists among the principal church organizations of Scotland, gives an advantage to any one who speaks on Scotch religious affairs which cannot be enjoyed in relation to English transactions of the same kind. The speaker, in the former case, has a much more simple substance to deal with. What might happen here, in connection with Independency, would have little or no application to the condition of the Church of England; but what happens there, in connection with the Free or the United Presbyterian Church, is truly representative of what may also be found in the Established Kirk. The species of all three is the same, though there are individual differences to be allowed for. A Scotch presbytery has a normal resemblance to every other Scotch presbytery; and a popular Scotch divine is a national, not a merely sectarian, production. With this explanation we propose to introduce our readers to the Free Church Presbytery of Strathbogie, and also to the Rev. Dr. Candlish.

Most people know something about the monthly publication called *Good Words*. It is a religious magazine, issued in Scotland, under the editorship of Dr. Norman MacLeod, but having a circulation over the whole island. It aims to connect religious instruction with literature of a generally attractive kind; and in doing so it presents religion itself in a form answerable to the common principles of human nature. Of course it comes to pass that the peculiarities of orthodoxy are very much kept in the background by it; and the food provided, though more palatable to the ordinary appetite, on that account is distasteful to true believers. When it is remembered that the cooks are, for the most part, eminent professors of the right faith, it cannot be wondered at that the said believers should consider themselves a little cheated in the case; as though pepper and salt and vinegar were excluded from all the dishes on the table, and a most inadequate supply of meat was aggravated by a complete surfeit of pudding.

Grumbling was, therefore, to be expected; but who could have thought that the dissatisfaction would have exploded in a Church censure? Nevertheless, so it did. The Free Church Presbytery of Strathbogie—a body not by any means

"little among the thousands of Judah"—after long and painful discussion, adopted, in the autumn of last year, the following resolution :

"Whereas it is matter of notoriety that the periodical entitled *Good Words* is extensively circulated ; and whereas there is reason to believe that the circulation of this periodical is calculated to do much injury, it is hereby overtured by the Free Church Presbytery of Strathbogie to the ensuing Synod of Moray and then to the General Assembly of the Free Church, to take the subject into consideration, and deal with it as they in their wisdom may deem fit."

The Scotsman newspaper made great fun of this, and the laugh was shared by multitudes ; but we do not recollect that it was pointed out how peculiar this method of dealing was to the country in which it took place. We suppose such a resolution could not be paralleled in the proceedings of any English church, however foolish and ignorant its members might be. What strikes us most is the pretentious conceit implied in the interference committed. Strange indeed must be the condition of a people as to the duties of religious liberality, when church courts can drag into their business such a question as this about the toleration of *Good Words*, apparently without a consciousness of violating the custom of the land ! We have heard that, since this memorable deliverance, *Good Words* has mended its manners—the food being more savoury, if not better, than before. We cannot vouch for the truth of this ; but we have examined one of the late numbers to test its theological quality, and we should think that, setting aside the still too ample quantity of pudding, the meat could scarcely offend even the Strathbogie taste.

We hope it is not forgotten that a few months ago, Dr. Candlish was hailed by many unsuspecting persons as having taken a rather liberal stand on the subject of Biblical Inspiration. Bishop Colenso almost claimed him as a brother, and the Duke of Argyle praised him for his enlightenment. Even that sturdy Unitarian, Mr. George Hope, of Fenton Barns, spoke of him in friendly terms.

We thought at the time that this instance of sudden conversion would not turn out satisfactorily. We had no means of forming a judgment of the case except from newspaper reports. But we had been long acquainted with the

Doctor's style of exposition ; and there was a curiously dark and complicated mode of utterance in what we read, which produced the same sensation as would the possibility of that being a bog on which we are about to tread. Alas ! such it proved to be. Poor Colenso was fiercely rated by the man toward whom he had held out the fraternal hand, for supposing that the collection of mud which he had mistaken for solid ground was not so unsustainable as it ought to be.

What, in the name of common sense, do our readers suppose was the explanation offered by the Scotch divine to correct the charitable mistake into which his heretical sympathizers had fallen ? It was this : That when he said that revelation included shortcomings and mistakes relating to science and history, he meant that God and not man committed them, and that they were produced in the exercise of the infallibility proper to the Divine Being. The Bible was, therefore, infallibly fallible ; and its errors ought to be reckoned to the account of unerring certainty. This nonsense seems at first sight quite incredible, but our readers shall judge for themselves. Here are one or two of the original statements :

"I suppose that truth absolutely pure and perfect can dwell only in the Divine Mind. To lodge it in the mind of a creature exactly as it is in the mind of the Creator may very probably be an impossibility. . . . Hence it follows that truth, the truth as it is in Jesus, even when directly communicated from God to men, say, for instance, to the inspired apostles, is not to them absolutely and perfectly what it is to God. Nay, more than that. It may not be to any one of them exactly what it is to any other of them. . . . It is not simply God speaking to man and man listening to God. It is rather God coming down to earth, mixing himself up with its ongoing, and turning to his own account the sayings and doings of its inhabitants. Hence the need of discrimination. It is easy to create embarrassment here, if allowance is not made, as in all fairness it ought to be made, for the constraining force of circumstances." "I can see no reason why the Holy Spirit should not use the same latitude that a truthful man would use when minute exactness is not necessary and is not pretended. . . . Nay, more ; I imagine that a man writing under the assurance of Divine guidance may be less careful than he would otherwise have felt himself bound to be."

These extracts are taken from *The Scotsman's* report of
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Dr. Candlish's address delivered in November last at the opening of the session of the New College, Edinburgh. Afterwards, in a Preface to a new edition of "Reason and Revelation," from which book the address had been for the most part copied, the Doctor thus further unveils himself:

"I maintain strongly that all that is in the Bible is in the strict and proper sense the Word of God. It is God's inspired and infallible record of his Revelation, and of the human affairs, the sayings and doings of men, with which it has pleased him that his Revelation should be mixed up." "God reveals his mind and will not as realizing his own perfect idea of optimism, but as in an important sense restrained from so doing. And in truth is he not necessarily thus restrained if he is to deal with men and things as they are, and so to deal with them as to effect his object in a way accommodated to them as well as worthy of himself?" "Every word of the Bible is what it is and where it is by the direct will of the Holy Spirit as truly as by the purpose of the writer. . . . It is the Holy Spirit's word as much as the writer's. Only the Holy Spirit does not supersede the writer or make him write unnaturally."

This is, taking it altogether, a surprisingly audacious attempt to force down orthodoxy in the teeth of opposing facts. The facts are not disputed; but the theory to which they are opposed is said to include them by way of make-believe. The ignorances and mistakes of the Bible are a mere pretence, devised by God in adaptation to human infirmity. He selected and arranged them designedly so as to give to revelation the more natural air. Certainly this cuts the knot of every difficulty. Adduce any proof of human authorship you please; and the answer is at hand. Granted; but this was what God purposely produced in order that the appearance of humanity may be given to his work.

Now Dr. Candlish is not a fool himself, and he ought not thus to have assumed that his readers were fools. He, in fact, claims that the inconsistencies and contradictions of his theological system should be imputed to the Almighty. We reply, Nay! It is your character, not God's, which is at stake in this matter. You shall not be permitted to transfer your responsibility to him. We hold you to your own invention; and indignantly refuse to lower the standard of the Divine perfection to your dogmatic level. God,

it is true, does accommodate himself to human necessities ; but never in the way you describe. His infallibility is not pledged to the accommodation. What is man's, he leaves as man's ; and takes as his own only that which answers to his own glory. Fallibility and infallibility are not to be juggled with in this way. An infallible revelation having a fallible development is a nonsensical conception which no orthodox pretension on your part can dignify or defend.

This we think a more notable instance of Scotch religious liberty even than the one we drew from the proceedings of the Strathbogie presbytery. It is truly marvellous that, in these days, when the principles of a free biblical interpretation are becoming generally understood and appreciated, so that men of all religious parties make concessions in their favour, such an exception as this of Dr. Candlish should exist. He is no common man, and he exercises no inconsiderable influence. He is perhaps the first of Scotch theologians, and, from office as well as character, exerts a greater power over the rising ministry of Scotland than any one else.

If such be the liberality of Scotch orthodoxy within its own department, what kind of liberality is likely to be shewn in Scotland toward professed heretics ? We may perhaps be able to cast a little light upon that question.

A friend has forwarded to us the pamphlet whose title we have prefixed to this article ; and it will assist us, as Scotch preachers say, to "open up" our subject. It is somewhat old in date, and we believe it was printed only for private circulation ; but its contents first appeared in *The Scotsman*, and they would not have been thus separately issued if the author and his friends had not attached a special value to them. We believe we know who Phylax is ; and we are much mistaken if we have not "taken our tumbler of toddy" with him. We are disposed, therefore, to use him tenderly, though he has exposed himself to a rather severe handling on our part.

The articles comprised in the pamphlet were called forth by the publication of the second volume of Buckle's *History of Civilization*. A large part of that volume was devoted to an attack upon the religion of Scotland ; and the object of the pamphlet is to shew that this matter has not been fairly represented by Mr. Buckle. To a prominent portion of this

counter-statement we very strongly object ; and we happen to have the means of supporting our objections by an array of facts with which we are specially acquainted. The Unitarian congregation worshipping in St. Mark's chapel, Castle Terrace, Edinburgh, is well known to us ; and it is in the interest of that congregation that we protest against the view of Scotch religious liberality which Phylax has presented, inasmuch as he has ventured to include St. Mark's in his ecclesiastical survey. The strange things we may mention must be known to him, for the most part, nearly as well as to us ; and we marvel that one who possesses his information should have been able so completely to forget it as he has done in the instance before us. But if a gentleman, who considers himself justified in asking the public to call him *Phylax*, can thus be off his guard, it is surely fitting that others, who have neither his knowledge nor his pretension, should be reminded of the real state of the case.

The passage in Buckle's *History of Civilization* on which the whole of our controversy with Phylax turns, is as follows :

"In no other Protestant nation, and, indeed, in no Catholic nation except Spain, will a man who is known to hold unorthodox opinions find his life equally uncomfortable. In a few of the large towns he may possibly escape animadversion if his sentiments are not too bold, and are not too openly expressed. If he is timid and taciturn, his heresy may perchance be overlooked. But even in large towns impunity is the exception and not the rule. Even in the capital of Scotland, in that centre of intelligence which once boasted of being the Modern Athens, a whisper will quickly circulate that such an one is to be avoided, for that he is a free-thinker ; as if free-thinking were a crime, or as if it were not better to be a free thinker than a slavish thinker. In other parts—that is in Scotland generally—the state of things is far worse. I speak, not on vague rumour, but from what I know as existing at the present time, and for the accuracy of which I vouch and hold myself responsible. I challenge any one to contradict my assertion when I say that, at this moment, nearly all over Scotland, the finger of scorn is pointed at every man who, in the exercise of his sacred and inalienable right of free judgment, refuses to acquiesce in those religious notions, and to practise those religious customs, which time, indeed, has consecrated, but many of which are repulsive to the eye of reason, though to all

of them, however irrational they may be, the people adhere with sullen and inflexible obstinacy."

Now we would not offer to defend every expression in this passage; but we do say, on the ground of personal experience and observation, that it is substantially true. Phylax, on the other hand, says: "Well, we take up the challenge and contradict the assertion altogether."

The manner in which these "prave 'ords" are supported is singular enough. To wipe away the imputation from Modern Athens, it is proposed that a part of the town should be perambulated.

"For its bearing on this matter we would like now of all things to take Mr. Buckle a walk—say from the west-end of Prince's Street, by the back of the Castle, on to the Greyfriars—and draw his attention to the several places of worship on the way. They happen to be pretty numerous in that quarter: but it will certainly not escape his capacity for establishing broad distinctions that they have not the same fine unity, characteristic of that Spain which he is fond of comparing us with in our religious aspect."

This looks fair. Provided the weather were not rainy or windy, the walk might be made a pleasant one; but it is oddly selected. If Mr. Buckle should have been disposed to ask before starting, Why in this particular direction? we suspect the right answer would not be forthcoming. Certainly the careless remark that churches and chapels "happen to be pretty numerous in that direction," does not sufficiently meet the question. The choice looks like a mere unconscious accident. But we fear it is anything rather than that. This way, steep, circuitous and exposed as it is, is *the only way* that would serve our author's purpose, for it is the only way in which any professedly heretical place of worship is to be found. But let us proceed with what is undoubtedly a lively picture.

"First, on the right, is an Episcopal church so extremely evangelical that it denies all fellowship with the house opposite, which also is an Episcopal place of worship of the 'broad' order. This latter is ministered to by the most genial story-teller of the day, and is the most fashionable place of worship in Edinburgh. Before the end of the walk there is passed a third temple, avowedly belonging to the same persuasion, but shewing by a peep at its interior, the unmistakable ecclesiological symbols of the high

apostolic party. Beside our fashionable Episcopalian stands the parish church—lumpish and shapeless, according to the style of last century. Comparing it with its neighbour, built in the flimsy, tawdry style of the earliest restoration of the Gothic, it was aptly said by the late Sir Harry Moncreiff that the one was like a Dutch toy, and the other like the box that brought it over. Opposite the box stands, as it naturally should, in an attitude of defiance, the 'Free' parish church. It seems to proclaim its liberal notions in æsthetics by an attempt, though not a very successful one, at a very rich type of Norman architecture. How these two hate each other is pretty well known even beyond Scotland. Farther on is another Free church. We would not warrant that there is much harmony between the two ; but how to find in the witty, sagacious, learned and logical pastor of the Established Church, at the end of the walk, anything in common with his brethren left behind in our way would be a problem indeed. We see in the course of our walk some United Presbyterian Churches standing modestly a little apart. Close upon the path, however, as if by no means ashamed of itself, a tidy specimen of the later Italian style, is the Unitarian chapel. Its pastors, if all the others surrounding were unanimous, might have a hard time of it ; but the only complaint we ever heard any of them make was, that a clergyman of one of the evangelical denominations seduced away the audience that properly should have been his. A short way to the right, three small glass cupolas like soap-bubbles reveal the top of a large Roman Catholic place of worship, uglier, to the extent to which that is possible, than the parish church, and faced with a portico in the cumbrous composite which was fashionable in the days of Ignatius Loyola. This marks it as belonging to the society of Jesus. Mr. Buckle praises the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain by Charles III. as one of his 'good deeds,' but we tolerate them here. Over the way is another Roman Catholic fane, which by its Gothic structure associates itself with an earlier age of the ancient Church. They say nothing of each other, these two—at least in public ; but we may be very sure that, according to an old saying, 'there is no love lost between them.' Are there any more churches in this short road ? Almost under our feet in the Cowgate is an old building which is, or was, sacred to the curious rites of the Glassites or Sandemanians, and the words 'Phoenix Hall,' and 'Primitive Methodist Meeting-house,' on the door of what might otherwise pass for a private dwelling-place, indicate that there is public worship there. Other temples of worship we may have passed over, but one remains too conspicuous to be omitted—the Independent—separated from all the others in the structure both

of its constitution and the edifice in which its rites are performed ; and, in its own estimation, not less separated by a fuller possession of all the gifts that should distinguish a Christian communion. Here, no doubt, we stand charged with a very large and varied assortment of churches. And whereas Mr. Buckle states it against us that our 'churches are as crowded as they were in the Middle Ages,' we confess frankly that they are far more crowded, since large portions of the sacred edifices in the Middle Ages were not intended for the accommodation of worshipers ; but among us, and especially in the Presbyterian majority of the country, it is the rule to adapt the size of a church to the number of the congregation."

Very good. But all the differences pointed out as attaching to the churches in this imaginary walk, are, with one exception, included in the pale of a common orthodoxy, and that exception relates to St. Mark's chapel, Castle Terrace. To parade before the reader various forms of Presbyterianism or Episcopalianism, and to contrast these two systems with one another, or with Romanism, Independency, Methodism, Sandemanianism, or anything of the same genus, is just nothing to the point in hand. The question, as Mr. Buckle puts it, is between orthodox and unorthodox opinions, not between different manifestations of orthodox opinion ; and it relates to the open and bold expression of unorthodox opinions, not to the licence taken by persons who seek the shelter of an orthodox denomination.

Phylax, by his trick of management, perverts the facts with which he had to deal, in two ways. First, he selects this walk as a specimen of what might be found in Edinburgh in the shape of orthodox and unorthodox places of worship. It is not so. There is no other walk which could be taken, and which would present to notice an unorthodox place of worship. He, secondly, brings Unitarianism into comparison with other forms of Christian administration, as though the same kind of distinction existed among them as exists between it and them. It does not. The other forms of administration are destitute of the conditions with which he had to deal.

What he should have made apparent is just the plain fact, that there is but one place of worship in Edinburgh where the unorthodox character of the teaching is acknowledged. That is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing

but the truth, on the question of religious edifices as bearing upon Mr. Buckle's declaration. Phylax has chosen to moot that question as decisive of the incorrectness of this declaration; and he must take the consequence of his choice. Neither he nor any man will say that this solitary instance of heretical profession answers to the real state of religious opinion in Edinburgh. Such a statement would be laughed at as ridiculous by every inhabitant of the place. The conclusion, therefore, to be drawn from this or any other "walk" in the town, is, as far as it touches upon the subject at all, very much in favour of Mr. Buckle's judgment. Certainly there must be some powerful cause which thus restrains the expression of the unorthodox opinion existing here, while the varieties of orthodox opinion are so conspicuously displayed, as to give occasion for such a glowing picture of unity amid diversity as we are here favoured with. The cause, too, must be as peculiar as it is powerful.

We are invited by our author to compare Scotland with England as they affect his argument. "Take," says he,

"Take any two towns of the same size, the one in England and the other in Scotland, and we venture to assert that the latter will be found by far the more agreeable place of residence for an educated gentleman of enlightened and tolerant ideas. He will find in it more education, more boldness and originality of thought. The talk at table will not be so absolutely conventional, but will be enlivened by a subtler wit and a more genial and racy humour. Above all, he will not find the same blind reverence for the syndics of the place, nor the same abject deification of wealth."

We have nothing to do with this comparison except in so far as religious profession is concerned; but on that point we have a word or two to say about it. Suppose, then, we adopt this test of different places of worship and apply it to England and Scotland respectively. What will be the result? A walk through Manchester is as significant as a walk through Edinburgh. Let that walk be taken in any possible direction, and it will bring us near to some one of the various Unitarian chapels which Manchester contains. We can scarcely fail to meet with a building of this kind go wherever we may. Does this arise from the fact that there are more unorthodox believers in Manchester than in Edinburgh? Certainly not. The probability is that a converse statement would more nearly answer to

fact. The truth is, that the heretical opinion which is openly avowed in Manchester is concealed in Edinburgh. In a Lancashire or Cheshire village you may often find a large Unitarian congregation, and you could not take a walk from it toward any point of the compass and not within a few miles come close to a country Unitarian chapel. If you mix in the educated society around you, what difference do you find between it and society of a similar rank in Scotland? There is no substantial difference as to the opinions you hear expressed; but there are two wide differences as to the position of the persons with whom you meet. The first is, that, here, the heretic belongs to a professedly heretical organization, while in Scotland he is, more or less, connected with some orthodox profession. The second is, that known heretics and orthodox professors, lay and clerical, associate together with comparatively little regard to their religious differences, while in Scotland the social connection is, especially where the clergy are concerned, more exactly fixed by the demarcations of religion. Thus it comes to pass that "an educated gentleman of enlightened and tolerant ideas" finds, under these circumstances, the English or Scotch locality "the more agreeable place of residence," just in so far as he is disposed to carry out into action his enlightenment and toleration, or to keep the light and liberty to himself. In the latter case, Scotland may be "the more agreeable place of residence," for all we know or care; but, in the former case, England has, most undoubtedly, the preference. There are exceptions to the Scotch rule, we are aware. Both Phylax and we are acquainted with such, in Edinburgh and its neighbourhood. But we also both know that the exceptions are created by superior ability, integrity and strength of character, which only give to the rule a stronger confirmation.

We are, however, drawn back irresistibly to that "tidy specimen of the later Italian style, the Unitarian chapel."

"Its pastors," we are informed, "if all the others surrounding were unanimous, might have a hard time of it; but the only complaint we ever heard any of them make was that a clergyman of one of the evangelical denominations seduced away the audience that properly should have been his."

We propose to offer a word or two about the adminis-

tration of this "clergyman of one of the evangelical denominations." He is the same individual who was before described as "the witty, sagacious, learned and logical pastor of the Established Church at the end of the walk."

Let any one enter the church of this clergyman. "Sagacious" he will always be found to be. The whole service will be so conducted, that nothing shall be heard which would offend a Unitarian prejudice; and yet everything shall be avoided which amounts to a direct denial of orthodoxy. The congregation would be much such an one as you would see in Cross-Street chapel, Manchester, and the preaching would differ from that of the Cross-Street minister mainly in its less distinctness of Christian utterance. How comes it to pass that what exists in Manchester under an Unitarian profession, should exist in Edinburgh under an orthodox profession? There is but one answer to be given to the question. Scotch religious liberality is not tolerant enough or sincere enough to allow of that which is believed and practised of a heretical nature being professed. What induced Phylax to say that the St. Mark's audience was seduced away by "a clergyman of one of the evangelical denominations"? A desire to conceal the fatal fact that the seduction was but an instance of the danger of open religious avowal.

We beg to declare our doubt whether any Unitarian pastor ever complained that a clergyman of one of the evangelical denominations did him an injury. It was, we are persuaded, the entire absence of evangelicism in the case of which he complained. We have heard one of these pastors put his case thus. "Suppose," he said, "I was a shoemaker living in the High Street, and the town council were to endow a shoemaker who lived opposite to me with £500 a-year, on the subscribed condition that he made all his shoes with brown-paper soles. I should not think the arrangement a fair one; but I could submit to it patiently, because, though I am aware that a large class of people would prefer shoes with the town stamp on them, whatever the soles might be made of, yet I could conduct a good trade among those who thought their safety depended upon their shoes being made altogether of leather. But suppose, after taking the £500 a-year on the understanding mentioned, the shoemaker on the other side of the street, con-

trary to his engagement, took to making the soles of his shoes with leather instead of brown paper, and thus seduced those customers away from me on whom I alone depended for getting my bread. Surely, in this case, I should have cause of loud lamentation as a deeply injured man. Such is the exact condition in which I stand. I am not only wronged by an act of unjust patronage in favour of another, but I am wronged still more by an unjust rivalry on the part of that other contrary to the patronage." We think this complaint not unreasonable, and we recommend it to the consideration of Phylax. No such epithets as "witty, sagacious, learned and logical," applied to the subsidized minister, will blunt its edge; and it cuts rather disastrously into the mild description of him as "a clergyman of one of the evangelical denominations."

There is a remarkable sentence or two in this pamphlet referring to Dr. Guthrie. The reference is made for the purpose of throwing off the charge of indulging in "fanatical rhetoric," from Scotch preachers of the present day.

"If any one should here point out an amiable and eloquent divine who has a wide reputation as the type of Scotch Presbyterian eloquence, we answer that, although continuing to dwell among us, he is specially got up for the English market. Few probably of his townsmen beyond his own immediate congregation have heard him preach, but the tourist *does* him as punctually as he does Holyrood House and Roslin."

We are not concerned with this extract any further than as it affords us the means of a comparison we are about to institute; but we cannot help saying that it is exceedingly unfair in its general import. What we have immediately to do with is the dictum,—“he is specially got up for the English market.” That we deny. Dr. Guthrie is a genuine Scotch production, whatever else he may be, and all Edinburgh knows him to be such. But there is an “English market” in Edinburgh for other than Scotch goods, and that is—we will not say “got up for,” but—supplied. “A clergyman of one of the evangelical denominations” provides specially for the English rationalistic taste in its native form. Style, tone, address, liturgy, music, postures, ornaments,—all are English in the “church at the end of our walk.” There, respectable people of liberal theological tendencies may safely conduct their spiritual traffic. We

say *safely*, because there is one provision—not English—by which safety is ensured. The goods are all wrongly ticketed. Though English in character, they are Scotch in name. But thus the market flourishes, being adapted to the peculiar necessities pointed out by Mr. Buckle. There are other English supplies besides this—Episcopalian and Independent for instance; but they exist under their proper denominations. Why these, and not the other? Simply because they are not heterodox in character, and need not therefore bend to *the fear o' the folk*.

We have not quite done with the sentence relating to the Unitarian chapel on which we have been animadverting. The first part demands a word or two. "Its pastors, if all the others surrounding were unanimous, might have a hard time of it." Indeed, they *have* a hard time of it. One of them a few years ago published a pamphlet in vindication of Macaulay's account of Thomas Aikenhead, to which was appended a notice commencing as follows: "It will be observed that the title-page of this pamphlet does not bear the name of any Edinburgh publisher. Application was made to every individual of that class who was thought in any degree likely to grant the common usage of his trade; but a refusal was given by all. It was not in some instances concealed that the reason of the refusal was dread of the clerical influence which in this place is predominant." Did Phylax never hear of that fact before? There was another fact relating to the same minister of which we are afraid Phylax has also heard. His name was placed at a general meeting upon a Committee appointed to carry out a scheme for remunerating certain individuals who were considered to have been unjustly dealt with in an action for libel; but he was presently waited upon by a gentleman deep in the confidence of the parties concerned, with a request that he would withdraw his name from the Committee. He considered it rather an aggravation of the offence to be told, as he was, that the objection lay against him in his ministerial not in his Unitarian capacity, it being the fact that he was the only minister who had been so unfortunately distinguished. These are but specimens of a long series of neglects, annoyances and insults, which might be drawn forth. We assure our readers that if we thought proper to do so, we could accumulate instance upon instance

as unjustifiable and vexatious as those we have with some reluctance put on record. Is it well to speak of any one exposed to such treatment as though it were quite out of the question that he should "have a hard time of it"? And yet the sufferings of the pastor are not to be compared with those of some of his flock. It is undoubtedly and notoriously at the risk of emolument and reputation that a man becomes a member of St. Mark's congregation; and the cases are numerous and glaring in which persons have left that congregation because they could not otherwise secure the common advantages which elsewhere are conceded to character alone. The greater honour be to those who remain! It is harder to be sneered out of that honour than it is to suffer the persecution through which it is gained. We can duly appreciate the hospitality which says: "Let Mr. Buckle come among us and take his tumbler of toddy, if he has not advanced too far in civilization to follow so barbarous a practice. Even though he come on a Fast day he shall have it, and hodge-podge, a haggis, cockyleekie, a sheep's head, or some other sound viand, as its companion." We doubt it not. Neither do we doubt that the meal would be seasoned with the sharpest and boldest heretical talk—the religion of the country being a special subject for the wit of the guests. But we submit that a little truer sympathy with those whose "hodge-podge" is lessened by their acting up to their heretical convictions before the religious world, would be particularly graceful on the part of the master of the feast.

The party of which Dr. Robert Lee may be considered the representative, is not, in our estimation, that party among the orthodox bodies in Scotland from which the most hopeful results may be expected in the direction of religious liberality. There is another party to which Dr. Norman MacLeod, Dr. Caird and Dr. Hanna, belong, and for which we entertain a stronger feeling of sympathy. These men are not consciously heterodox in opinion; but they are bent upon giving to their theology a form in which it harmonizes as far as possible with nature and humanity, while it preserves a distinct Christian character in opposition to mere rationalistic speculation. We think this position more healthy than the speculative one, and more likely to be effective for popular reformation. It has its dangers

nevertheless. The creed-bondage of those who occupy it, and the ecclesiastical pressure to which they are exposed, restrain their liberality not a little.

We have already said that Dr. MacLeod has been reported to us to have departed somewhat of late from the broad ground he was understood to have chosen in *Good Words*. Dr. Hanna has, we are sorry to observe, degenerated in the same manner. His book on *The Last Day of our Lord's Passion* we read with great delight. What especially charmed us was the manner in which doctrine was made in it entirely subservient to fact. The volume which succeeded it on *The Forty Days after our Lord's Resurrection* is very inferior to the former one. In that, doctrine quite overbears fact. We fear there may be some cause for the change external to the author himself. Every one who knows Dr. Hanna's character and proceedings must be well aware that he is "unequally yoked with" *believers*; and the pull upon him from the animals of thicker skin and harder mouth who draw in the same team must occasionally be very distressing.

A remarkable illustration of this has just come to hand. A meeting of the Free Church Presbytery of Edinburgh was held on the 30th of March in this year, at which the question of a colleague and successor to one of the Glasgow professors came up. Dr. Candlish proposed that the Rev. Islay Burns, of Dundee, be recommended to the General Assembly for appointment. From what we have been told, we should have supposed that Islay Burns was as sound as Islay Whiskey; but it appears he has been guilty of some indiscretion in the shape of a kindly construction of matters of Church government. Dr. Begg, whose firebrand is always smoking in the public face, after quoting from an old pamphlet of Mr. Burns, said: "The extracts which I have given seem to indicate a want of clear and precise views on the subject of Church government on the part of Mr. Burns, and that he is not the kind of man best fitted for the chair now vacant." At this crisis, Dr. Hanna, as might have been expected, came forward on the side of freedom. The modesty of his demand was noticeable. "He pleaded," he said, "for some little amount of liberty of thought. He did not ask a large amount; but he asked a little, because he was convinced that if they desired to

preserve the simple and essential fundamental truths of their religion some variety of opinion must be allowed, and some toleration exercised." In the course of his speech he made the following statement: "It so happened that in passing Dr. Chalmers's *Notes on Hill's Divinity* through the press, there were opinions expressed by him in defence of the general principle he had mentioned—opinions which bestowed very large praise upon other forms of Church government than that of the Free Church. This book had passed through the hands of Dr. Cunningham, who entreated and in point of fact insisted upon him (Dr. Hanna) not allowing these opinions to go before the public. He had yielded to the opinion, but he now deeply regretted that he had done so. He was persuaded that he acted wrong in doing what he had done; and he now took this public opportunity of confessing his error." We congratulate Dr. Hanna on having washed his hands from the stain of this business. But what a state of things the whole case reveals! The existence in a Christian church of such ministers as Dr. Begg; for, so far from standing alone in his stolidity, the majority of the Presbytery voted with him against the nomination of Mr. Burns! The possibility of a man like Dr. Hanna having been subjected to the indignity he describes, and being obliged to limit his demand to the small measure of justice for which he asked! The insolent and immoral pretensions of a Church autocrat like Dr. Cunningham! The desperate condition of a religious organization which can submit to this private management and outface this public scandal! Even Dr. Candlish was somewhat frightened at the ghost which the old incantation had on this occasion raised. "He said they should remember that the time was probably coming when they would all be called to the bar of opinion, and overhauled if they did not pronounce certain shibboleths." *The Scotsman*, from whose report we have taken our account of this instance of liberality, well observed with regard to it: "There is here another proof of a fact we have long known and felt, that with many people the chief of heresies is toleration; and that, though there are many sins, the greatest of these is charity."

The two great Dissenting bodies of Scotland—the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church—which together express two-thirds of the religion of that country, are

contemplating a union with each other. If that union takes place, the distinctive character and true glory of both churches will be destroyed; and the vast organization thus produced will be thrown upon its common orthodox faith for the means of success. It will be then strong for evil rather than for good. We hope that a sense of personal independence may in this case check the designs of ecclesiastical ambition. If not, a still darker day for the cause of Scotch religious liberality looms in the future.

F.

IV.—RELIGION IN ITALY IN 1864.

LAMENNAIS begins his great essay by the remark that "there is something much worse than the doubt whether religion be true or false. It is the indifference whether such doubt be just or otherwise." The reflection is one which comes home with mournful force at the present moment to those who interest themselves in the revival of Italy. The pressure of Romanism *here* has effected a mischief which seems to go deeper than any hitherto worked by false creeds in Europe. It has poisoned or rather arrested the flow of the religious sentiment almost at the spring-head. No marvel is it that it should have done so. Superstition, like slavery, is an evil whose magnitude we under-estimate altogether if we imagine that human souls can be subjected to its degradation for ages, and at a moment's call arise to freedom and to piety. Every false doctrine and debasing observance must leave behind it distorted ideas and palsied feelings, and the healing force of nature (as real in the moral world as in the physical) can at best only effect a slow and imperfect restoration. But in Italy religious error has allied itself with secular tyranny—the error being the darkest, the tyranny the most corrupt, which modern times have witnessed, and the result is inevitably beyond the ordinary ill consequences of superstition. Had Popery been merely a spiritual evil in Italy, it might have left behind it here, as it did in England at the Reformation, the fervent faith of the Marian Martyrs and the Puritan Fathers, to prove the

yet unconquered vitality of the religious element in the nation. It might have left behind it enthusiasts who should have abhorred and warred against and destroyed it, because they loved truth warmly enough to hate error. The iconoclast is the natural successor of the idolater, and a hopeful and vigorous symptom of a nation's health in its great crises is the appearance of a band of such destroyers. Would that one spark of such zeal burned in Italian breasts just now ! But the double evil of a spiritual tyranny which has been also a political despotism, which has permitted itself to become the engine of corruption and oppression, shews itself in this, that it destroys the very springs of life, and leaves no energy even to hew it down. When the hour of its fall arrives, it crumbles from its own rottenness, and no hand is lifted to give it a blow, scarcely a foot raised to spurn it on the ground. Men do not clear away the wreck and purify and hallow afresh the temple which it profaned and usurped ; but they pass by to the senate-house or the market-place, and the threshold of fallen Dagon is trodden no more. In the old fabulous history of Ireland there is a myth of a giant who once tyrannized over all the land, till after centuries of oppression he died, and the people were set free. But the corpse of the giant lay prone upon the earth, and no man could bury it, so that at last there arose from it a pestilence more grievous than his tyranny had been, and men prayed that he might come to life again. Even so, dead, but unburied, Popery bids fair to leave behind it the plague of a stifling indifference, an atrophy of the religious sentiment which may make us wellnigh regret even the days of fanatical superstition.

It is the opinion of every competent resident in Italy, whether native or foreign, whom we have consulted (an opinion borne out most fully by our own experience), that anything like an earnest interest in religious questions is at this moment nearly unknown in the country. Even the bitterest enemies of the Papacy do but condemn it on the grounds of its secular tyranny—the political injury it inflicts on the nation, the corruption of its system of government. *As such*, indeed, it is hated enough to satisfy the most rancorous Protestantism ; and where it is not hated it is despised. The very word “prete” seems never to be pronounced without a sneer, nor any portion of the Papal

system to be otherwise than a butt for the ridicule of the press and the jests of the public. But it is *only* as a secular matter that it is ever treated at all. That Roman Catholicism is a huge system of *religious* error—that it interposes its priests, its sacraments, its legions of saints and clouds of dark and senseless dogmas, between the soul of a man and his Father in heaven—that, in a word, it changes personal religion into sacerdotal reliance—*this* no man complains of, no voice is raised to denounce. Never once have we heard a word breathed by an Italian to shew that he cared at all for this side of the subject, or thought the spiritual mischief done by Popery worth being even added to the sum of its political delinquencies. So far as we can judge, it would seem that, for all the enlightened part of the nation care about it, the Pope might introduce a second new dogma and set up Baal and Ashtaroth in St. Peter's; and if he would only allow of the Unification of Italy, and of municipal, commercial reform and secular education, they would be perfectly content, and cry, "O Baal, hear us!" as readily as Ave Maria.

Of course so great a fact as this nearly universal indifference of a nation ought not to be attributed to a single cause. The tendencies of the age have much to do with it, as well as the special reaction from the Italian phase of Romish superstition. Savonarola himself, born in the nineteenth century, would never have lighted the pyre of baubles in the piazza of Florence. But the broad views which the progress of science and criticism have given to mankind, and which in England bring out such earnest thinkers and true believers as Colenso, Jowett, Martineau and Newman, come in contact in Italy with minds wearied and disgusted by a long dominant superstition, and, instead of calling out deeper faith and keener thoughts, lead only to the dull and stupid cry, "Anche Dio è Prete!" "Let us make away with all religion together."

Such is the broad and general impression made on the observer by the present state of religion in Italy. To descend now more particularly to the different parties.

Religious opinions in Italy at present may be classed under four heads.

1. Genuine Papists who would maintain both the spiritual and temporal power of the Pope.

2. Catholics who would maintain the spiritual but not the temporal power.

3. Protestants.

4. Non-Christians of various views.

First, the genuine Papists, or *Neri* (blacks), the party of reaction or *Codini* in politics. These include all the priesthood, with the exception of Passaglia's ten thousand and such proportion more as may be supposed to sympathize secretly with freedom without wishing to commit themselves publicly to its cause. The party also contains the vast majority of the nobility of all Italy, except Piedmont; the great princely houses of Rome (where one well-known Duke alone is supposed to be liberal), of Naples and of Florence, where, out of sixty noble names lately collected for a philanthropic purpose, not above six or eight were said to be liberal. Besides the priesthood and the nobility, the *Neri* of course number the whole superstitious part of the population, the women everywhere in considerable force, and the men also (especially the brigands) in Naples. As regards political power, the party, throughout the kingdom of Italy, is probably as completely null as that of Henri V. in France. But as a social power the *Neri* are still mighty, and likely long to continue so. We can hardly say that it is a real *faith* which animates them. The condition of a man's mind who from seven years old to five-and-twenty has lived in one of the seminaries for priests, studying nothing but books specially prepared for him, and conversing only with his fellow-students for the allotted hour a day and the *half-hour's* daily exercise—the condition, we say, in which such a mind remains cannot be properly called one of faith. It does not *believe* in doctrines, but is merely *saturated* by them. Of such the best and most honest of the priesthood are made; the rest, being more enlightened, are mere hypocrites, bound to their Church by interest and ambition, and ready to sanction every juggling miracle or corrupt practice which shall ensure its triumph. For the laity, there is the credulity of the utterly ignorant, and the superstition of bigoted ladies and nuns, shut in by their convent walls from all the influences of the age. We can hardly by any charity construe such credence as this into a *faith*; yet it is the twilight of a past one; and even such twilight in our day bears with

it a certain charm and glory. We regard it with a degree of respect, and cannot wholly withhold our sympathy from those who rally beside the altar of their Church in the hour when the powers of the world are thundering at its doors and threatening it with destruction.* Nor should we do them justice if we imagined they had nothing to say in defence of their position even in the point of the interests of religion itself. If anything could make us doubt that all true progress must be *Progress towards God*; that every truth we acquire, positive or negative, must in the end tend to give us more faith in the all-righteous and all-merciful One; if anything, we say, could make us doubt this, it would be the present condition of men's minds in Italy, where scepticism seems the inevitable successor of superstition. Even in England, all of us not deeply imbued with confidence in the ultimate victory of religion, and in the impossibility of doing God's work with man's concealments and deceptions, shrink from the terrible danger of exposing to the popular gaze the errors of Church and Bible which have blended with all our religion and our morality. How much more, then, are such hesitations excusable in Italy, where the entire system, religious and political, of the whole land for ages back has been so interlaced with Catholic doctrines, that to remove such tares it would seem as if every grain of wheat in the field must be uprooted likewise! Even a philosophic mind might be tempted to say, "Let things go on as they are; the danger is too great. Better worship a winking Madonna, than reverence nothing in heaven or earth! The masses, uneducated, or educated only in superstition, are below the horizon of an enlightened creed. 'This people, who know not,' and never will know, the inner law of self-guidance, 'are cursed.' These—Saints and Virgins—be thy gods, O Italy!" How much more, then, may men and women who are *not* philosophic—who still retain all the sentiment, if they can no longer hold all the dogmatism, of the elder times—desire ardently to maintain the Church in its rule over the nation! How inevitably in their eyes every blow to Catholicism is a blow

* Monsignor Renier, Bishop of Feltre and Belluno, in his Pastoral for Lent of the current year (1864), says that the Catholic religion is now "driven from the towns and taking refuge in the villages"—a strange counterpart of old Paganism.

against the sole bulwark which yet remains against universal lawlessness and atheism !

Two months ago a strange scene was enacted in Florence, as in some other cities of Italy. A *triduo*, as it is called, was solemnized to propitiate the Divine wrath supposed to have been excited by the publication of Rénan's *Vie de Jésus*. The vast and gorgeous marble Duomo was for three days darkened and hung with black. Only a few funereal candles burned near the altar. No organ sounded, nor music of any kind, but low and solemn chants of contrition, prayers and litanies. Over the floor lay prostrate hundreds of worshipers in lowliest abasement. The scene was such as might have befitted repentant Israel returning from idolatry, or a mediæval city imploring the removal of a pestilence.* Day and night, for three days and nights, it continued, the priests relieving each other in their miseries, and the worshipers changing silently, passing in and out noiselessly through the door which led out of the dark and solemn church into the glaring sunshine and busy life of an Italian street. Here was indeed the old world and the new brought into strange collision. The brilliant French professor writing his æsthetic criticisms on the "charmant docteur" who preached the Sermon on the Mount, and a grand, majestic cathedral filled with prostrate supplicants imploring mercy for Europe in which such insults had been breathed against an incarnate God !

Secondly, there is the Catholic party who desire to abrogate the temporal and preserve the spiritual power of the Church. This party may be held to form the great mass of the nation. It comprehends, 1st, the earnest party of reformers headed by Passaglia ; 2ndly, the large majority of the indifferents who have not interest enough to join any definite movement, or faith enough to hope for reform, but who object to Catholicism on secular, and do *not* object to it on religious grounds. These last are to be met with by thousands everywhere throughout the kingdom of Italy.

* There is a picture at Naples representing something of the latter kind. The plague-stricken people implore a priest—who implores a saint—who flies in robe and cowl through the sky to the Madonna—who turns to Christ—who finally invokes the Father, a stern and awful figure, who seems to be contemplating the hideous scene below with satisfaction. The painting represents the supposed order of some deliverance from a pestilence in Naples in the fifteenth or fourteenth century.

The opinions of this party, so far as they can be said to have opinions on matters on which they never seem to think at all, would amount to this: A man must have some sort of religion to die in, and the Catholic religion is quite the safest and most comfortable—at all events for us Italians. To change one's religion would require all sorts of inquiries and trouble, and besides is a thing entirely forbidden by good taste. The dregs of the populace turn Protestants, probably for some pecuniary advantages, but no respectable man would do anything of the sort. Of course we all know that the Church teaches a great deal nobody believes now-a-days, but there is probably some truth at the bottom; at all events there is the Madonna to worship—we will never give up the blessed Madonna! The priests are odious, dissolute hypocrites, allied with our enemies and corrupting our women. Still it would not be altogether pleasant to die without one of them at hand with a little *olio santo* and his absolution. Passaglia and Liverani and the rest who try to reform the Papacy are ambitious men and say a great deal that is true. But if we were to begin with reforms, where should we stop? It will never do to open the subject. Where is religious truth—*chi lo sa?*—who knows? and what is more, who cares? We have other things to think about in Italy. There is Rome and Venice and railways and education—and then art and the opera! Don't let us talk any more about religion!

This may sound very pitiful and childish, but it represents only too accurately the mode of speaking on such subjects which we have heard from all classes in all parts of Italy—men of rank, military men, tradesmen, artists and artizans. In one matter, however, the Catholic Italians are not indifferent to the evils wrought by their Church. The mischief of the confessional has been brought too closely home to permit of such coolness as regards it. We are not now speaking of its injury to female purity, but of the engine it affords for political spying and political caballing. The Nemesis of woman has come already in Catholic countries, and the desire of men to leave their wives and daughters in ignorance (a desire springing from profound scepticism of the power of religion unsupported by fraud and superstition) has met its retribution in the natural consequence now manifest of women's mental slavery. The

dreadful engine of the threat of eternal perdition is regularly used through the medium of the confessional to compel women to use all their influence to check the liberal action of their male relatives, and to betray every secret with which they may become acquainted. At every election, and in all cases of military or civil employment, the same trick is repeated. The woman is refused absolution till she induces her husband or son to vote as the priest directs, or to abandon any office (or misuse its powers) to meet the priest's intentions. Endless cases of this kind have been cited to us—some of men of high rank succumbing to the incessant solicitations of their wives, and relinquishing the military career—some of votes given against the opinions both of husband and wife, the wife being unable to withstand the terrors of the Church, or the husband the misery of his wife. Thus in every household in the kingdom the priests possess a spy and an ally. No man can confide in his wife or listen to his mother's counsels without the knowledge that his worst enemy will hear his confidence and may have dictated the advice of his parent. As regards the soldiers also, the military authorities have a difficult task. Formerly it was the rule even in Piedmont for all, both officers and soldiers, to produce every year a ticket of confession. This is now rescinded, and about half the common soldiers alone desire at Easter to perform the religious duties enjoined by the Church on all its members. The priests, however, are forbidden to give absolution to any man fighting in the ranks of the King of Italy, and with much difficulty some unscrupulous chaplains are provided by the authorities to shrive the penitents as far as possible at the proper season! Thus, without any religious feelings being engaged, the lukewarm Catholics have some good reasons to dislike the Pope.

From these indifferentist Catholics we turn with peculiar interest to the remarkable man who is struggling to reform and to infuse new life into Catholicism. The experiment is perhaps the most curious among all the strange ones trying in different parts of Europe at this moment. Don Carlo Passaglia holds a position whose analogue we must seek in the great founders of the Mediæval Orders, rather than among such men as are seeking to widen our own National Church by harmonizing its doctrines with the

thoughts of the age. Passaglia's reforms are of Discipline, not of Doctrine, and he advocates them, not by modern arguments of essential rectitude or fitness, but on principles of precedent and authority. The really greatest of his projects, the permission of marriage to the Romish clergy, is advocated in his famous pamphlet, "*Il Celibato del Clero*," on grounds of the opinion of Popes and Fathers, and the practice of the Jewish High-priest, which astound us in the 19th century by assuming the place of serious arguments on a vast question of practical importance. That he is a man not only of colossal erudition in his peculiar line, but also of great honesty and sincerity of purpose, seems to be the opinion of all who are really acquainted with him. Yet we need no better assurance of the evil impression Jesuitry has left in Italy, than the discovery that the fact of his *having been* a Jesuit, notwithstanding that with risk of life he has abjured his old connections, weighs so far against him in public sentiment, that his most courageous utterances are questioned: "Once a Jesuit, always a Jesuit!" Assuredly the fact is singular enough, that the man whose learning was employed by the Head of Catholicism to buttress the new dogma of the Immaculate Conception which it was desired to establish, should also be the man to make a stand against the two principles on which the external influence of the Church mainly depends, namely, the temporal power and the celibacy of the clergy. To our English ideas such retrocession and progression are wellnigh incompatible. Returning to an earlier phase of thought than ours, however, it will appear that this is far from the case, and it must be always borne in mind that Passaglia is not a Reformer on our principles, but wholly on those which made our forefathers look back to the precedents of the primitive Church as a final test of truth. No man is further from *heresy* than Passaglia. It was on the ground of patristic authority that he laboured to establish the Immaculate Conception, and it is on the same ground that he now strives to overthrow the temporal power and to relieve the clergy from the yoke of celibacy.

The political strength of Passaglia's party is very considerable. He is himself a member of the Italian Parliament, and has many adherents in the House. His greatest friend is Ricasoli, certainly the most respectable of Italian

statesmen, and one whose influence, whether in or out of office, is enormous. Ricasoli and his party are moderate men who desire that the religious progress of the nation should be accomplished with as little as possible of violence and sudden shock. They aim at reformation, not revolution, and therefore go heart and hand with Passaglia, whose movement, if successful, would probably be the only possible means of letting down Popery into its inevitable grave without the terrific crash which otherwise threatens Italy at its fall. On the other hand, the more violent party desire that no reformation of Catholicism whatever should take place, but rather rejoice in every excess of bigotry and superstition manifested by the Papal Court, thereby calculating on its more sure and speedy downfall. Passaglia's famous Memorial against the Temporal Power has now received very nearly the ten thousand ecclesiastical signatures at which he aimed. They are nearly entirely, however, those of men of the lower ranks of the clergy, and but few of them are of any special personal distinction. With them, however, in sympathy there are undoubtedly a vast number who have hesitated to give their names to such a document, with that perpetual Italian *prudenza* which is still taught to be one of the four cardinal virtues in all the normal schools in the land, and which ought rather to be denounced as the cardinal vice of half the countrymen of Macchiavelli.

There are two journals edited by Passaglia and published in Turin. One is the *Pace*, a daily paper; the other, the *Mediatore*, a weekly one. Both are devoted to the discussion of religious matters and the theological aspect of political events, much in the way in which the Guardian, Non-conformist, Inquirer and Record, are with us.

3. The Protestants of Italy. Great hopes are entertained by the Evangelical party in England of the eventual triumph of their views in Italy, and assuredly the problem is for many reasons an interesting one. We have all been familiar with the remark that the great Reformation spread almost at once over all the countries whose soil seemed fitted for its reception, and that for three centuries it has made no important progress in Europe. Political causes have been adduced to explain this phenomenon in a manner which shall reserve the claims of Protestantism to be suited not merely to Teutonic and Gothic races, but to all mankind;

and the favourite belief that the blood of the martyrs must always be the seed of the Church has been relinquished in the case of France, where it is admitted that the dragonnades of Louis XIV. are a striking instance of successful persecution. Now there has been opened in Italy before our eyes a grand field whereon the experiment of the suitability of evangelical Christianity to the wants of a non-Teuton race may be tried on the largest scale and under unusually favourable circumstances. No political persecution is permitted, and there is hardly enough of the social sort to suffice for that tightening of the bonds of brotherhood in the persecuted party which has so often sufficed to give coherence to nascent sects. There is emphatically, in a word, "a clear stage and no favour" for the action of Protestantism in Italy, and we may well look with interest for the result. Should it succeed, and the Puritan element reappear under an Italian sky, the evangelicals will have fair cause to boast that their ideas are not merely locally and temporarily adapted to the necessities of human nature, but capable of larger extension and applicability. Should it, on the other hand, prove a failure, the contrary view will of course derive additional force, and it will be seen in especial that the argument for the doctrine of the Atonement derived from this supposed universal adaptability is altogether erroneous. That the experiment will be tried with every justice appears from the fact that it is exclusively the evangelical type of Protestantism which has gained any footing in Italy,—the Waldenses, Wesleyans, and various forms approaching to those of the Plymouth Brothers and Darbyites, being alone in the field. We shall proceed to give a description of these various churches from reliable authority.

1st. The Waldenses. Of these there are about 20,000 or 23,000 in their original valleys in Piedmont, and about a thousand or more scattered over Italy. These are all under a central administration.

2nd. The Chiese Libere, or Free Churches. These differ from the Waldensian churches not so much in doctrine as in discipline. They are not under any central administration *nominally*, although their pecuniary dependence on foreign support practically brings them under something very like it. Theoretically, each congregation is independent of

every other. In some of them it is also theoretically held that there is properly no distinction of clergy and laity, but that any member of the church (not a woman) may address the congregation, as among the Quakers. Slight shades of difference in dogma exist among the various bodies. As we have said, they mostly partake of those of the Plymouth Brethren and Darbyites—words which sound sufficiently barbaric with Italian terminations.

3rd. The Wesleyans. These are sending both money and missionaries somewhat freely from England. They have established a good congregation at Milan under Mr. Pigott, and aid generally the other churches. The localities of the different Protestant congregations throughout Italy are as follows :

At FLORENCE. The Chiesa Libera of Gualtieri, numbering about 120 members, and having schools containing forty or fifty children, in part supported by the Wesleyan Mission. Also the C. Libera of Magrini (a very violent Plymouth Brother), having a congregation of about 150. Also the Chiesa Waldese, which is the central one of the sect and well filled. It has attached to it schools for boys, girls and infants, containing 80 children, and a Sunday-school with 40 pupils. There is also a "College of Theology," which has sent out nine students to the work of evangelization.

NAPLES. The Chiesa Libera of Mezzacannone counts at least 200 members, who contribute regularly to its expenses. The Waldensians have a church with a congregation varying from 80 to 200.

LEGHORN. A Waldensian church very prosperous, numbering 120 communicants, among whom of course are some foreigners residing in the town. Attached to it are two elementary schools for boys and girls, counting 60 pupils; an evening school frequented by 30 soldiers and 50 labourers; a Sunday-school; a *Società di Mutuo Soccorso*, and a *Confraternità* to assist the sick and indigent.

LUCCA. A small, very earnest, Waldensian church of 40 persons, which has encountered many difficulties from the bigotry of the priests, who have forced it three times during the one year of its existence as a church to change its place of worship. In a population of 30,000, Lucca has 20 convents, and a proportion of one ecclesiastic to every 33 persons.

ELBA. A Waldensian church at *Porto-ferraio*, augmented by two-thirds in the last year, and having a school of 15 pupils. At *Rio Marina* also a small church of the same sect has been built, and will shortly be opened; and there is a school of 38 children. The minister of *Rio Marina* serves also a small congregation at *Longone*.

PISA. Two churches, presided over by Signor Perazzi, an ex-priest, and Professor Michelis, formerly an advocate, both of the *Chiesa Libera*. A Protestant cemetery has been opened here outside the town, in a spot formerly used for the burial of unbaptized infants; and there are schools containing 20 or 30 children.

PERUGIA. A small Waldensian church, which holds its meetings in the refectory of a secularized convent, to the vast disgust of the Cardinal-bishop.

GENOA. A *Chiesa Libera*, with 95 communicants, and a *Chiesa Waldese*, having schools for boys, girls and infants, a Sunday-school and an evening school. A new church will shortly be opened in the suburb of San Pier d'Arena. De Sanctis and Mazzarella are remarkable men belonging to the *C. Libera* here, and probably among the most advanced in point of opinion of Italian Protestants.

At **PIETRA MARAZZI** in Piedmont, near *Alessandria*, there are, in summer, regular open-air services, attended by 300 and 400 persons—*C. Waldese*.

PIGNEROL. A small Waldensian church, and a school with 20 pupils.

The **VAL D'AOSTA** has three small Waldensian churches, at *Montestrutto*, *Aosta* and *Courmayeur*.

TURIN. The largest Waldensian congregation, with a handsome church, and two ministers engaged in making proselytes. It has four elementary schools, containing 200 pupils, a Sunday-school and an evening school. A second church will shortly be opened. There is also in *Turin* a *Chiesa Libera*, with about 60 communicants.

MILAN. The *Chiese Libere* boast of nearly 800 communicants, and the *Waldese* and *Wesleyans* of about 300 more. There are altogether six Protestant places of worship open in the town.

At **COMO**, the Waldensian place of worship for 120 persons is found to be too small, and the services are repeated. At *Argegno*, and along the valley of *Intelvi*, there are small

societies of Protestants, to whom the Waldese send a missionary.

PAVIA, a small Waldensian church.

BOLOGNA, a Chiesa Libera, with about 140 members.

BRESCIA, a small Waldensian congregation.

At ALESSANDRIA, PARMA, PONTEDERA and ANCONA, there are also small Chiese Libere, and a few Protestants (Waldese and others) are scattered at ASTI, ARCOLA, CREMONA, MODENA, SPEZZIA, TREVIGLIO, MONZA and BERGAMO. At PALERMO there is a congregation of 50 Waldese.*

The organs of the various Protestant churches are—

1st. The *Eco della Verità*, published at Florence under Waldensian influence. This is a very respectable controversial paper of a popular character, its tone good, and the ability of some of the articles very fair. It has not long been established, and at present has a circulation of 750 copies.

2nd. The *Coscienza*, at Naples, the organ of Mezzacanone, a paper of no great merit.

3rd. The *Civiltà Evangelica*, a new journal just started at Naples.

4th. The *Balziglia*, a small paper written half in French and half in Italian, current in the Waldensian valleys.

5th. The *Scuola della Domenica*, a paper for children, published at Florence, selling 2500 copies, and containing small moral tales in which the familiar "Don't care" of our childhood receives a *couleur locale* by being carried away by brigands, and similar stories.

6th. The *Letture di Famiglia* is a moral and literary periodical supported by the evangelicals, and bearing very fair comparison with our *Leisure Hour*. It is printed at Florence and sells 500 copies.

For the information of the English public, accounts of Italian Protestantism are published in the *News of the Churches* (Edinburgh), and a *Voice from Italy*, a sheet privately distributed among those interested in the cause. There are also accounts of the progress made in *Evangelical*

* The Vaudois, out of a total population of 22,000, furnish 45 missionaries for the conversion of the 22,500,000 Italians. Of these missionaries, 18 are ministers. The finances of the church, January 1, 1864, shewed a deficit of 12,000 fr., and engagements for the ensuing quarter for 18,000 more. There seemed, however, to be a reliance upon friendly aid. The figures given above all refer to the beginning of the current year.

Christendom, but it is said that they are exceedingly *couleur de rose*.

The expenses of the various churches in Italy and the salaries of their ministers are but very partially defrayed by the respective congregations. Two Committees of English and Scotch clergymen, residing at Nice and Genoa, distribute the large contributions of British evangelicals, and exercise of course proportionate authority in nominating and appointing the ministers. The Chiesa Waldese is principally indebted to the Free Kirk of Scotland, and the Chiesa Libera to English clergymen.

On the whole, excluding the inhabitants of the Waldensian valleys and foreigners resident in Italy, we may calculate the existing Italian Protestants of all denominations at somewhat under or about 2000—certainly not 3000—inclusive of children and persons who attend the services without becoming regular members. These have been nearly all added since 1848, and mostly in the last years. Proportionately to the population of Italy, they are of course but a drop in the ocean, or one in ten thousand, and their social condition is of the lowest. With the exception of Count Guicciardini and two or three more men of station, they consist of artizans or the poorer class of shopkeepers. Very few students or men of any education have joined them. The universal feeling that it is *bad taste* to change religion (quite as bad for a Protestant to become a Catholic as *vice versa*), no doubt serves more effectually as a barrier than any argument on the Romish side. Actual persecution or loss of employment the Protestants do not complain of often, but when driven to take refuge in the hospitals they are cruelly neglected by the attendant nuns on their refusal of the offices of the priest. Their friends accordingly make many efforts to succour them by private charity, and in Florence have established accommodation for them, beside claiming a separate ward in the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova. Probably in a very short time we shall be enabled to form a better judgment than now of the success of the whole experiment, which at all events is one of profound religious interest.

Fourthly and lastly, there is the Non-Christian party. Without making any strong demonstrations, there are many men in Italy well known to be friends neither of Catho-

licism in any shape, reformed or unreformed, nor yet of Protestantism. The greater number of these free-thinkers, especially among the *Reds*, are apparently not religious in any sense, and either utter sceptics or pantheists of a school as nearly as may be verging on atheism. Ausonio Franchi and the small knot of Italian metaphysicians are of this sort; and Matteuci, the Minister of Public Instruction, has thought fit to appoint as Professors at Turin, Florence and Bologna, three vivisectioning physiologists, understood to be altogether materialists, whose instructions are likely not a little to aid the cause of irreligion. As we have heard one of their friends express it, "they hope to discover the religion of the future by their physiological researches"! The religion which needs to be groped for in the viscera of tortured animals is assuredly not one likely to make that "future" a very noble or pious epoch of history!

Nothing can be much further from our English sympathies than the attitude of this last class of Italian thinkers. The careless and good-humoured indifferentism of the liberal Catholics is often bad enough, but the supercilious contempt of the party in question for all human faith and hope, and their light and facile dismissal with a smile or a shrug of everything mankind has hitherto deemed sacred, is often to the last degree deplorable and offensive. However sincere may be the patriotism of many who share these habits of thought, it is impossible for any one to wish them a share in the future government of Italy, who believes that in loyalty to the Supreme Author of conscience lies the one unintermittent spring of human virtue and human happiness.

Of the number of those who while rejecting Christianity still hold to faith in God and immortality, it is hard to speak. We have met them occasionally, and been informed by them that such views were not uncommon. Especially among the grave and thoughtful Lombards of the upper classes are they to be found. Of Unitarianism, either in its English or Continental forms, we have never come on any traces. In simple fact, there is not earnestness enough for men in Italy to work out thoughtful systems of theology or refinements of creed. They believe in Popery *pur et simple*, or, disbelieving it, become (if religiously disposed) Theists, if otherwise blank sceptics, or (if narrow and cre-

dulous) Evangelicals, Plymouthists, Waldensians, Wesleyans, and the like. There is no Protestant High-Church or Broad-Church or moderate party, no sects answering to our Independents or Unitarians, nor even (so far as we know) any individuals holding such views. Italy is the field of a triangular battle between Popery, Calvinism and Atheism, with no other forces on the ground. Even those armies of foes rarely come to blows. There are no rushings to and fro or swaying of the victory, or cries and storms of words written and printed, such as the smallest theological contest brings out with us. The Italian leaders and their followers dwell in their tents, nor shall we do them much injustice if we believe that none of them will give their banners to the wind, unless when other and more material interests are concerned than those which belong to those sacred relations of man to his Maker, which constitute the essential part of religion.

V.—MISCELLANEA THEOLOGICA.

1. NOTE ON THE CODEX SINAITICUS.

WHEN the discovery of this MS. of the Greek Bible was first announced to the world in 1860 by Tischendorf in his *Notitia*, there was a prudent hesitation—notwithstanding the evidence furnished by its form, its writing, its peculiar readings, and its affinities with the Codex Vaticanus, in favour of its high antiquity—in yielding unqualified adherence to the opinion so confidently expressed on this point by the discoverer and subsequent editor, and in his case so perfectly natural; and it was thought the wiser course to reserve a final judgment till the Codex had been subjected to a more thorough examination by those who have made *palæography* their special study. The means for doing this are now placed within reach of scholars, not only by the splendid facsimile edition of all the fragments recovered by Tischendorf, brought out last year under the auspices of the Emperor of Russia,—but also by the publication in one volume of the text of the New Testament. Hilgenfeld of Jena, in the last number of the *Zeitschrift für Wissena-*

chaftliche Theologie (1864. i.), has stated some reasons, founded on an examination of the Sinaitic text of the New Testament, for doubting the extreme antiquity (*ultima antiquitatis Christianae monumentum* is Tischendorf's own expression*) which has been claimed for it. His criticism is quite friendly, with the candid admission that his scepticism may after all be unreasonable. The recovery of the Greek text of the Epistle of Barnabas, with a large portion of that of the Shepherd of Hermas, would alone, he thinks, have conferred a high value on the discovery of Tischendorf. But he is unable to convince himself, that its date can be put as high as the fourth century—in the age of Eusebius, as argued by Tischendorf—higher, in fact, than that of the Codex Vaticanus itself. Undue weight, in his opinion, has been attached by the editor to the beauty and form of the uncial characters. An un-theological friend well versed in palæography, whose opinion he asked, drew from an inspection of the writing the same conclusion at which Hilgenfeld had arrived through another process,—viz. that the MS. could not be older than the sixth century. It is curious to notice how learned and ingenious men deduce opposite inferences from the same data. The text of this Codex of the New Testament is disfigured by constant mis-spellings, and abounds in violations of all the laws of flexion and syntax. Tischendorf finds in all this the evidence of a primitive text, such as could never have been perpetuated by the more pedantic transcribers of the Byzantine school. He asserts†—on what

* In the fine dedication to the lovers of Christian truth throughout the world, which he has prefixed to the "Novum Testamentum Sinaiticum."

† "Qui scribebant calligraphi Alexandrini, ut scribendi usu et dexteritate excolebant, ita parum Græce sciebant. Fecit autem hæc literarum Græcarum inscientia ut quod propositum esset, fideliter ac quasi serviliter describerent, alienissimi ab omni emendandi studio. A quo studio quum integritatem textus sancti prioribus post Christum seculis plurimum detrimenti cepisse constet, ipsa ignorantia describentium quod prodesset continebat." (Prolegom. p. xxxv.) That the rougher reading must, *ceteris paribus*, be preferred as the older one, is a rule generally accepted by all the critics, including Griesbach, Lachmann and Tregelles. But we had always supposed, that the refining process commenced in Alexandria. This, however, must have been due rather to the *diorthota* than to the ordinary scribes of the Alexandrine book-trade, who were very probably mere illiterate drudges, and would do their work the better the more they could be reduced to mere machines. Possibly with the increased value for Scripture which sprang up in the third century, and which was confirmed by the labours and example of Origen, there would be a stronger desire to preserve in all transcripts the oldest readings that came direct from the apostolic age; and this

authority we know not—that the calligraphers of Alexandria were unskilled in Greek. On the other hand, Hilgenfeld sees in the barbarism of the Sinaitic text clear proofs of a later age and a declining culture, and thinks our MS. may possibly have been the work of some monks of the convent of St. Catharine, where it was discovered, and which was not founded till 530 A.D. According to him, three remarkable MSS. furnish an internal indication of age in the relative purity of their texts. The Codex Vaticanus is still free from these traces of illiterate carelessness. In the Alexandrinus, which Tischendorf assigns to the fifth century, they begin already to shew themselves. In the Sinaiticus, these phenomena reach their height. The force of Hilgenfeld's argument depends on the character of the variations exhibited by the Codex Sinaiticus,—whether they are merely the less usual forms of words, and modes of expression and construction, such as we know existed in the Hellenistic and colloquial Greek of the apostolic age, and would naturally find a place in the Christian writings of that period,—or whether they are such as are evidently traceable to the simple growth of barbarism. On another point, one and the same phenomenon suggests to Tischendorf and to Hilgenfeld just the opposite conclusion. Early in the present century, when Hug examined the Codex Vaticanus during its temporary sojourn at Paris amidst other spoils which the first Napoleon had brought out of Italy, he was struck with its likeness, when opened, with its three columns on each page, to an expanded roll, and very ingeniously inferred that it must date from a time when the *codex* had recently superseded the *volumen*, and when it would naturally retain much of the form and appearance of its predecessor, just as our earliest printed books are almost facsimiles of the latest manuscripts. As the Codex Sinaiticus, through the greater part of it, has four instead of three columns on each page, and therefore exhibits a still closer resemblance to the old roll, Tischendorf not unnaturally drew from this circumstance an argument in favour of its superior antiquity to

feeling would acquire new intensity under the persecution of Diocletian, when so many copies of the Christian Scriptures were destroyed, which had to be subsequently replaced. The corrections of the small critics of Constantinople and its dependencies would begin in calmer times, amid the dreamy leisure of the convents.

that of the Codex Vaticanus. Hilgenfeld has nowhere met this argument, which is at least a plausible one, but contents himself with simply asserting in a note that four columns on a page instead of three is the sign of a later age (*ibid.* p. 76).

The argument from the *readings* of this MS. deserves a closer examination. We subjoin in a note a number which have been selected by Hilgenfeld from different parts of the New Testament; and we shall compare them, as we proceed, with those exhibited by the Vatican and the Alexandrine.* Hilgenfeld admits, as a sign of early date, the order in which the books of the New Testament are arranged in this Codex: viz., after the Gospels, the Epistles of Paul, Hebrews being placed between 2 Thessalonians and the Pastoral Epistles and Philemon; then the Acts; then the Catholic Epistles; lastly, the Apocalypse of John. To the same conclusion points the subjoining, in a sort of appendix, of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas, and possibly also, where some pages are now wanting, of the Apocalypse of Peter. These contents, and to some extent the arrangement of them, correspond to Eusebius's classification of sacred writings as *ὁμολογουμένα*;—*ἀντιλεγόμενα* (James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John);—and *νόθα* (among others, Apocalypse of Peter, the Shepherd, and Epistle of Barnabas)—at the beginning of

* Matt. xx. 33, ἀνυγῶσιν δι' ὁφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν; Vat. ἀνοιγῶσιν—ἡμῶν; Alex. ἀνοιχθῶσιν—ἡμῶν. Mark vii. 34, διανύχθητι, ἡνύγησαν; Vat. διανοίχθητι—ἡνύγησαν; Alex. διανόιχθητι—διηνόιχθησαν. Luke xi. 9, 10, ἀνυγήσεται, ἀνυγήσετε; Vat. ἀνοιγήσεται, ἀνοίγεται; Alex. ἀνοιγήσεται, ἀνοιχθήσεται. Apocal. vi. 9, ἤνοιξεν; Vat. ἥνοιξεν; Alex. idem. Mark ii. 4, 9, κράβατος; also John v. 8, and Acts ix. 33; Vat. κράβατος; Alex. id. Luke ix. 41, γενεά; Vat. γεναί; Alex. id. Luke xi. 22, ἔρει; Vat. αἶρει; Alex. ἔρει. The same substitution of ε for αι occurs in the same verb, John i. 29, and John x. 24. On the contrary, Luke xii. 10, αι for ε; e.g. αἰρεῖ for ἔρει; so Luke xiv. 29, ἐμπεζειν for ἐμπαίζειν; Luke xxiii. 11, and Acts xii. 21, and James ii. 2, ἀσθής for ἰσθής; Luke xxiii. 28, θυγατέρας for θυγατέρες; John i. 40, μαίνει for μένει; John xviii. 10, ἔπαισεν for ἔπαισεν; Rom. iii. 12, αἰνός for ἐνός (N.B. The Alexandrine has also αἰνός in this place); Heb. x. 4, ἀφερῖν for ἀφαιρῖν; Acts xiii. 47, ρίθειν σαι for ρίθειν σε. Hilgenfeld asks, on reviewing this list, could any transcriber of the fourth century, especially at Alexandria, commit such mistakes in orthography?—It will be noticed that, with a single exception (κράβατος for κράβατος), all these mistakes occur in the vowels, many of them involving that confusion of sound which is called by the grammarians *Itacismus*, and which, we know, marked the later Greek pronunciation defended by Reuchlin. Does not this render it probable, that the MS. may have been made after *dictation*, under the guidance of the *ear*, not of the *eye*? It is singular, that in this very limited range of instances, the Alexandrine has twice fallen into the same confusion of αι and ε with the Sinaitic.

the fourth century.* This list has further some correspondence with that at the end of the Codex Claromontanus, which is probably of the same date as Codex Bezae. Now, it is deserving of notice, that before the close of this fourth century, at the Councils of Laodicea (364 A.D.) and of Carthage (397 A.D.), such works as the Shepherd and the Epistle of Barnabas were formally excluded from the Christian canon. These are facts which furnish a strong presumption in favour of the antiquity of the Codex Sinaiticus. Hilgenfeld is, however, of opinion that too much stress must not be laid on them as proving an origin in the age of Eusebius. The critical authority of Eusebius, especially in the East, long survived himself, and was perpetuated in the fifty copies of the Scriptures (*πεντήκοντα σωματία*) which, by order of Constantine the Great, he caused to be carefully transcribed on vellum—in modern phrase, edited and published.† Hilgenfeld thinks it possible, that this Imperial Bible, as we should call it, may have been multiplied by new transcripts as late as the sixth century. The sanction of Athanasius still procured for the Shepherd of Hermas a half-canonical recognition; and Tischendorf himself has noticed, that as late as the fifth century, the Alexandrine MS. of the New Testament has the two Epistles of Clemens Romanus attached to it.

The point, however, on which Hilgenfeld lays the greatest weight in support of his own view, is a note which either the original transcriber or a subsequent corrector has added at the end of the book of Esther, to the following effect: "Collated with a very ancient copy (*παλαιώταρον λίαν αντιγραφον*) which had been corrected by the hand of the holy martyr Pamphilus; at the end of which most ancient book, commencing with 1 Kings and terminating with Esther, there is the following autograph notice subjoined in large characters by the martyr himself: 'Transcribed from, and

* Hist. Eccles. iii. 25.

† See Constantine's letter to Eusebius (Euseb. Vit. Constant. iv. 36). It may be interesting to quote the very words in which the order was given by the emperor to the bishop: *ὥπως ἂν πενήκοντα σωματία ἐν διφθέραις ἰγκατασκευοῖς, εὐανάγνωστὰ τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν ἐνμετακόμιστα, ὑπὸ τεχνιτῶν καλλιγράφων καὶ ἀκριβῶς τὴν τέχνην ἐπισταμένων, γραφῆναι κελεύσεις.* ("I order you to cause to be transcribed on skins by skilful calligraphers who thoroughly understand their art, fifty copies [of the Scriptures] in a clear, legible character, and in a form convenient for ordinary use.")

corrected by, the Hexapla of Origen. The confessor Antoninus made the collation; and I, Pamphilus, through God's abundant grace, revised and corrected the document while in prison."⁹ The variations between the Codex Sinaiticus and this most ancient copy occur, it is noticed, in the writing of proper names. A note to the same purport, but in somewhat briefer form, is added also to 2 Ezra.* Now, as Pamphilus flourished towards the end of the third century, and Tischendorf throws back the date of the Codex Sinaiticus to the first half of the fourth, it is argued with much plausibility by Hilgenfeld, that the use of so strong an expression as *παλαιώτατον λίαν* implies a much longer interval between the collation referred to in the note, and the original transcript of the Pamphilian copy from Origen's Hexapla, than the half century or so which could at most have elapsed from the work of Pamphilus to the date which Tischendorf claims for the Codex Sinaiticus.—All turns on the question, who was the author of these two notes subjoined to Esther and 2 Ezra? Was it the original transcriber of the Codex Sinaiticus, or was it a more recent reviser of the same? Tischendorf, who has anticipated the objection in his Prolegomena, p. xxxiii, thinks the latter was the case, and finds an additional argument for the antiquity of his MS. in the number of correctors of a very early date through whose hands it has passed,—all of them, except the last, who has only added a few notes, employing the uncial character. He observes that this circumstance is peculiar to the Sinaitic MS.† Hilgenfeld on the same facts founds an opposite conclusion, and sees in these notes an evidence that the Codex Sinaiticus must have been still recent when this collation with the Pamphilian MS. was made in the seventh century, and could not, therefore, have been written earlier than the sixth century, subsequent to

* These two books, Esther and 2 Ezra, are not contained in the facsimile edition of the Old Testament brought out under the auspices of the Emperor of Russia in 1863, but form part of a fragment of the same Sinaitic MS., which Tischendorf discovered on the same spot some years previously, and edited at Leipsic in 1844, under the title of "*Codex Friderico-Augustanus*," in consequence of its being dedicated to the then reigning king of Saxony. Tischendorf has given a full account of this Codex in the Prolegomena to his edition of the Septuagint, Leipsic, 1856, p. lxxvi.

† "In nullo alio codice simile quidquam observatum est."

the foundation of St. Catharine's monastery in 530 A.D.* Hilgenfeld regards the internal character of this MS. as in full accordance with this supposition of its date. He looks on it as a hasty transcript by ignorant and incompetent scribes, whose astounding blunders have caused endless trouble to its numerous correctors. It abounds in omissions; which can only be ascribed to haste, as this is not a usual fault in the worst manuscripts. Hilgenfeld has given a list of these. Some blunders, resulting obviously from the same cause, are scarcely credible. For instance, we have, Luke ii. 50, χάριτι Θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώποις; Acts xxvii. 43, βήματος for βουλῆματος; 1 Peter iv. 2, ἀνθρώπου for Θεῶν; *ibid.* v. 2, ἐν-ύμιον for ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον; Apocal. xxi. 4, τὰ πρόβατα instead of τὰ πρῶτα. These are only a specimen of other examples of the same kind produced by Hilgenfeld; and they confirm the impression already indicated, that this MS. must have been hastily written after dictation by one who paid no attention to the sense. There are some readings which seem to imply the influence of a later dogmatic feeling. In Matthew xiii. 54, where the Vatican and the Alexandrine have τὴν πατριδα αὐτοῦ—referring to Nazareth—the Sinaitic has ἀντιπάριδα, with the meaning, we presume, that Nazareth was only the equivalent of a country, Bethlehem being really his birthplace.† Still more remarkable is the reading, John i. 18, μονογενῆς Θεός for μονογενῆς υἱός (Vat.‡ and Alex.), with the omission of ὁ ὢν before εἰς τὸν κόσμον. In Hebrews x. 34, where Vat., Alex. and Cantabrig. (the oldest authori-

* It is not quite clear from the language of these notes, whether they imply the collation to have been made at the time of the original transcript or when the reviser subjoined the notes, but most probably the latter; and this is the assumption on which the reasonings of both Hilgenfeld and Tischendorf proceed. But if so, we may surely observe on behalf of the view of the latter critic, that that might properly be described as "a very ancient book" at the time of the collation (without any reference to the comparative age of the Codex Sinaiticus), which could not have been so designated when the transcript was first made in the early part of the fourth century. Tischendorf's case does not require more than this simple concession.

† This word, ἀντιπαρίς, though analogically formed, is not warranted by usage. It occurs neither in Liddell and Scott's Lexicon, nor in Suicer, nor in Du Cange; that is, neither in classical, nor patristic, nor medieval Greek.

‡ Υἱός is the reading given by Philip Buttmann in his recent reprint of the Vatican text, after the best collations yet extant, and on the principle, *nihil aliud quam sola ipsa codicis verba proferre*. Berlin, 1862. The reprint of Mai's less accurate edition, brought out by Messrs. Williams and Norgate, 1859, reads Θεός with a marginal note, *Ita Cod.*

ties, confirmed by the Vulgate) have *δεσποῖς*, the Sinaitic has *τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου*, the reading of our Textus Receptus, so often insisted on by those who disregard critical considerations, in proof of the Pauline authorship of this epistle.

Judging from the instances alleged by Hilgenfeld, which have been taken from all parts of the New Testament, and which we have in every instance carefully verified by a reference to the original text, we should say that the Sinaitic text is generally very corrupt, abounding with extraordinary violations both of grammar and of sense. We have rarely turned to a single passage referred to by Hilgenfeld, without finding in the context some other example of corruption. For instance, in the last passage quoted, Heb. x. 34, instead of *ἀναμνήσκεσθε δὲ τὰς πρότερον ἡμέρας* (Vat. and Alex.), we have *τὰς πρότερον ἀμαρτίας*, which makes absolute nonsense.

Nevertheless, in spite of these strange phenomena, it is undoubtedly true, and fully admitted by Hilgenfeld himself, that the Codex Sinaiticus in some of its peculiar readings, and not less in some of its omissions, agrees with the oldest MSS.,—especially, and sometimes alone, with the Codex Vaticanus, and is supported by citations in very early Fathers. How are we to reconcile these apparently conflicting facts? In a notice of this remarkable Codex which appeared in the Christian Reformer for January, 1861, it was suggested—in ignorance as yet of the judgment of competent palæographers—that it might possibly be found, that this was a later copy, in the antique style and form, of a very old text. The recent examination of Hilgenfeld appears to confirm this view, and point to the conclusion that in the Codex Sinaiticus we have a hurried and more recent transcript of a MS. of the fourth century (possibly, though there is no direct evidence of this, of one of the fifty imperial codices edited by Eusebius), in which calligraphy was more thought of than textual accuracy. Some doctrinal indications strengthen the impression, that, although following a fourth century MS., it must be the transcript of a later age.* It may still, therefore, possess a high though

* *Μονογενὴς θεός*, which (if Buttmann represents Cod. Vatican. correctly) the Sinaitic exhibits exclusively with one other uncial MS., L. (referred by Griesbach to the eighth or ninth century), has a strong savour of Monophysitism, which was at its height when the convent of St. Catharine was founded in 530 A.D. and which was favoured at the court of Justinian.

a secondary critical value, especially where its readings and omissions coalesce with those of the Vatican; while the knowledge of its characteristic faults and the presumption of its probable origin, will furnish the critic with the needful conditions for making a wise and safe use of it. But if the views expressed in this paper, and suggested by Hilgenfeld, are ultimately sustained, the Codex Sinaiticus will not, as Tischendorf contends it should, supersede the Vaticanus as the oldest MS. of the Greek Bible in existence; still less will it be prudent to make it, as the same sanguine critic seems inclined to do, the foundation-text of future editions of the New Testament.* T.

2. RESEARCHES IN HEBREW PALÆOGRAPHY.

TILL a very recent period no inscription in the Hebrew language had been found within the limits of Palestine. We were left to conjecture what was the character which the contemporaries of our Saviour used, when they wrote in their native Aramæan. The coins of the Asmonæan princes bear legends in the old Hebrew character, which is nearly the same as the Phœnician. But St. Jerome tells us (*Præf. Lib. Regum*) that the Jews in his time (and Christians if they understood Hebrew) used an alphabet devised by Ezra after the captivity. This used to be called the Chaldee character, from its supposed origin among that people, or the square Hebrew, from its form. Our better acquaintance with Chaldæan antiquities has shewn that it could not have originated among them. It has no analogy with any variety of cuneiform writing. St. Jerome's statement bore, indeed, great improbability upon its face. Such changes, when they can be traced, are always found to be gradual; and it has been the general opinion of Hebrew scholars, especially since Gesenius wrote,† that the square alphabet had arisen from the Phœnician and Samaritan by such a gradual change, affecting not the Jews only but the other Semitic nations. The alphabet of the Palmyrene inscriptions has evidently a close resemblance to the square

* Tischendorf, we are informed, has already begun to do this in the new edition of his "*Synopsis Evangelica*." Leipzig, 1863.

† *Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*. Also the same author's *Scripturæ Lingueque Phœnicis Monumenta*.

Hebrew ; but these inscriptions are subsequent to the time of Christ, extending over the three first centuries. Some of the missing links of the chain have been recovered by the recent researches of M. Vogué and Mr. Waddington, of which a notice is contained in the two last numbers of the *Revue Archéologique*. M. Vogué has succeeded in copying an inscription on the architrave of a tomb opening to the valley of Jehoshaphat, in the square Hebrew character. The letters, rudely cut at first and worn by time, still plainly belong to this alphabet, and tell us that the tomb is that of the sons or family of Hezir. This was an ancient sacerdotal family (1 Chron. xxiv. 15), and they returned from the captivity (Nehem. x. 20). The inscription has no date, but M. de Vogué justly argues that it cannot be later than the destruction of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, after which the Jews never occupied it. How long it may have preceded that event is uncertain. M. de Vogué is inclined to refer it to the century before Christ, and the introduction of the square character to the fifth. The oldest inscription in this character he refers to the year 176 B.C., and it illustrates the gradual progress of the change, retaining some letters which approximate to the Phœnician and which afterwards disappeared. A presumption against so early a date has been thought to arise from the circumstance that the legends on the coins of the Asmonæan princes are in the ancient character. But so are those which were struck in the brief interval of Jewish independence during the insurrection under Bar-cochab. It is not improbable, therefore, that a sentiment of patriotism in both cases dictated this recurrence to the ancient character. Before the war of emancipation the Germans had begun generally to use the Roman type, but a patriotic reaction brought back the old black letter.

Another link has been supplied by inscriptions which the same travellers have copied in Haouran, the Auranitis of ancient geography. One of these, found in a temple which they cleared at Kennaout, the ancient Kanatha, proves it to have been constructed under the second Agrippa, before whom St. Paul made his defence. The characters approach much more nearly to the Palmyrene than those of the inscription from the valley of Jehoshaphat, but the family likeness is obvious. Another bears date of the

month of Tisri, in the seventh year of the Emperor Claudius (A.D. 47); a third, of the eleventh year of Malcus, called king of Nabatu, Nabathæa, probably a contemporary of Herod the Great, having his capital at Petra, and an ally of Julius Cæsar in the Alexandrine war.* Thus the chain is complete which connects the old Phœnician alphabet with the square Hebrew, the Nabathæan and the Sinaitic (Mr. Forster's one primæval character!). The freer forms of the Syriac and the Arabic are due to the use of the pen, which naturally inclines to ligatures and curves.

K.

VI.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Broken Lights,† the first title of a very thoughtful and most interesting little volume by Miss F. P. Cobbe, although intelligible enough to those who connect the phrase with the verse of the introduction to In Memoriam, from which it is taken, finds an authorized explanation in the words which follow it,—“An Inquiry into the Present Condition and Future Prospects of Religious Faith.” Under any other treatment than that which Miss Cobbe has given it, the magnitude of such a subject would seem almost ludicrously disproportionate to the narrow limits within which she has confined her exposition. But her statements are so pregnant, her logic so close, as to leave upon the critic's mind a perplexing sense of the roundness and completeness of her work. He hardly knows at what point to attach the expression of his agreement or dissent. The book has itself all the qualities of an admirable review; and a less skilful artist than Miss Cobbe might very easily make his criticism upon it larger and more diffuse than itself. All that we can do under these circumstances is to attempt to give our readers some idea of its general outline and plan, and to point out one or two characteristics of its method. We may at least promise them that, whether or not they agree

* Hist. Bell. Alex., c. i.

† Broken Lights; an Inquiry into the Present Condition and Future Prospects of Religious Faith. By Frances Power Cobbe. London: Trübner. 1834.

in its conclusions, they will find it the production, not only of an acute and sagacious, but of an eminently religious mind. Any one whose faith is robust enough to buffet any storms of controversy at all, may venture here with safety. Miss Cobbe is as tender of the conscientious convictions of others, as she is firmly reliant upon her own.

The argument begins by tracing all the theological controversy of the day to a struggle more or less conscious between what are here called Traditionalists and Rationalists.

"The possession of religious faith by mankind may be attributed either to an historical revelation or to some other source. It may be maintained that we owe our knowledge of God mainly to his supernatural revelation of himself in past times, or mainly to his natural revelation of himself at all times through conscience and reason. Briefly, we may describe these two sources of belief as the *traditional* and the *original* revelation. . . . Thus we have inevitably two parties in religious controversy,—the Traditionalists, whose line of defence tends to depreciate consciousness, and the Rationalists, whose line tends to depreciate tradition. It is a necessity of the case that the friends of the one system should become the antagonists of the other."—Pp. 5—7.

Now those who hold to an historical revelation find themselves, in consequence of the peculiar theological ideas supposed to be involved in that revelation, "in collision with the spirit of the age."

"These peculiar Christian doctrines in numberless ways run counter to the philosophy and science of our times. The most superficial observer perceives that the two are not in harmony. . . . Here, then, the adherents of an historical revelation are brought up face to face with a difficulty which by one means or another they *must* dispose of; for the machinery of religion can by no means work when its wheels are for ever caught and reversed by the current of thought in which they are placed. Two ways are open to them; either they may keep firmly to the doctrines of the past, and compel as well as they can the new ideas to harmonize therewith, or they may modify the old doctrines in such manner as shall fit them to meet the new ideas."—P. 14.

Those who adopt the former method are here denominated Palæologians; those who choose the latter, Neologians.

Of Palæologian parties, the first passed under review is "The High Church," whose theory is stated in the phrase, "The Bible authenticated and interpreted by the Church."

This weighed in the balance and found wanting, we come next to the Evangelical party, embracing both the "Low Church" and the great mass of orthodox Dissenters. Chillingworth's famous formula is given as their profession of faith, "The Bible and the Bible only the religion of Protestants;" though of course the Bible, uncriticized, and interpreted only in accordance with certain foregone conclusions. But both in this and in the former section, Miss Cobbe rightly leaves for a while the ground of logical analysis to point out how the peculiarities of High-Church and Evangelical faith answer to certain qualities and tastes of men, and are thus permitted by Divine Goodness to introduce believers in them to nobler practical truths, deeper spiritual realities, than can be connected with them by any process of sound reasoning. A transition is then made to Neologian solutions of the one great problem. The Broad Church is rightly divided into two parts: the first, which, drawing its earliest inspiration from Coleridge and Arnold, is now represented by Maurice and Kingsley; the second, or school of "Essays and Reviews," in which Professor Jowett is the most distinguished teacher. The former of these is condemned, not unjustly as it seems to us, as rather evading than solving the great problem, the existence of which it has the merit of at least recognizing. By the latter, Miss Cobbe lingers almost lovingly, loth to pronounce judgment, and uttering only a hypothetical sentence at last.

"By exchanging," she says, "the theories of Plenary or Verbal Inspiration for that of Natural Inspiration—by denying a difference of *kind*, and only affirming a difference of *degree*, between that of the Bible and of other books—the Second Broad Churchmen have at once got rid of a host of difficulties, and planted themselves on an unassailable philosophical position. *A priori* it was probable that the same real but limited Inspiration should have been given to mankind in all ages; *a posteriori* the Bible bears precisely the character of such real but limited Inspiration." P. 81.

"What influence can the Second Broad Church exercise on the future religion of the world? What answer will it supply to the doubts of the age, and whereon would it rest our faith in God and Immortality? The reply seems to be brief. The Second Broad Church would, like all the other parties in the Church, call on us to rest our faith on History. But in this case it is History corroborated by consciousness, not opposed thereto. In

the next chapter it will be our effort to shew that under no conditions is it probable that History can afford our ultimate grounds of faith. Meanwhile, it must appear that if any form of historical faith may escape such a conclusion, and approve itself to mankind in time to come, it is that which is proposed by the Second Broad Church, and which it worthily presents, to the intellect by its learning, and to the religious sentiment by its profound and tender piety."—P. 92.

A brief chapter on "The Solution by the Parties outside the Church" concludes the first part of the work. A prominent place in it is occupied by some kindly criticism upon Unitarianism, to which we may probably return upon another occasion. Two appendices follow: one on Dr. Colenso and his critics, in which Mr. Maurice's and Mr. Kingsley's illogical defences of some indefinite orthodox position peculiar to themselves are sharply dissected; and another on Rénan's *Vie de Jésus*. The latter has at once perplexed and delighted us. In the assumptions of its historical criticism it is sweeping enough. Miracles are summarily ordered out of court, though without any statement of reasons, as if it were altogether unworthy of the philosophic mind to cherish the faintest belief in their possibility. We are told that of the details of the life of Christ we can decide nothing. And yet when Miss Cobbe, the exigencies of her theory thus satisfied, turns to look upon Christ from the moral and spiritual side,—and that with some revulsion of feeling from Rénan's shallow and sentimental estimate of his character,—she seems to forget all that she has said, and all that she is about to say, of the impossibility of discovering the source of religion in history. She finds in Christ "more than the Supreme Moral Reformer of the world"—he was "the great Regenerator of Humanity. His coming was to the life of humanity what regeneration is to the life of the individual." And then in words which, in spite of what would probably be Miss Cobbe's earnest protest, we must take leave to characterize as distinctively and eminently Christian, she goes on to say:

"This is not a conclusion doubtfully deduced from questionable biographies, but a broad, plain inference from the universal history of our race. We may dispute all details, but the grand result is beyond criticism. The world *has* changed, and that change is historically traceable to Christ. The honour, then,

which Christ demands of us must be in proportion to our estimate of the value of such regeneration. He is not merely a Moral Reformer inculcating pure ethics, not merely a Religious Reformer clearing away old theologic errors, and teaching higher ideas of God. These things he was ; but he might, for all we can tell, have been them both as fully, and yet have failed to be what he has actually been to our race. He might have taught the world better ethics and better theology, and yet have failed to infuse into it that new life which has ever since coursed through its arteries and penetrated its minutest veins. What Christ has really done is beyond the kingdom of the intellect and its theologies ; nay, even beyond the kingdom of the conscience and its recognition of duty. His work has been in that of the heart. He has transformed the Law into the Gospel. He has changed the bondage of the alien for the liberty of the sons of God. He has glorified Virtue into Holiness, Religion into Piety, and Duty into Love."

And, again :

"When the fulness of time had come, and the creeds of the world's childhood were worn out, and the restless question was on every lip, 'Who will shew us any good?' when the whole heart of humanity was sick of its sin and weary of its wickedness, then God gave to one man, for mankind at large, that same blessed task he gives to many for a few. Christ, the Elder Brother of the human family, was the helper, and (in the highest philosophic sense) the Saviour of humanity."—Pp. 132, 133.

When, therefore, in her second part, Miss Cobbe proceeds to shew that history is not religion—a proposition which surely no thoughtful Christian, capable of discerning the meanings of words, would maintain—and then to draw out, in many thoughtful and eloquent pages, the characteristics of the faith of the future, we feel inclined, instead of pausing in critical attitude beside what appear to us to be exaggerations and inaccuracies of expression, to fall back upon the words which we have just quoted. Although in another page (p. 100) our authoress contemplates, almost with satisfaction, the probable passing away of Christianity,—although the theology which she predicts and endeavours to delineate is one "which the human consciousness will evolve when freed from the trammels and only aided by the suffrage of history,"—she has, in the best sense of the word, avowed herself a Christian, and we shall hold her to the avowal. If there be any inconsistency between one

series of her statements and arguments and another, we leave to herself the task of removing it, and for ourselves interpret her according to what appears to us her noblest and deepest utterance. Truth to tell, we think that she has been led astray by the assumption with which her book begins, that there is a necessary antagonism between (to use her own nomenclature) the Traditional and the Rationalistic theories of religion; that a reconciliation between them is impossible; and that every thoughtful believer must decisively choose one side or the other. On the contrary, it is our firm conviction that to effect a just compromise between the two, is the great theological problem of the present day,—a compromise the possibility of which Miss Cobbe admits by implication more than once, and towards whose final accomplishment she offers valuable help. As long as inspiration is conceived of as a quality of a book, not God's spiritual gift to a man, and biblical inspiration is further made equivalent to biblical infallibility,—as long as inspiration is believed to have been at some earlier age, and in some other circumstances of the human race, a thing different in *kind* from the light and strength which the Infinite Father now imparts to his children, we grant that no compromise is logically possible. But when we regard inspiration as a great spiritual fact, necessitated by the nature of God and the nature of man, and the relation originally established between them,—a fact which, though manifested in the utmost diversity of form and through the widest scale of degree, from the stammering prayer and imperfect obedience of the simplest worshiper up to the complete Sonship of Christ, is, through all ages and under all circumstances, essentially one and the same,—this is not so. Religious history is the record of past inspiration; while the prayer, the aspiration, the dutifulness, the self-forgetfulness for which God strengthens and enlightens his sons to-day, are religious history in the making. The latter is a direct, the former only an indirect communion with God; the latter brings its own evidence of reality with it, the former must submit as to its form, to historical, as to its matter, to direct religious criticism; but both have the same source, and are designed to produce the same result. To rely wholly upon history, is theoretically to shut the door of communication between the soul and God; to learn of consciousness alone, is to

deny that He has ever done anything for the human race in former times, and to set every generation to study its religious lessons alone and anew. Fortunately for the interests of practical religion, this extremity of antagonism exists only in theory. Those who most stoutly maintain that inspiration belongs to the past alone, practically ask it of God whenever they lift up hands of prayer. Those who impugn the possibility of an historical religion, have yet unconsciously learned from the spiritual experience of other times and races almost all that they know of God, and when they build their edifice of faith do no more than erect the old truths on new foundations. It is equally impossible for a religious man to cut himself off from God and from the spiritual history of humanity. Both forces, in proportions which he cannot determine, unite to make him what he is.

A companion volume to Mr. Baldwin Brown's *Divine Mystery of Peace*, noticed in our last number, is his newly published series of sermons entitled *The Divine Treatment of Sin*.^{*} Considered as sermons only, these are marked by the same characteristics as those which he has previously given to the world,—a deep moral earnestness, a genuine if somewhat ornate eloquence, a subtle rhetorical feeling, a thoughtful treatment of topics in regard to which to be commonplace is to be safe. It is easy to see that they were written to be preached, and that they would draw a fresh life from the preacher's look and voice. But regarded as in some sort a theological treatise upon the subject announced in the title-page, this volume is less complete, though more elaborate, than its predecessor. It begins indeed with the beginning, the fall of man ; but the chain of logical sequence which unites the two or three first sermons is soon broken, and the reader feels that he is hovering about the subject, not piercing it through and through. Mr. Brown says in his preface that "the course of thought which is here rather sketched than wrought out, may possibly seem to clash in some degree with the tenets of the theological school which has long ruled in the domain of Evangelical Nonconformity." We fancy that when his book comes to be weighed in the balance of orthodoxy, it will be adjudged to be not only

^{*} *The Divine Treatment of Sin.* By James Baldwin Brown, B.A. London : Jackson, Walford and Co. 1864.

unsound but deficient. The very title of the first sermon, "The Fall considered as a Development," will be a sin of commission. So will be his emphatic rejection of the doctrine of original sin, if those words are to be used (as they commonly are) as equivalent to original guilt. But his sins of omission will be not less grievous. We already seem to hear the whole race of orthodox critics condemning this volume as failing to present "the distinctive doctrines of the gospel." When we compare its somewhat loose structure with the logical compactness of other volumes which Mr. Brown has built up on a similar plan, we cannot resist the suspicion that the sermons have not been written as parts of a consecutive series, but that the title has been selected as a convenient band with which to make a faggot out of scattered single sticks.

Such a volume as this, the work of a thoughtful and sincere man, necessarily affords much scope for critical discussion. But we will confine our remarks to one point. In the first three sermons, Mr. Brown, desiring to mount to the very fountain-head of his subject, has occasion to describe and characterize the fall of man. What, then, is his treatment of the narrative of the first chapters of Genesis? It is not too much to say that, in his view, the results of the application of modern science to the record are absolutely non-existent. He uses the story, not only as if it were in the general historically credible, but plenarily inspired. The serpent (without warrant, we need hardly say, unless from Milton) is identified with the devil. Adam is a real personage; his disobedience a fact, not only of undoubted occurrence, but big with fateful consequence to all future generations. There is no mistake about the matter. "Adam's sin has changed the conditions under which his children are born and grow. Human nature, whereof we are all partakers, has a distinct unity of its own. When we speak of humanity, we do not describe simply an aggregation of isolated independent individuals, who happen to repeat, each for himself, the same experiment, and to arrive at the same result. There is a certain tincture which runs through the whole of it, and Adam made that tincture what it is." (P. 34.) Upon this foundation is built up the whole scheme of God's dealings with men. The fall was truly a development, an acquisition of self-consciousness in which man

attained to the possibility of a nobler than a paradisiacal existence. And God's promise at the epoch of the fall pledged Him to the sacrifice necessary for redemption: "The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head, but the serpent shall bruise his heel." Eden and Calvary are bound together in strict historical unity. The second Adam would be inexplicable without the first.

There is nothing new or striking in this theory; the only wonder is that Mr. Brown, or any other educated man, should deliberately set it forth. What if Adam never lived? What if the human race has been derived, not from one, but from many sources? What if its certain history stretches back to a period which cannot be included in the limits of any biblical chronology? Is not to rest the whole method of God's spiritual treatment of humanity upon the basis of the historical infallibility of the first chapters of Genesis, to support the greater upon the less, to put the pyramid upon its point? If in the clear, cold light which science sheds every day more brightly upon the antiquity of man upon the earth, this narrative is more and more distinctly recognized as the Hebrew tradition which, placed side by side with other similar traditions, triumphantly displays its own surpassing sublimity, yet fails all the more signally to withstand the powerful solvents of historical criticism,—it is no wonder that men who think with Mr. Brown should accuse the Bishop of Natal of robbing them of "their dearest hopes in time and for eternity." To deny the existence of paradise is to shut the gate of heaven; to question the temptation of the serpent, is to impair the promise of the cross. In the interest of Science we have not a word to say; the screams of terrified theologians will not turn her aside from her path, or lessen the rapid majesty of her stride. But is it wise to risk the very existence of Religion upon such an issue?

Mr. Brown and many others like him are put to sad shifts and cunning devices in their attempt to bring accepted theories of redemption into at least a partial accordance with facts of human nature. Already, we see, our author discerns in the fall a step in the development of humanity, and has found out that original sin is no sin at all. Let him be content to derive his knowledge of human endowments and shortcomings and needs from actual observation of humanity, instead of groping for it in the darkness of

primæval tradition,—let him base his theology upon human nature as it is, instead of upon what theologians are agreed to say it must be,—and with the adoption of a scientific method he will reap a harvest of scientific result. He will be delivered not only from many a perplexity which now hampers him, but from fears which are worse than any perplexity. He will see that Jehovistic and Elohistie documents have nothing to do with salvation; and that all the flint instruments in the drift cannot affect the relations between the Infinite Father and His children. Nor let the absurdity of supposing that such could be the case be charged upon us; it is but a plain inference from the method of Mr. Brown's preaching.

We have before us the eleventh edition of M. Ernest Rénan's popular abridgment of his *Life of Christ*,* a little volume indifferently printed on cheap paper, and sold for a franc and a quarter. It is what it claims to be, a work originally written for the learned, re-fashioned to the wants and taste of the people. The introduction, "On the Sources of the History," is altogether omitted. Five other chapters—the 1st, namely, "On the Place of Jesus in the History of the World;" the 16th, "On Miracles;" the 19th, "The Growing Progress of Enthusiasm and Exaltation;" the 26th, "Jesus in the Grave;" and the 27th, "Fate of the Enemies of Jesus"—are either struck out or very briefly incorporated with others. With the 26th disappears that marvellous passage (by us altogether untranslatable), "*Pouvoir divin de l'amour! moments sacrés où la passion d'une hallucinée donne au monde un Dieu ressuscité!*" The narrative of the raising of Lazarus, in which that event was represented as a sham miracle got up by Lazarus and his sisters to advance the supposed interests of the Master, has suffered a similar fate, and we now pass at once from Zaccheus and blind Bartimæus to the conspiracy of the priests. In all other respects the book remains substantially what it was.

The following paragraphs of the Preface contain M. Rénan's own view of his work:

"History is a science, as chemistry and geology are. To be thoroughly understood it requires profound study, the highest result of which is the ability to appreciate the difference between ages, countries, nations, races. At the present day a man who

* *Jésus*. Par Ernest Rénan. Onzième Edition. Paris. 1864.

believes in ghosts, in witchcraft, is not thought by us to be in earnest. But in former times, eminent men have believed in all these things; and in certain countries, it may be possible even now for a real superiority of mind to co-exist with similar errors. Those who, by travel, by long study, or by a singularly penetrating intellect, have not succeeded in explaining these differences for themselves, always find something repellent in the narratives of past ages;—for the past, however heroic, however grand, however original, had not upon several very important points the same ideas as ourselves. A complete history cannot draw back before this difficulty, even though it risk the production of the gravest misconceptions. Scientific sincerity knows no prudent lies. There is not in the world a motive strong enough to induce a scientific man to put himself under constraint in the expression of what he believes to be the truth. But when once we have said, without a shadow of *arrière pensée*, what we believe to be certain, or probable, or possible,—may we not abandon subtle distinctions to attach ourselves solely to the pervading spirit of great events which all can and ought to understand? Have we not the right of reconciling discords, and thus of bestowing all our attention upon the poetry and the instruction which abound in these old narratives? The chemist knows that the diamond is only charcoal; he is acquainted with the method by which nature works her profound transformations. Is he on that account obliged to refrain from using the common language of the world, to see in the most beautiful jewel only a bit of carbon?

"This, then, is not a new book. It is 'The Life of Jesus' disengaged from its scaffoldings and obscurities. As an historian, it was my duty to attempt to depict a Christ, who should have the features, the colour, the physiognomy of his race. This time it is a Christ in white marble that I present to the public; a Christ carved from a stainless block; a Christ simple and pure as the sentiment which created him. My God, it may be that he is thus more true! Who knows that there may not be moments at which all that comes out of man is immaculate? These moments are but few; and yet there are such. It is thus at least that Jesus appeared to the people; it is thus that the people saw him and loved him; it is thus that he has remained in the hearts of men. This is the part of him that has lived; this is what has charmed the world and endowed him with immortality."—Preface, p. iii.

We have suffered M. Rénan to explain for himself the relation between his former and his present work, between history written for the learned and history written for the people; for we are not sure that we perfectly understand,

while we are very unwilling to misrepresent it. It looks as if in his first book M. Rénan had tried to depict Christ as he was; while in the second, he had re-touched the portrait till it represented what he ought to have been. The instructed are satisfied with the actual, the people want an ideal; let each have their desire. What is this but another form of "*populus vult decipi et decipiatur*"? We have nothing to say now as to the quality of M. Rénan's work in the general; we simply wish to draw attention to the relation in which the above sentences, stripped of their drapery of metaphor and sentiment, stand to their author's credibility as an historian. They will hardly tend, we think, to produce the feeling of implicit trust with which the readers of such historians as Arnold and Grote accept their guidance, as that of men whose sole object is to discover and display the whole, simple, naked truth.

The seventh volume of *Theodore Parker's Collected Works** contains what the editor calls "Discourses of Social Science." Social science is a phrase of which no exact definition is yet forthcoming, although the titles of these sermons,—"*Of Merchants*," "*Of the Perishing Classes in Boston*," "*Of the Moral Condition of Boston*," "*Of the Spiritual Condition of Boston*," "*Of the Public Education of the People*," and so forth,—answer accurately enough to the somewhat vague ideas which it calls up. Yet let no reader look for "science" here. Between men of science and prophets there is a gulf as from pole to pole; and Parker belongs to the latter, not the former class. He contributes in this volume very little to our general knowledge of the subjects mentioned above; but how his hearers must have felt their cheeks flush and their ears tingle! More eloquent, more honest, more religious preaching than this, it would not be easy to find. And when we think of the vast music-hall full Sunday after Sunday, it raises our opinion not only of the speaker, but of the hearers who came willingly to listen to so stern a rebuke, not of others' sins and shortcomings, but of their own.

Mr. Kennard's *Letter to the Bishop of St. David's*† was

* The Collected Works of Theodore Parker. Edited by Frances Power Cobbe. Vol. VII. Discourses of Social Science. London: Trübner. 1864.

† The late Professor Powell and Dr. Thirlwall on the Supernatural; a Letter to the Bishop of St. David's. By the Rev. R. B. Kennard, M.A., Rector of Marnhull. London: Hardwicke. 1864.

called forth by the late remarkable charge published by Dr. Thirlwall. In it the Bishop, while opposing a barrier of calm and scientific argument to the torrent of indiscriminate vituperation with which the Essayists and Reviewers have been overwhelmed, says, in regard to the question of miracles as raised in the essay of the late Professor Powell: "I am aware that men may and do take opposite sides. But that a clergyman of the Church of England is at liberty to take which he will, I cannot so easily understand or so readily admit." In reply, Mr. Kennard, who honourably distinguished himself as the friend and defender of the Essayists at a time when legal penalties impended over their heads, not only calls the Bishop's attention to the fact that the question is one upon which "the Articles and Formularies of the Church are absolutely silent," but proceeds briefly to vindicate Professor Powell's view of the relation between the human mind and the supernatural. His exposition is forcible and lucid; but the subject, however interesting, is not one to be discussed in the few sentences which are alone at our disposal in this place. From a very different theological region come Mr. Hopps' *Confession of Faith** and Mr. Street's *Why should we labour to extend our Faith*† Both are sermons "published by request," and both earnest recommendations of a Unitarian theology, the first chiefly addressed to inquirers without, the second to believers already within that fold.

VII.—ECCLESIASTICAL CHRONICLE.

VICARIOUS satisfaction appears to be the practice as well as the doctrine of the English Church. Professor Jowett has paid the penalty which Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson have escaped. We recorded in our last number that a form of statute (since known as Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon*) had been agreed upon by the contending parties at Oxford, by which the University, while adding £360 per annum to the £40

* A Confession of Faith, good for all Times and all Worlds. By the Rev. John Page Hopps. London: Whitfield, Green and Son. 1864.

† Why should we labour to extend our Faith! By J. C. Street. London: Whitfield. 1864.

already enjoyed by the Regius Professor of Greek, disclaimed any responsibility for his theological opinions ; and that this statute had been carried in Congregation by 105 votes to 65. But the judgment of the Privy Council altered the whole case. The statute had still to be passed by "Convocation," which consists to a large extent of non-resident M.A.'s. If two Essayists had escaped scot-free, it was still possible to smite a third ; one, too, who, from the peculiarities of his position, had hitherto defied all legal attack. So Heads of Houses, Regius Professors, Canons, Archdeacons, set themselves to sound the tocsin which summons the country parsons to Oxford whenever the Church is in danger ; and with such good effect that on the 8th of March the statute was rejected by 467 against 395 votes. Dr. Pusey, it is pleasing to add, stuck to his colours and voted with the Dean of Westminster ; but the party which commonly follows him completely broke loose from his guidance. Meanwhile, all sober-minded opponents of the Essayists deeply regret an act in which, to gain its own ends, unscrupulous party spirit made use of a blind orthodox terror. Even the Record, which sneers at Mr. Jowett's labours and impugns his scholarship, cannot help seeing that every such vote directly increases his influence among the undergraduates. The Guardian, certainly no friend to latitudinarian theology, "has to regret only that the University should continue to present to the mass of those whom she educates zeal for orthodoxy in a form which they feel to be injustice." And the last scene of the drama is, that the Lord Chancellor has brought forward a Bill in the House of Lords, endowing the Regius Professorship of Greek at Oxford with the first canonry in his own patronage which shall fall vacant at Norwich, Rochester, Bristol or Gloucester ; expressing at the same time his hope that the University would retrace its steps, and provide a salary for the Professor until such vacancy takes place. This settlement of the question is unfortunately open to many objections. When the chair is next vacant, it will limit the choice of the Government to a clergyman,—a limitation which becomes every day less desirable ; while such an application of cathedral funds is in direct opposition to the ecclesiastical policy of the last thirty years. A better plan would have been to have presented Mr. Jowett to some

canonry or other preferment which he could legally hold with his Professorship, and to have left with the University the responsibility of adequately endowing the chair.

Advantage was taken of the great clerical concourse at Oxford on the 8th of March, to hold a meeting to discuss the Privy Council's judgment, and to consider what steps should be taken to purge the Church of England from the imputation of false doctrine supposed to be thrown upon her. On the subject of the verbal inspiration of the Bible and the eternity of future punishment, High and Low Church agreed to shake hands; and the result was a "Declaration" of opinion which finally took the following form:

"We, the undersigned Presbyters and Deacons in Holy Orders of the Church of England and Ireland, hold it to be our bounden duty to the Church and to the souls of men, to declare our firm belief that the Church of England and Ireland, in common with the whole Catholic Church, maintains without reserve or qualification the Inspiration and Divine Authority of the whole Canonical Scriptures (*a*) as not only containing but being the Word of God (*b*); and further teaches (*c*) in the words of our blessed Lord (*d*), that the 'punishment' of the 'cursed,' equally with the 'life' of the 'righteous,' is 'everlasting.'"

"(*a*) Hom. 'An Information for them which take offence at certain places of the Holy Scripture,' pp. 236—244 (4to Ed.); Art. VI, VII, VIII.

"(*b*) Art. XVII, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIV., XXXIV., XXXVII.

"(*c*) Athan. Creed, Litany, Catechism, Communion, Burial Service.

"(*d*) St. Matt. xxv. 41—46.

"The Declaration will be respectfully presented, with the signatures, by the Committee to the Archbishops and Bishops of England and Ireland.

Committee.

- "C. C. Clerke, D.D., Archdeacon of Oxford.
- R. L. Cotton, D.D., Provost of Worcester College.
- G. A. Denison, M.A., Archdeacon of Taunton.
- W. R. Fremantle, M.A., Rector of Claydon.
- F. K. Leighton, D.D., Warden of All Souls' College.
- J. C. Miller, D.D., St. Martin's, Birmingham.
- E. B. Pusey, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew."

This, with an adjuration to sign it for "the love of God,"

has been sent to every clergyman of the Church of England whose address was to be discovered. Of course signatures have been plentiful. Many men have a positive appetite for tests and subscriptions, and sign with as little concern as they would draw a cheque upon their bankers. Many more seem to feel an uneasy distrust of their own "soundness" till they have bound down their judgment by some opportune form of fetter. When we recollect how many young clergymen are immediately dependent upon their ecclesiastical superiors,—how all, young and old, live under the microscope of a harsh and narrow public opinion, it is wonderful that nine out of every ten clergymen should not have pronounced the shibboleth. But Mr. Fremantle, the secretary to the Oxford Committee, estimates the "accessible body of the clergy" at 19,000, of whom at present about 11,000 have signed. The lists are to be kept open until Whitsuntide; but it is already plain that the Declaration has done its work, and that 8000 clergymen refuse, for various reasons, to adopt its terms. An attempt, begun in Liverpool and in a country parish in Staffordshire, to induce the laity to sign, has ended in ignominious failure.

The controversies of the last two months, all of which have raged round this single position, have been more curious than important. Some of the extreme Anglo-Catholic party have detected unsoundness in the use of the word "Presbyter," and have refused to sign unless they might call themselves, in plain English, "Priests." Mr. Maurice, with characteristic subtlety, finds the Declaration ambiguous, and thinks that even Mr. Wilson might sign it with a safe conscience. Whereupon Dr. Pusey and Mr. Maurice have a controversial duel in the *Times*, while Mr. Wilson sets them both right in the *Daily News*. Dr. Goode, Dean of Ripon, who was the champion of the Evangelical party in the Gorham debate, lays the Declaration before Mr. Stephens, Q.C., and Mr. Traill, and receives from them an opinion, that to sign it is to impugn the Queen's supremacy. Then a counter statement is offered to the consideration of the Attorney-General and Sir Hugh Cairns, who decide, that as long as the clergy obey the judgment they may criticise it as much as they like. In the mean time the considerate and well-grounded objections to the Declaration, which have prevailed with 8000 clergy-

men (a very much larger number than have any doctrinal sympathy with the Essayists) to withhold their signatures, assume two forms. It is looked upon as a test ; a new test imposed at a time when old ones are felt to be peculiarly burdensome ; a test presented by no lawful authority, but by a self-constituted, or at best an irregularly appointed body ; a test, moreover, enforced by an appeal to an ignorant and excited public opinion. What is to be the end of these things ? men are beginning to ask themselves. If Oxford constitute herself guardian of the doctrine of eternal torments, is Cambridge to have the task of proving that the Church is sound upon the Pentateuch, or Durham to lie in wait for the next heretic who may slip through the mesh of the Articles ? Then Englishmen, even clergymen, have a solid reverence for the law, although its administration cut their most cherished prejudices against the grain. And in spite of casuistical distinctions, they see that this is an attempt to oppose the judgment of a crowd to the judgment of the courts. The crowd may in this case be sound, the courts unsound ; but the precedent is dangerous, and may hereafter be used with fatal effect. The Declaration cannot make *that* the law of the Church which was not so before ; the judgment will not alter the individual convictions of a single clergyman. Let law and opinion be content to remain each upon its own ground.

Looked at from the theological point of view, the controversy has not been productive of much interest. Perhaps the most striking thing has been the almost unthinking unanimity with which men of all varieties of opinion have hastened to pledge themselves to a theory of inspiration which contradicts the plainest facts of the case, and to uphold a doctrine of retribution which is as repugnant to God's justice as it is abhorrent to his goodness. Two, however, of the clerical judges have spoken ; and their utterance is interesting, if not from its own intrinsic merit, yet from the position of the speakers. The Archbishop of Canterbury found that he could not convict Mr. Wilson of heresy in expressing the hope that all men should finally be saved, and, with the Archbishop of York, was outvoted in regard to the charges which related to inspiration. Under these circumstances, he has addressed a Pastoral Letter to the clergy and laity of his province, in which he gives his

reasons for this various decision. We can say no more of this Pastoral than that it is well adapted to calm whatever apprehensions are capable of being soothed by the voice of authority. The Archbishop, in point of fact, declares that the common belief of orthodox men upon the doctrinal points now questioned is inexpugnable, and enjoins all his clergy to rest upon it and be thankful. The only approach to argument is in the following passage, where he bases the certainty of eternal bliss upon the certainty of everlasting damnation :

“Again, I am sure you will beware of giving any other interpretation to the word ‘everlasting’ in the passages of our formularies which relate to the punishment of the lost, than that of ‘eternal’ in the sense of ‘never-ending.’ For whatever be the meaning of the word in these passages in the case of the lost, the same must be its meaning in the case of the saved ; and our certainty of never-ending bliss for penitent believers is gone, if the word bears not the same signification in the case of the impenitent and unbelieving. You will also do well to observe how the teaching of the Church as to the eternity of the Son of God must be vitiated, if, when the Second Article of our Church declares that He was begotten from everlasting of the Father, she leaves us at liberty to suppose, under this restricted sense of the word everlasting, that there was a time when the Son of God was not.”

To this we cannot help opposing an extract from an admirable letter written to the Oxford Committee by the Rev. Archer Gurney, chaplain of one of the English churches in Paris. Mr. Gurney has the reputation of being an Anglo-Catholic to the extent of wishing to restore the practice of praying for the dead. But whatever may be his extravagances of doctrine or ritual, the following paragraph shews him to be a much more thoughtful theologian than the Archbishop :

“Your second proposition is, that eternity must be understood in precisely the same sense of the creature as of the Creator, of evil as of good, of union to Satan as of union to God. Surely a very little thought might have taught you better. The words ‘eternal’ and ‘everlasting,’ or phrases answering to these, are constantly used in a relative sense in the Old Testament Scriptures with reference to Jewish ordinances designed to pass away, and they signify ‘indefinite and continuous’ until superseded by a higher law or principle, never tending to come to an end of themselves. Is it necessary to teach learned men like you that

whatever begins in time may also have an end in time ; that there is this essential and infinite difference between the eternity of good and of evil, that the one has never begun, but was from all eternity ; that the other has begun, and may therefore end ; that it is nothing less than blasphemous to draw comparisons between the eternity of the everlasting Son of God and the relative eternity of his sinful creatures ; that evil, having nothing divine in it, is essentially finite, not infinite ; that it consists in rebellion to the will of God, and has no inherent endless vitality ; that the happiness of the blessed rests, not on a word, or a syllable, but on their perfect union with God, who is infinite life and joy ; that we have no 'data' whatever on which to ground the assertion that the eternity of sin, of pain, and of evil, is equally unlimited, absolute, and infinite ; that these are 'the deep things of God,' which really wise men will not seek to fathom or define too closely ; that Catholics content themselves with using the language of Scripture and the Creeds, without attempting to do what the whole Catholic Church never has done, sound the limits and take the accurate measure of that love of Christ, concerning which an inspired apostle prays for his brethren that they might be able to comprehend 'what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and know that love of Christ which passeth knowledge' f"

The Bishop of London occupies another and a more difficult position. He concurred in the judgment throughout ; and has had to bear the reproach not only of individual unfaithfulness to divine truth, but of having, by his abandonment of his episcopal brethren, given the victory to rationalistic error. In the preface, therefore, to five sermons on "The Word of God and the Ground of Faith," just published, he has briefly alluded to the controversy and his own relation to it. He explicitly condemns the Declaration :

"Meanwhile, an attempt amongst us to restrain dangerous opinions by legal penalties has failed, and public clamour has, in consequence, been excited by some well-intentioned men, who seem to have thought that the calm decision of the highest court of judicature could be overborne by the protest of individuals, assuming for themselves the right to expound the law at once of the Church of England and the Church universal. This agitation may not improbably lead to an undesirable condition of things. The well-weighed and very guarded statements of the highest court of appeal may not be read with care, but taken as misrepresented through the exaggerated reports of controversialists. We find that even young clergymen in the first year of their

ministry have been appealed to 'for the love of God' to protest against the decisions of the highest authority in Church and State, and some uncharitable, unchristian sentiments, much to be regretted, have been published in the heat of controversy.

"Wise men always deprecate such times of agitation. Leaders of questionable orthodoxy are apt to put themselves forward, and have their own serious faults condoned as the reward of their zeal for the protest of the hour; while persons of moderate sentiments, who eschew agitation, are not unlikely to be branded as indifferent to the truth, or as secretly infected by the prevailing errors. Meanwhile the world stands by and sneers at the orthodoxy which seems to it desirous of maintaining itself rather by loud declarations than by sound argument and well-weighed statements of the truth put forth by the learned and good. At such times there is a call, obviously, for the heads of the Church to use their influence to quiet excited feelings and restore confidence; they are bound to endeavour to calm the violent and shield those who desire peace."

With regard to the doctrine of eternal punishment, the Bishop rejoices in the decision of the Privy Council, although he is unable to see that the "hope" declared to be not penal has any scriptural foundation. Inspiration he considers to be "the most important theological question of the day;" and thinks that "it is satisfactory to feel assured that no clergyman of the Church of England can be called upon to maintain the unwarranted position, which indeed scarcely any hold, that the Bible is an infallible guide in questions of physical science." He applauds the wise caution and forbearance of the framers of the Articles in regard to this topic (did it ever occur to their minds at all?); and looks to the efforts of learned divines to relieve the Bible from being brought, "misunderstood and misinterpreted, into a dangerous antagonism with God's other gifts of reason and conscience." On the whole, this preface maintains with firm manliness the position which its author has deliberately taken up, and in which he has had to encounter a fiercer storm of vituperation than often beats upon mitred heads. Meanwhile, as we write, Convocation, forgetting that it is the synod only of the province of Canterbury, and from its oligarchical constitution does not adequately represent even that part of the Church,—forgetting, too, that it is absolutely powerless except to talk, and that even its power of talking may be at any moment summarily withdrawn,—has taken

up the game, and is gravely considering the propriety of establishing an Index Expurgatorius, in which Essays and Reviews is to hold the foremost place. A *gravamen*, or petition, not from the Lower House as a body, but from forty members of it, has been presented to the Bishops, praying them to proceed to judgment. A lively debate followed; the Bishop of Oxford leading the orthodox attack, which was met with much courage and plainness of speech by the Bishops of London and St. David's. When a division was called the numbers were equal: the Bishops of Oxford, Salisbury, Llandaff, Gloucester and Bangor, voting on one side; the Bishops of London, St. David's, Lichfield, Lincoln and Ely, on the other. The Archbishop gave his casting vote in favour of the motion, and a committee, consisting of all the Bishops of the province, was appointed. Another motion of which the Bishop of Oxford has given notice, represents as desirable the transfer of the Privy Council's jurisdiction in cases of heresy to the Upper House of Convocation. In other words, it aims to substitute for the court which acquitted Williams and Wilson, such a tribunal as that which, in defiance of all principles of equity, condemned Colenso. Neither of these motions is of any practical importance; the civil power will probably interfere and prevent Convocation from covering itself with ridicule by a timely prorogation. It is a century and a half since the censorship of books was abolished in England; almost a century more since the High Commission Court went down in a tempest of popular indignation. But what can these men think that Englishmen are made of, that they even discuss the possibility of thus putting back the hand upon the dial of time?

The case of Bishop Colenso promises to raise questions of ecclesiastical law more difficult than any involved in English controversies. The Bishops who condemned him have met in synod, and have declared "the Church of South Africa" entirely independent of all laws "which have been enacted by statute for the English Church as an Establishment." They deny the jurisdiction of the English Court of Appeal in matters ecclesiastical, and refuse to be bound by its decisions; they approve of the sentence upon the Bishop of Natal, to whom, however (without expressing any opinion upon the general question of appeals to England), they

allow an appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury ; and they declare that, should he presume to exercise his functions in the diocese of Natal without appeal to Canterbury and without restoration by the Metropolitan, he will be *ipso facto* excommunicate. Besides this, the same three Bishops of Cape Town, Graham's Town and Orange Free State, have addressed a pastoral letter to "the Clergy and Faithful Laity of the Diocese of Natal," informing them of the sentence upon their Bishop, and releasing the clergy from their vow of canonical obedience, should the condemned Prelate make no retraction before the 16th of April. As on this side the sea we know that no such retraction has been made, we may safely infer that by this time Bishop Colenso is duly excommunicated. But then, on the other side, the Duke of Newcastle, after consultation with the law officers of the Crown, has sent to all colonial Bishops an extract from a despatch to the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, in which, referring to the well-known case of Mr. Long, he, too, lays down his theory of the position of the English Church in the colonies. It is analogous, in general terms, to that of the Wesleyan Methodist body in England. The Colonial Church is not established, stands on the same footing with any other Christian communion, may assemble synods and make regulations for internal government. But these regulations are held to be binding only upon such persons as are willing to be bound by them. The law will enforce the performance of a religious as of a civil contract ; but evidence must be given that a contract has been made. Presently the Colonial Bishops may be able to ensure a regular Church government by exacting a promise of obedience from every candidate for ordination ; but as things now are, any clergyman who chooses to be independent of his Bishop has the opportunity of being so. Has Dr. Colenso ever taken an oath of canonical obedience to the Bishop of Cape Town as Metropolitan ? and if so, does that oath legalize such a trial and sentence as have now taken place ? Still more, will it give the Metropolitan any power over the temporalities of the see of Natal ? If such an oath, taken by all Colonial Bishops to the Archbishop of Canterbury, is the ground of an appeal to that see (as the African Bishops seem to contemplate), surely the Queen's Supremacy is just as good a ground for regarding

the Privy Council as a final court in all ecclesiastical cases from every branch of the English Church throughout the world. Not only will these difficulties find work for the lawyers, but the principles which it will be necessary to lay down may help to unravel many tangled questions as to the union between Church and State at home.

The question of doctrinal Trust-deeds is awakening some interest among the Independents, although the voices lifted up in behalf of liberty are few and hesitating. The argument in favour of restrictive clauses has been clearly stated in an article in the *British Quarterly Review*, the substance of which appeared, by anticipation, in the *Patriot*. There is nothing novel or especially forcible in the way in which it is presented; we need hardly weary our readers with a thrice-told tale. A great effort is made to shew that the unrestricted liberty of the minister may be the slavery of his congregation. We grant that there must be a certain agreement of opinion between pastor and people (although that agreement need not be expressed in terms) as the basis of teaching, and that no principle of religious liberty is violated when minister and congregation part company because the agreement no longer exists. The question is not between minister and people, but between the church and posterity; not whether certain men have a right to unite in church fellowship *now*, upon a basis of tacit or expressed agreement in belief, but whether they are justified in making their belief the condition of union in the church of a hundred years hence. It is altogether beside the question to argue that the creed, such as it is, springs directly from the instructed minds of Christian men, and contains only the essentials of Christian faith. A creed contains within it all the latent mischiefs of a creed, whence-soever it is derived: one article kills the freedom of the spirit as effectually as thirty-nine: while the position that for all practical purposes a minute is preferable to a vague creed, may be at least plausibly maintained. The fact is, that this defence of doctrinal trust-deeds really rests upon two feelings or convictions which are quite inconsistent with each other. Men say first, We have the truth beyond doubt or question; we utterly refuse to believe that any progress of religious opinion can move by a hair's breadth the landmarks of our faith. But any one who

really, honestly, heartily believed this, would never think of protecting the truth by any arrangements of human law. He would feel assured that before many generations had passed away, the church must surely come round to his own point of view. In any case he would say, God and Truth can take care of themselves : if *my* truth prevails, it is well ; if not, some better and broader truth will surely take its place. And yet, strange to say, it is precisely those who now most confidently proclaim their possession of the whole essential truth, who have least faith in its final victory. They believe so little in its power of recommending itself to their sons and grandsons, that they strive to bind it prospectively upon their consciences. Their trust is nought if they cannot shut it up in a trust-deed.

In one or two passages of this paper an appeal is made to the experience of the last two centuries. Free chapel trusts, both in England and America, have been perverted to heretical purposes ; doctrinal trusts have kept buildings and endowments in the line of orthodox belief. We believe that with whatever adroitness of argument restrictive clauses may be defended, this is the hinge upon which the whole question practically turns. We admit the facts, and we draw the inference for ourselves. Leave a congregation and its ministers unfettered for one or two generations ; let them worship God in the way that pleases them best ; let them expound the Bible with the help of history and science ; let them open their minds and consciences to all light, from whatsoever quarter it may come,—and the result will certainly be one which the defenders of close trusts deplore. For ourselves, we are content with a faith which requires liberty and light in which to grow, and which will spring up wherever these are to be found. We leave it to others to question the worth of a belief which, by their own admission, flourishes only in bonds.

Some attention has recently been excited by a jubilant statement as to the progress of Roman Catholicism in England, made by Cardinal Wiseman before a congress held at Mechlin, and republished here in pamphlet form. Alarm was but sparingly mingled with attention, from the feeling, partly that there was a certain element of boastfulness in the Cardinal's statistics ; partly that the Catholic Church had lost way to make up among the neglected Irish population ; partly that Papal religion had no real hold upon the

average English mind. But in connection with this subject it may be well to note, that in relation to all the scientific questions which this age seeks to decide, the Papal see stands exactly as it stood to the discoveries of Galileo. The liberal Catholic party of Germany, headed by Dr. Döllinger, held at Munich in September last a scientific and literary congress, in which they attempted, and to their own satisfaction performed the task of laying down principles of reconciliation between loyalty to the Church and "the freedom natural and necessary to science." The Pope was at first induced to despatch a telegraphic benediction to the congress; but on second thoughts took a more consistent view of the duties of his office, and in a letter to the Archbishop of Munich (which is too long and verbose to receive even analysis in this place) maintained the authority of the Church, and by implication condemned the congress. The blow has taken practical effect in England. Not very long ago the *Home and Foreign Review* was established to support the views of that section of English Catholics which corresponds to the party led in Germany by Dr. Döllinger. It has been ably and honourably conducted by men who believed that Catholicism was compatible with a certain liberality of scientific spirit. Now, however, it has ceased to exist;—the editor, Sir J. D. Acton, explaining that in loyalty to the Papal brief no other course was open to him. As far as Catholicism itself is concerned, we have no doubt that Pius IX. is much truer to its essential spirit than Dr. Döllinger and Sir J. D. Acton; and we look upon the demise of the *Home and Foreign Review* as one sign the more that the alliance between Papal religion and Liberal politics which was cemented by the removal of Catholic disabilities is about to be finally dissolved in favour of connections which answer more accurately to the position and pretensions of the Church. Meanwhile, in regard to Protestant difficulties as to the relation between Religion and Science, it is well that the extreme positions on either side should be clearly occupied and logically defended. The Pope's bold claim that Science should be submissive to the Church, will help us to understand what is involved in the more modest request that Science should be reconciled with the Church. Between absolute authority and complete freedom of research, what compromise can live?

The struggle which has been going on for the last two

months in the Reformed Church of France, has divided the attention of Protestant Europe with similar events in England. But it has not perhaps been fully understood that the deprivation of M. Athanase Coquerel the younger is only one of a series of events, the final burst into flame of passions which had been smouldering for many years.

Two parties have long existed in the Reformed Church of France, an Orthodox and a Liberal, an Evangelical and a Rationalistic school of divines,—answering, in short, to the division which, with various modifications of form, is to be traced at the present moment in every Protestant communion. But in France, the peculiar relations of the Church to the State have enabled these parties to exist side by side more logically and consistently than has been the case in England. The present basis of that Church is the organic law of the year X (1802), in which the First Consul defined its connection with the State, and a decree, issued in 1852, by the present Emperor of the French, then President of the Republic. Neither of these documents provide a dogmatic basis for the Church. We may take it for granted that both Napoleons looked upon the matter too exclusively in a political point of view to care for niceties of doctrine ; while the Church itself was obliged to accept such terms as it could get. A certain Confession of La Rochelle (dating, if we mistake not, from the 16th century) is vaguely spoken of as containing the true faith of French Protestants. But there is not a shadow of legal pretext for converting it at the present day into a test of orthodoxy. An appointed order of service exists, in which are included the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer. A minister of the Reformed Church swears at his ordination to preach the gospel according to his conscience. So long as he does this, and can honestly use the prescribed form of prayer, he is safe on the side both of public law and of individual conscience. It is no wonder, therefore, that in so free a Church the diversities to which we have alluded should have grown up. Men have been equally at liberty to stand upon the old paths or to press on into new regions of conviction. And as the law of 1802 and the decree of 1852, while providing for the government of the Church by consistories, did not revive the national synods in which all the Protestants of France once assembled, there has been no opportunity for the Church to accomplish what the State

had left undone. A general synod would probably have shewn some of the activity in manufacturing and imposing tests, of which we have just had so marvellous an example at home ; as it was, each little district governed itself, and took unmolested its own line of theological conservatism or reform. Those who are skilled in the ecclesiastical geography of Protestant France, know very well where to look for heresy and where for orthodoxy. There are, no doubt, consistories which approve of M. Coquerel's deprivation ; while every week brings evidence, in the shape of the most earnest and affectionate addresses, how many there are which take his part. But what the general judgment would be cannot be known, unless the French Government were suddenly to permit (in contravention, we need hardly say, of all its principles) the convocation of a national synod.

The Reformed Church of Paris is, it is supposed, about equally divided between the two parties. But not so the body entrusted with its government. Of sixteen ministers, eleven are orthodox ; of twelve elders, only one belongs to the Liberal side ; while in a body of ninety deacons, the latter is almost entirely unrepresented. When we recollect that the Presbyteral Council (which administers the affairs of Paris alone) and the Consistory (whose jurisdiction extends over some adjoining parishes) are composed of these ministers and elders, it is easy to see that an unscrupulous majority is able to throw the whole weight of ecclesiastical authority into one side of the scale. To this object, indeed, the efforts of the Council have been steadfastly directed for some years ; and the liberal Protestants of Paris have had the mortification of feeling that their wishes and interests were continually less and less consulted. To counteract, then, this unfair and growing preponderance of orthodox influence, has been founded the "Union Protestante Libérale," a society established and managed by laymen alone. The Union, powerfully supported by a weekly journal, "*Le Lien*," which advocates the same policy, appears to act as a kind of constitutional opposition outside the Council, and is of course designed to influence the triennial election of lay officers of the Church. This conduct the Council regard as nothing short of high treason against themselves. To insinuate that any of its members are not fit men for re-election,—to hint that the liberal Protestants of Paris have

a right to something more nearly approaching to a just numerical representation,—is flat rebellion against the Church and unfaithfulness to religion itself. Of this great controversy, therefore, the disruption of the Bible Society, the deprivation of M. Coquerel, are only phases.

Athanase and Etienne Coquerel, sons of Athanase Coquerel, a distinguished and now aged minister of the liberal section of the Church, are clerical members of the Presbyteral Council of Paris. The former—admitted even by his enemies to be a singularly eloquent preacher and a most devoted pastor—has been for fourteen years assistant (*suffragant*) of M. Martin-Paschoud, a minister who, from the pressure of infirmities, is not able to perform the whole duties of his office. The latter does not seem to have any pastoral charge, but appears in the list of the Consistory as clerical almoner (*pasteur aumonier*), whatever that may precisely mean. The two brothers are joint editors of *Le Lien*, and supporters of the “Union Protestante Liberale.” They are, in short, men upon whom a dominant orthodoxy would delight in wreaking vengeance, should an opportunity offer. And, unhappily, occasions are never wanting to the unscrupulous.

We pass by with brief mention a controversy, in which *Le Lien* and its editors have of course been actively engaged, as to the propriety of petitions for the calling of a national synod being sent to the Government by the various consistories. The liberal party, seeing that the local independence of the churches secured the freedom from molestation necessary for the growth of their principles, and fearing to receive from a general assembly either a creed or a code of discipline equivalent to a creed, have used every effort to preserve the *status quo*. Up to the present time no decisive step has been taken; the interest of the synodal question has evaporated in the fiercer heat of more recent controversies. Side by side with this, a debate of a very different kind had been carried on for some time. The Bible Society of Paris, which was supported by all sections of the Church alike, confined itself to the distribution of a single version of the Bible, that, namely, of Osterwald, published in the year 1719. This version, admitted by all parties to be both antiquated and inaccurate, does not stand to the Protestant Church of France in any such relation as King James’ Bible occupies to us. There is no “Authorized Version” in that Church; many translations compete for popular favour;

and the advantages of variety, the disadvantages of uniformity in this matter, are more vividly felt than in England. Under these circumstances, the liberal party asked that other translations of the Scriptures should be placed upon the catalogue of the Society and issued to such churches as made a special demand for them. One of these translations was that known as the Version of Geneva, a revision of the older version of Olivetan (on which also Osterwald's was founded), made, and finally published in 1835, by an association of clergymen and professors of that city. Against this version was raised, and is still raised, the reproach of Socinianism, and every exertion was made to prevent its circulation. In this particular instance, however, the Evangelical party failed to attain their ends, and an eminently fair conclusion was at last arrived at. The Society still supplies Osterwald's translation to all churches which do not expressly ask for some other. But the Genevan version (demanded even before the decision by seventy-four congregations), that of the Old Testament by M. Perret Gentil, and that of the New Testament by M. Arnaud—the two latter being the productions of orthodox theologians—are also distributed to such as wish for them. Upon this decision the Evangelical party immediately quitted the Society and established one of their own. They were willing to supply the indigent Protestants of France with the Bible, but only in one form. If they were not content to read Osterwald, they should have none. And no congregation or individual should be allowed even to buy from their depôt the hated version of Geneva.

In the troubles of the French Church this defeat answers to the acquittal of Messrs. Williams and Wilson in our own. Revenge must be had ; a victim must be offered up ; and M. Athanase Coquerel was selected at Paris as Mr. Jowett at Oxford. Mr. Jowett's vulnerable point was his salary ; he was to be punished for his *Essay on the Interpretation of Scripture* by withholding money which he had honestly earned by teaching Greek. On the other hand, M. Coquerel's misfortune was to be an assistant minister. Had he been a regularly appointed pastor, the Presbyteral Council of Paris could not have touched him. If a minister of the French Church is from any cause unable to perform his functions, it is usual for the Council to appoint, upon his nomination, an assistant for an indefinite

period. When, in 1850, M. Martin-Paschoud presented M. Coquerel as his intended assistant, the appointment, contrary to all precedent, was made for three years only, and at the expiration of that period renewed for two more. But it was thus renewed, biennially, until the fifth term of M. Coquerel's ministry expired on the 31st of December, 1863. Then, instead of simply re-appointing him, a Committee was chosen to consider the application. This Committee, on the 5th of February, reported unfavourably to the appointment; and the Council after two sittings, on the 19th and the 26th of the same month, decided, by 12 votes to 3, to refuse M. Coquerel's licence. The formal accusations brought against M. Coquerel were of various kinds. He was charged with insubordination to the Council,—a charge easy to make and difficult to refute. He was accused in vague terms of heresy, the fact being that there exists no legal test which orthodoxy can apply. He had allowed M. Colani and M. Réville, the distinguished preachers of Strasburg and Rotterdam, to occupy his pulpit. In criticising Rénan's *Life of Christ*, he had committed the unpardonable offence of calling him his "dear and learned friend," simply because the phrase expressed the fact. To sum up in a single word M. Coquerel's offences, the Council had him in their power and were determined to shew it. Owing to the accident that he was technically only an assistant minister, they were able to silence one of the most accomplished orators of Paris, whose theology and whose ecclesiastical policy were alike hateful to them. And with a combined malice and meanness which men rarely shew unless they can persuade themselves that they are acting "for the honour of God," they used their power.

The effect has been prodigious. The secular press of Paris, unaccustomed to bestow much attention upon such subjects, has, with the exception of the avowedly ultramontane papers, warmly advocated M. Coquerel's cause. The secular press of London has, to its honour, followed in the same course; while our religious papers have, for the most part, taken up their trite parable against heresy. M. Coquerel himself, after conducting his defence before the Council with great moderation and good taste, has descended from a pulpit which he used for the last time to enforce the lesson of liberty and charity upon an immense crowd of

tearful worshippers, who had gathered together to testify their sympathy in the only way that was open to them. Meanwhile, M. Martin-Paschoud appealed from the Presbyteral Council to the Consistory of Paris, a body possessing a somewhat wider jurisdiction than the former, and a doubtful right of reversing its decisions. The appeal was vain. The Consistory not only expressly approved of what the Council had done, but committed a fresh injustice of precisely the same kind. M. Athanase Coquerel the elder, now in the 68th year of his age and the 45th of his ministry, had asked the Presbyteral Council to be allowed to nominate an assistant, indicating as the object of his choice M. H. Valès, Pasteur of Grateloup, a young minister of great promise. M. Valès, after some little difficulty, was appointed for a term of two years, and the matter was as usual referred to the Consistory for confirmation. By that body a Committee of inquiry was appointed, upon whose report M. Valès was rejected. Not only are young heretics to be silenced, if they happen to be only assistant ministers, but old ministers who have borne the toil and heat of the day are to have no help. Again the Evangelical party have struck a blow, in utter disregard of its unfairness, simply because they had it in their power to strike.

What is to be the issue of a struggle begun with so much violence and injustice, it is impossible to say. M. Coquerel receives the warmest assurances of sympathy from many ministers and congregations; while, on the other hand, a conference has been held at Paris, similar in constitution to English "May meetings," at which resolutions in an orthodox sense have been passed by a large majority. In one important particular the Liberal party have the advantage. The Reformed Church of France, as at present constituted, is unfettered by creeds. The legal and moral position held by M. Coquerel is in every respect as strong as that of his most orthodox opponent. He may justify his refusal to separate himself from the Church of his birth, not by the desire of making it, but by the intention of keeping it, free. For free men to come out of a Church bound by articles, is an act of honesty: for free men to withdraw, under any provocation, from a Church which is already free, would be cowardice and treachery.

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I.—DUTCH THEOLOGY : ITS PAST AND PRESENT STATE.

CHRISTIANITY, all over the world, is undergoing a process of transformation ; a fact plain to all eyes not blinded by superstitious or antichristian prejudice. For it must be remarked, that men who are thoroughly hostile to Christianity have as little sympathy with the new forms in which it now seeks to clothe itself, as those who put themselves forward as the sole possessors of Christian truth. This transformation does not and cannot go so far as to endanger the substance of the eternal gospel, which consists neither in ceremonies nor in dogmas, but in hope, in love, in internal joy, in unalterable confidence in God, or, to express the same reality in other words, in participation of the spirit of Jesus Christ. But it must be confessed that, as far as doctrine is concerned, it is as complete as it can possibly be. Thus it is general. The Roman Church, about to be more embarrassed by those of her children who wish to preserve her by expedients of reformation than by those who have left her with the intention of carrying on the reform without her and against her, feels it after her own fashion. Even the Eastern Churches are moved by a new spirit, the symptoms of which, although still not numerous, manifest themselves in a way to which men have long been unused. But, above all, the different Protestant Churches (an honour to them that it should be so!) are passing through an internal crisis, with which nothing in their past history can be compared ; and no matter to what branch of the Reformation upon the Continent, in England, in America we turn our attention, we note everywhere the same

problems presenting themselves, the same doubts rising to the surface, the same doctrines falling beneath the strokes of an incessant criticism, like ships pierced by invisible shot. Wonderful to say, the differences which formerly dug deep abysses of separation between different Protestant Churches, grow pale and are effaced under the influence of this new spirit, which breathes not less upon the long-worked soil of the Lutheran Churches of Germany, than upon the fields, but yesterday untouched, of the Huguenots of France ; not less upon the aristocratic and well-fenced domain of the Episcopal Church, than upon the territory, open to every wind of heaven, of English and American Unitarianism !

But let no one be alarmed. It is the Holy Spirit that passes by ; and if it carries away the withered stubble of the harvests of the past, it sows at the same time the fruitful seed which will produce those of the future.

It is important for the progress and the happy issue of this truly catholic movement of Christian thought, that all who take any part in it, either in effort or in sympathy, should look beyond the frontiers of their civil or religious country, and acquaint themselves with the course of events elsewhere. On this account I do not hesitate to avail myself of the kindly hospitality offered to me by this Review, to describe the actual state of religious thought in a country, isolated, indeed, by its language from the rest of Europe, but open to all the influences of modern civilization, and whose glorious past, whose present prosperity, whose liberal institutions, recommend it to the sympathies of all enlightened minds. Holland, perhaps of all European countries, opposes the fewest artificial obstacles (political and otherwise) to the free development of Christian science, and upon its restricted territory, where the population is densely compacted and long accustomed to religious toleration and discussion, we may see the different tendencies which at this moment are struggling for supremacy in the religious world, display themselves with peculiar energy. I published some years ago, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*,* an essay analogous to that which I here present. The changes which since that time have modified the situation, and the

* June 15, 1860, p. 930.

readers to whom I specially address myself, induce me, while reproducing in regard to more than one point my former conclusions, to offer to the Editor of the *Theological Review* a treatment of the subject in many respects new.

We must first trace what may be called the ecclesiastical map of Holland, and review the historical causes which have made it what it is. This preliminary labour is indispensable, inasmuch as the present movements of thought can be understood only in their relation to the religious history of the country.*

The Reformed Church, of the Calvinistic type, is that of the majority, and comprehends about two-thirds of the Dutch people, whom the last census estimated at 3,336,000 souls. By the side of it are found other Protestant Churches, such as the Remonstrants or Arminians (about 12,000), the Lutherans (57,000), the Mennonites or Baptists (42,000). The Walloon Churches, or those which use the French language, form a special department of the great Reformed Church, and, though sending deputies to the General Synod, upon which they depend for the solution of questions of common interest, enjoy a certain autonomy. They owe their origin to the emigrants, at first Walloon or Belgian, and afterwards French, whom the persecutions of the 16th and 17th century drove into Holland. Though much reduced in number by inevitable fusion with the indigenous population, they still derive a real importance from the social rank of many of their members, and from the fact that their language makes them an official medium of communication between Dutch and foreign Protestantism. The Roman Catholics, who are the great majority in those southern provinces which formed no part of the ancient United Provinces, gradually diminish in number towards the north, and are a little less than a third of the whole population. The Jews (63,000), especially numerous in Amsterdam, which owes a great part of its riches to the ancient toleration which it accorded to them at a time when they were persecuted almost everywhere else, will not occupy our attention. In spite of the great number of distinguished

* The facts which follow may be verified and completed by consulting the conscientious work published in French, in 1855, by M. Mounier, Walloon Pastor of Amsterdam, under the title, *Exposé Historique de l'état de l'Eglise Réformée des Pays Bas.*

men which, there, as elsewhere, this old and inexhaustible branch of the tree of Jacob has produced, no religious movement of any importance has manifested itself among them.

Let us add that in Holland there is no longer an Established Church or a State religion ; apart from certain financial relations with the State arising out of old agreements, every religious community reckons only with itself and upon itself for internal discipline and support.

We need not speak at length of the Roman Catholic Church in Holland. She it was who above all had to suffer from the glorious emancipation which the Dutch of the 17th century wrested from Spanish tyranny. A victorious patriotism long suspected her of secret sympathy with the national enemy. With the exception, however, of some lamentable excesses which are to be attributed to the ardour of the struggle, systematic persecution was spared her, and she soon regained a certain toleration under the old republic. As M. Edgar Quinet has said, in his *Marnix de Ste. Aldegonde* : "The States kept Catholicism in a condition of dependence and almost of contempt so long as it was formidable ; they restored to it with éclat a half-liberty as soon as they judged it to be powerless." Its present importance in Holland arises from its cohesion, from the ignorance of the populations under its sway, who follow blindly the lead of the clergy,* and from the weight with which it thus impedes political progress. Nowhere had the resurrection of Italy more adversaries, Peter's pence more subscribers. Nevertheless (and this could not be said in 1860, when I wrote the article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* above referred to), there has for some time past appeared the commencement of a *Roman Catholic* resistance to the pretensions of the Roman Catholic clergy. Here, as in Belgium, the convents

* It is a remarkable phenomenon that, while the authority of the Roman clergy over the populations of the North and the centre of France has been so greatly impaired, it should still prevail in Flemish countries (French Flanders, Belgian Flanders, Dutch Brabant). I attribute it in great part (as in Brittany and several departments of the South of France, where, from an analogous cause, a similar phenomenon manifests itself) to the fact that the influence of the Voltairian school of the 18th century, so powerful in France and even in Italy, passed by without penetrating this population, which speaks and (when it reads at all) reads only the Flemish language. Hence arise a simplicity of ecclesiastical manners, a habit of clerical servility, which form a strange contrast with the liberal atmosphere which surrounds and which will finally permeate them.

and other establishments which hold property in mortmain, sow by their perpetual increase the seeds of trouble and disquietude in families, and provoke a spirit of independence which will sooner or later lead to a religious outbreak. For either we must admit the principles, in virtue of which the Roman Catholic Church proclaims the excellence of the monastic life and the necessity of constantly enriching these so-called pious institutions, and therefore must rejoice in their multiplication ; or, on the other hand, declaring them evil and dangerous, we must deny the validity of the principles of which they are the expression, and thus sap the foundations of the Roman Catholic faith itself.

Let us, however, before finally leaving Dutch Catholicism, say a few words of the *Jansenists*, or rather, as they call themselves, the *Old Catholics*, who, though their number does not exceed 6000, still have their archbishop, their two bishops, their seminary, and their twenty-five parishes. Their popular name of *Jansenists* arises from the fact that the Jansenist ideas had been widely diffused among the old Dutch Catholic clergy. Their official name expresses their claim to be the legitimate and direct representatives of the old Catholic Church of the Low Countries. Until the beginning of the 18th century, the Archbishop of Utrecht, Primate of the Netherlands, was nominated by the local chapter and confirmed by the Pope. In 1702, a Jesuit intrigue suddenly put an end to an arrangement consecrated by antiquity, and a decree of the Roman Court, abolishing the Dutch episcopate, transferred the spiritual authority to certain monks, members of different orders, the superiors of which resided at Rome, or were at least under the immediate authority of the Pope. The Dutch clergy, thus despoiled, resisted, and their successors, regularly nominated in the old way, resist still. Every time a new Pontiff ascends the throne, every time they inform the reigning Pope of a new episcopal nomination, they are anathematized afresh. Unhappily, the great majority of the Roman Catholics of the country have not ventured to sustain them in this resistance. Their simple piety, little influenced by recent forms of ultramontane devotion,—their decided taste for reading the Bible,—their energetic opposition both to the episcopate, which was re-established in 1853 by a decree of the Roman Court, and to the dogma of the Immaculate Conception,—

almost make the Old Catholics of Holland a kind of Protestant episcopal church. Their small number, more likely to undergo further diminution than to increase, would discourage a less robust faith, if the internal troubles of the Roman Church, which they regard as a just retribution for the overweening power usurped by the Papal see, had not long ago inspired them with a hope which may possibly have its prophetic side.

We now come to Protestantism, upon which our attention will henceforth be concentrated.

In Holland, as in other countries, the Reformation had its precursors. *The Brethren of the Common Life*,* mystic associations of the 15th century, in the midst of which lived à Kempis, the author, or as it is now thought the propagator, of the "*Imitation of Jesus Christ*," and their contemporary Jan Wessel, of Groningen, had diffused the taste for an internal, meditative piety which was independent of pompous ceremonies. Erasmus and the Renaissance had, in another way, shaken the moral credit of the Roman Church and clergy. Thus the 16th century soon saw the different branches of Protestantism spreading themselves through the provinces of the Netherlands. Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Anabaptists, furnished for many years bloody offerings to the hecatombs of the Spanish Inquisition; we know only too well with what dreadful horrors the history of that abominable institution in the Low Countries is filled.

To what causes does Calvinism owe its preponderance? There are many which are to be taken into account, yet the importance of which must not be exaggerated. We may bring forward the fact that a numerous Walloon and Flemish emigration which had received Protestantism from France, contributed greatly to the development and organization of the new churches in the provinces of the north. The predominance of Calvinism may also in part be explained by its republican tendency, and by the influence of the famous William the Silent and his heroic friend, Marnix de Ste. Aldegonde. But the most prominent of all these causes is that which has made Calvinism the favourite form of the militant and persecuted reformation. That

* Conf. Delprat, formerly Pastor at Rotterdam, *Geert Groot en de Fraterhuizen*, 1856; German translation, by Professor Mohnike.

rigorously logical, and, for the time in which it was produced, radical system, elaborated under the martyr piles of Francis I. and dark as the epoch of its birth, seems to have been made for the persecuted ; and it is a fact that, wherever it has planted itself, no earthly power succeeds in extirpating it from the soil. Referring everything to the incomprehensible decree of God, never wondering to behold a radically corrupted world giving itself up to the most iniquitous excesses against the redeemed of the Lord, deriving a certain austere and ironical joy from its challenge to the mighty and the wise of this condemned world, the Calvinist, soldier or citizen, marched to death as to a festival. These things were to be seen not less in Holland than elsewhere. They were Calvinists—those beggars (*gueux*) of Zeeland who wore upon their sailors' caps the motto, "*Turks before Papists*," and who once more planted upon their sandhills the national flag which dared display itself nowhere else. Everything around them had bent beneath the terror of the Spaniards ; but *there* were found the inflexible ones who raised the whole.

The result of this was that the Calvinist or Reformed Church, properly so called, became by degrees the *National Church*, that which was to live or die with the nation. When the long struggle with Spain was finished, it was scarcely the strongest numerically. At least it now appears to be proved that the Catholic Church reckoned a nearly equal number of adherents.* But it was so evidently the first which had borne the weight and fed the flame of the war,—it had been so completely the soul of the insurrection,—that it reaped all the *moral* advantage of victory, and found itself, as it were, identified with the new nation.

It is, therefore, not difficult to understand the strong attachment which sprang up among the Dutch people for a church and a doctrine which were inseparably associated in their hearts with the very existence of their country ; the more that the peculiar doctrines of Calvinism expressed with an energy, rude and yet fascinating to the popular mind, the ideas and passions which had produced the Reformation. For Calvinism, studied closely, is no other than an intense mysticism, presenting itself in crystallized form, and

* Conf. Dr. Fruin, *Tien Jaren uit den Tachtig-Jarigen Oorlog* (Ten Years of the Eighty Years' War), 1859.

rigidly bound together in all its parts. The principle of the absolute sovereignty of God governs the whole. The assurance of everlasting salvation is the end towards which everything converges, even at the risk of suppressing the most precious elements of human liberty and morality. A confession of Calvinistic faith often resembles a frozen prayer. Here is the secret of the charm which in the 16th century, and even at a later period, men found in that Calvinistic predestination which is so repugnant to us to-day. God reigns, and reigns absolutely ; nothing takes place except by His volition. The believer, to be assured of his salvation (and not to possess this assurance, says Calvin, is enough to make any man mad), must be certain that his salvation is founded neither upon works nor upon rites, but upon the sovereign and immoveable will of God, who has drawn him out of the mass of perdition. Never have mysticism and rationalism met with such reciprocal energy as in that old Calvinism which did not hesitate either to make an absolute sacrifice of the human will to the will of God, or to reduce the Lord's Supper to no more than a symbolical and commemorative repast.

It was, however, impossible that the spirit of free inquiry called out by the Reformation, and nourished by continual controversy with the defenders of the ancient Church, should not in its turn have some effect upon the confession of Calvinistic faith which the Union of Utrecht in 1579 had raised to the dignity of the fundamental charter of Dutch Protestantism. In truth, it was easy to direct against many very important dogmas which the Union had thought it right to preserve,—the Trinity, the Incarnation, Original Sin, the Satisfaction offered to Eternal Justice by the Death of Christ,—arguments very similar to those which had been used to make a breach in the Catholic doctrine.

The reaction against pure Calvinism began in Holland about the commencement of the 17th century. The idea of an arbitrary predestination of some men to salvation and of others to eternal damnation, was revolting to a number of minds who no longer found in the joy of knowing themselves to be the objects of divine grace a sufficient counterpoise to the feeling of horror produced by the correlative certainty of the irrevocable perdition of so many others. Such was the principal motive which impelled many Dutch

theologians, under the direction of Arminius, Professor at Leyden, and afterwards of Episcopius, his disciple and friend, to introduce into that doctrine modifications which left a place for free-will and the co-operation of man with God. Hence arose violent debates, into which political passions soon infused their venom. For the *Arminian* or *Remonstrant* party (the latter name being derived from a *remonstrance* addressed to the States by its adherents) was very favourably regarded by enlightened and liberal citizens, although the mass of the people had not yet learnt to distinguish from one another three things which had been united in their eyes for more than fifty years,—Calvinistic doctrine, the House of Orange and the national independence. The Synod of Dort (1618) treated the *Remonstrants* as if they were convicted criminals, instead of endeavouring to come to terms with them as brethren ; and the latter were obliged to constitute themselves into separate communities, which for some time lay under the ban of popular disfavour. Nevertheless, liberal manners and institutions recovered their ascendancy, and the Reformed Remonstrant community lived peaceably by the side of the orthodox church, not without favouring the formation of progressive tendencies which before long vindicated for themselves a right of citizenship even in the latter. At the present day, the Remonstrants, much diminished in number, are hardly to be distinguished from other Protestants, towards whom they maintain the most pacific relations. Other questions have attracted and absorbed attention ; and the decrees of Dort have not prevented Arminianism from permeating with its spirit the whole Reformed Church.

During the 17th century, however, no one within its pale ventured openly to attack the doctrines consecrated at Dort. All that we note is that the Cocceians, or disciples of the famous allegorist Cocceius, gave currency, by means of an accommodating exegesis, to less rigid doctrines than those taught by Professor Voetius, the great adversary of Descartes. At the end of the century, a pastor of Amsterdam, B. Bekker, wrote his curious book entitled, *De Betoverde Wereld* (The Enchanted World), in which, with what was then great boldness, he openly attacked the common ideas as to the devil and witchcraft. Another pastor, Roell, did not hesitate to criticise even the doctrine of the Trinity.

But in the 18th century theology became more and more biblical ; and as the authority of the sacred collection was universally recognized, it seemed as if all religious questions might and ought to be settled by a purely grammatical discussion. It was at this time that the labours of the Schulzens, father and son, inaugurated the period of scientific exegesis. It is needless to add that, in consequence of the favour accorded to grammatical studies, inspired more or less consciously by a growing mistrust of dogma, the latter insensibly lost, if not in theory yet in fact, both its original rigour and its importance in preaching and the religious life. Concentrating itself upon the Bible, theology had no alternative but to abandon doctrines whose presence there was at least open to dispute. The opinion, characteristic of the whole of the 18th century, that morality is the essential element of religion, concurred to weaken still further the passionate interest with which orthodox doctrine had been formerly regarded. The very existence of the problems which were about to be presented by the application of criticism to the text and the authenticity of the biblical books, was yet unsuspected ; and men were willing to think that a general belief in the authority of the sacred books would, apart from any great anxiety as to a definite profession of ecclesiastical faith, provide for them a safe harbour against all the storms of the heart and mind.

Add to this that the 18th century was not a glorious period of Dutch history. The nation seemed to be asleep. The French emigration had brought with it a certain number of distinguished men. But after they had passed away, nothing remarkable either in science or in art was achieved among a people whose sap seemed to have been dried up, and which consumed its strength in barren political agitations. In the country of Spinoza, in the asylum of Bayle and of Descartes, philosophical studies were all but dead. The philosophy of Kant was, it is true, introduced with a certain success, but only in consequence of its practical side. Did not it also teach that to the fate of man morality is all-important, and that all else must be subordinated to it ? Theologians and clergymen were distinguished as more or less inclined towards dogmatic relaxation, as friends of the *new* or as partizans of the *old light*. The result of all this was an honest religion, very respectable as far as it went,

but cold, unsatisfactory to thoughtful minds, and finding its principal support in the indifference of those who were equally unwilling to dispense with religion altogether and to fatigue themselves in the search for truth.

This state of things survived the causes which were at length to bring it to a close. The celebrated preacher, Van der Palm, may be said to have been the incarnation of it. A learned orientalist, a most popular orator, he was, until 1838, the year of his death (he was born in 1763), the first religious authority of his country. In a voluminous *Sacred History for Youth*, a new Translation of the Bible, and a consecutive Commentary upon the sacred books, of which he was the author, he displayed an intellect cautious, enlightened, tolerably philosophical, and easily satisfied whenever, by some fanciful expedient, he succeeded, as he thought, in blunting some too sharp edge of biblical tradition. He accepts the supernatural, but nevertheless does not consider it needful to put the common sense of his readers to too great a torture. For example, the conversation of Eve with the serpent-tempter in Eden may well have been no more than an internal dialogue upon the *pro* and *con*, suggested to the first woman by the sight of a serpent who fed with impunity upon the forbidden fruit. It is true that Jonah was swallowed by an enormous fish, but it is nowhere said that he lived (?) in its entrails; and why should not God have resuscitated him when the monster cast him up upon the sea-shore?

A criticism such as this, adorned by great eloquence, might satisfy for a time; but under the peaceful surface an agitation of quite a different kind was already stirring, and Van der Palm had not yet passed away from the scene when the crisis commenced, the development of which is still in process.

Those who are able to generalize the spirit of an epoch, may note two principal facts, which have given to the religious movement of the 19th century upon the continent of Europe its peculiar character, and still continue, in their consequences, to determine the present crisis of Christianity. The first is the religious revival of England under the influence of Methodism; the second, the complete rupture with the past, of which the French Revolution was the first and gigantic symptom. These are the two currents of thought

which, meeting upon the Protestant continent, have constantly contended; and the necessity of doing justice to what each possesses of good and true, everywhere produces those religious movements which we designate by the generic name of modern theology.

It would be presumptuous in me to attempt to inform my English readers upon Methodism and its true nature. Let them take what follows as no more than a description of what the English orthodox awakening *appeared* to be in the eyes of Protestant continental Europe.

The French Revolution, by its excesses, by the despotism which followed them, and by the hatred which it finally inspired in Europe, had almost everywhere brought liberty into peril. It had undoubtedly sown in feudal, monarchical and Catholic Europe, germs of reform which could not but grow and bring forth fruit. It had violently destroyed superannuated institutions, inveterate abuses, odious tyrannies. But the actual evil which it had done hid from all but noble and disinterested minds the fact that the future belonged to those principles of human equality, justice and liberty, which it had too often forgotten. For the moment, the immense majority of men saw only its mistakes and its horrors. The unreflecting crowd united with the aristocratic classes whose privileges the Revolution had abolished or threatened to abolish,—princes, nobles, clergy,—to malign it, and a general spirit of reaction succeeded almost everywhere to the cruelly deceived enthusiasm which the first revolutionary emancipation had excited. The universal watchword, so to speak, was—The old kings, the old laws, and, to that end, *the old faith!*

How was this religious reaction, still indecisive, and only half conscious of its ultimate aims, modified by English Methodism? The cause is simple. England had come out victorious from her terrible duel with the Empire. Alone, of all the great nations of Europe, she was ignorant of the sufferings and the shame of invasion. It was she who had sustained, directed, subsidized the coalition. The sentiment of her preponderance was universal, and men were upon every ground the more disposed to submit to her influence, as the liberals themselves, even those who still sympathized with the principles of the revolution, rallied round her as the only country which still remained truly free. So when

Europe, at least Protestant Europe, again became religious, a change which was to be expected after the terrible commotions through which it had passed, it might have been predicted that this return to religion would readily take English forms, modes, direction. When the aspirations of an epoch tend towards an object which is but dimly seen, the man or the society which firmly marches in the van, with the unhesitating conviction that it knows clearly where it is going, attracts all others to follow it.

In 1815, the Continent was ignorant of the real internal condition of England. But peace had hardly been re-established when it was perceived that a very considerable change had taken place in the opinions of a large part of the English people. They were far from that latitudinarianism, that lukewarmness in religion, which had prevailed in English society during the 18th century. The great part of the nation, which had become not only very religious, but very orthodox and very dogmatic, seemed to be seized with a proselytizing ardour which was aided both by the wandering humour of the sons of Albion, as well as by the pecuniary resources afforded by their increasing wealth. Then it was that the continent was overrun by a crowd of missionaries, very ignorant of theology, but fully persuaded in their own minds, incapable of new convictions, coldly damning all who would not say *Amen* to their "I believe," and going from church to church of Protestant France, Switzerland, Germany and Holland, everywhere repeating that "the ancient churches were *corrupt*," that they must be at once either radically reformed or abandoned, and that "every faithful Christian" ought to abjure all theoretical or personal toleration of rationalism, inasmuch as "there could be no possible alliance between Christ and Belial." The absolute inspiration of the Bible, the Trinity, the total corruption of human nature, free salvation by the blood of the Lamb, the necessity of a sudden and violent conversion, the eternity of hell-fire,—these were the ordinary subjects of the itinerant preachers of the revival, under whose influence the dissenting churches of Geneva, Vaud, France and others, were formed. But the characteristic of this return to orthodoxy was not so much an absolute adhesion to old orthodox dogmas, as the idea of the necessary preponderance of dogma in the church and in the soul; and hence its

intolerant impatience of anything like criticism of traditional doctrine or emancipation from its chains. I add, for justice' sake, that the orthodox reaction found the Protestant Churches on the continent soundly asleep, and that in the matter of zeal and Christian activity it effected in them a happy transformation.

Let us now apply these observations, which are generally true for the whole of Europe, to the particular case of Holland.

In Holland the still existing power of Calvinist tradition was especially favourable to the orthodox reaction which proceeded from England. Literary romanticism and political conservatism lent new strength to it. In 1823 and the following years, the famous poet-theologian, Bilderdyk, as well as his pupil and friend, Da Costa, declared themselves with a continually growing energy in favour of the old doctrines. The aristocracy, directed by their able and honourable leader, M. Groen van Prinsterer, ranged themselves on the same side. Lastly, in many places, the common people, both in town and in country, moved now by their hatred against Roman Catholicism, the increasing influence of which disquieted them, now by their antipathy to novelties which had been painted in the blackest colours, threw themselves more ardently than ever into the old Calvinism.

As, however, the resistance on the part of the National Church was very great, the course of events in Holland was different from what it had been in Switzerland. There the aristocracy, more than any other class, separated themselves from the Church ; whilst in Holland it was only amongst the common people that Dissent gained its recruits. The nobles declared that they remained in their own Church, in the hope that time, the Spirit of God and "prudent measures," would drive out of it the heretics who were unwilling to be converted. The result was, that the "Dissenters," though numbering from 40,000 to 50,000 souls,* and having both a synodal organization and a theological school at Campen, do not offer a single name of mark that can strictly be called their own. They live and work in a profound ob-

* It is very difficult to give the precise figures, as there is a continual going and coming between the National Church and Dissent, and a great number, according to the vulgar saying, "eat at both mangera."

scurity, into which only a few "brethren in Christ" belonging to the Free Church of Scotland, or to some English evangelical society, occasionally penetrate. Dissent, then, really throws but a very slender weight into the scale of the religious destiny of the country ; and people in Holland cannot help smiling when M. Sudhoff, in the article "*Holland*" of Herzog's *Theological Encyclopædia*, accords to Dissenters a numerical and religious importance out of all proportion to the fact. As might be expected, there are often dissidences from Dissent. In Holland, those who pique themselves upon purity of dogmatic belief are called "*fine*" *orthodox*. But there are also the *very fine* and the *superfine*. At Dort, for example, I was shewn but lately three stages of Dissent ; one, the largest and the oldest, numbering a thousand souls ; the second, consisting of two or three hundred, who looked upon the first as polluted by the demon of error ; the third, of some dozens, for whom even the second was not sufficiently pure. I wish I could remember what was the precise point of difference ; but I must confess, to my shame, that I can give no accurate definition of it. I believe, however, that it related to "the consciousness of the assurance of salvation in the relapse into sin." Was it always the prerogative of the believer who had once possessed it ? Could it be momentarily lost ? Would it continue to exist in combination with a falling back into evil ? If this was not exactly the point of difference, it was something very like it. At bottom, the desire of separation, of making part of a "little flock," of a "small number of the elect," shews itself in nearly all religions. The same tendency which prompts the Catholic to put on the cowl, urges the Protestant to become a member of some little religious society of a sufficiently hard and narrow kind. Dutch Dissent has a weekly organ, *De Bazuin* (The Trumpet), which is published at Campen, but is very little read. A somewhat more powerful ally is the *Heraut* (The Herald), which is edited at Amsterdam, and which, although it does not openly profess to patronize Dissent, and even reckons among its contributors a certain number of pastors of the Reformed National Church, owes to this circumstance a considerable number of readers, to whom it preaches the most bilious orthodoxy, denouncing, censuring, piously calumniating all liberal clergymen and writers, one after

the other. A certain M. Schwartz, a German by birth, but salaried by a Scotch society, is the manager of this ever-wrathful orthodox *Père Duchesne*,* and makes war against free religious science with that cool simplicity which, in every country, is a characteristic of absolute ignorance. It is therefore easy to understand why, whatever the frequency and virulence of his attacks, he is very rarely honoured with a reply.

The fact is, that the real war is waged in quite a different quarter. The Dutch Reformed people, orthodox or not, love their National Church too much to abandon it in any great number, so that, except in a few villages, it continues to preserve an immense numerical and moral superiority. The battle is no longer between the Reformed Church and the other Protestant Churches which since the 16th century have been maintained or founded by its side. At the present day, Reformers, Remonstrants, Baptists, Lutherans, live together like one great brotherhood. It is not an unfrequent thing that a pulpit, in case of the absence or the sickness of the regular minister, should be occupied by a preacher of another denomination. A significant fact will place this state of things in the clearest light. In 1853, the general Reformed Synod decided that the official version of the Bible (*Staatenbybel*, or version formerly approved by the States) should be revised; and the work, which necessarily makes but slow progress, has been divided among a great number of Reformed theologians, with whom the Synod has invited many learned Remonstrants, Mennonites, Lutherans, to co-operate. And the latter have accepted the invitation.

The great struggle is between orthodoxy, or the old confessional doctrine, and what is called modern theology. The importance, the pressing interest of the questions involved in this debate, have drawn away attention from points formerly debated among Protestants. When we have to determine whether Jesus Christ was a man or the Creator of the world, it is impossible to excite any lively interest in the old controversy, *de communicatione idiomatum*, which once divided the disciples of Luther and Calvin.

* The *Père Duchesne* was a journal, full of invective and insult, sold in the streets of Paris under the first republic, with the cry, *The Père Duchesne is furiously angry!* The name has passed into a proverb.

The power of orthodoxy, as I have said, lies in the religious revival, which, born of a general reaction against the spirit of the age, commonly assumes an orthodox form in countries where criticism and science have not sufficiently destroyed the *prestige* of the old dogmas. But it also consists, especially in Holland, in the popular national tradition. Its weakness is, that it hardly anywhere ventures to be thorough. In reality, there is no such thing as pure orthodoxy in the Reformed Church of the Low Countries. Let us take, for example, the honourable political chief of the party, M. Groen van Prinsterer.* In his view,—contrary to that of the liberal school, which thinks that religious doctrine ought to be suffered to develop itself freely upon its historical basis,—the obligatory teaching of the Reformed Church was finished in the 16th and 17th centuries, and no one within its communion has the right of promulgating any doctrines inconsistent with it. One would naturally think, therefore, that this eminent man, whose intellectual power is undoubtedly great, although he is unfortunately ill versed in theological science, himself fully believes, and holds that every one in the Church believes, all the articles of the official creeds. Nevertheless, when he is asked if it is imperatively necessary to admit an absolute predestination,—that Calvinist doctrine *par excellence*, that "*cor ecclesiæ*," as the old doctors called it, apart from which they could conceive of neither peace nor joy, for the love of which they expelled the Remonstrants,—M. Groen evades the difficulty and makes this a "reserved question," to be treated by itself. And by the party to which M. Groen belongs, this inconsistency is repeated in regard to more points than one.

The same is the case with M. Da Costa, a Jew of Amsterdam, converted to Christianity under the influence of Bilderdyk. His death, four years ago, deprived the orthodox party of its most brilliant but also its most dangerous champion. It is impossible to form an idea of the surprising *verve* with which this richly-gifted man pleaded in all literary and religious assemblies the cause of declining

* The ecclesiastical ideas of M. Groen, who is also well known as the author of some important historical works upon the House of Orange, are to be sought chiefly in the collection of the *Nederlander*, a political orthodox journal which has ceased to appear, and in his Parliamentary speeches.

orthodoxy. A very remarkable poet, a prose writer of average ability, he was irresistible as an orator, and, though justly chargeable with a certain want of taste which rendered him often trivial and vulgar, his oriental richness of imagination enabled him to adorn the most ungrateful subjects in the most seductive colours. His rabbinical and yet poetical mind had wrought out for itself a very peculiar form of Christianity. He was a decided millenarian, although the old Reformed Church had a horror of the *millennium*. The destiny of the Jewish people was, in his view, far from accomplished, and in the final crisis of history a glorious place among the nations was reserved for them. Even now, in the modern world, the Dutch people played a part analogous to that of the Jewish people of old : it was the lawful depositary of religious truth. The family of Orange was to be compared with that of David, and of all the revolutions recorded in history, except that which of old placed the son of Jesse upon the throne of Saul, M. Da Costa recognized as legitimate only two, that of the 16th century in the Low Countries, and that of 1688 in England. More than this, he denied, with an inexhaustible fertility of explanatory hypothesis, the most self-evident assertions of biblical criticism. If, for instance, the dry and colourless description which the first Gospel gives of the calling of Levi-Matthew (ix. 9), were adduced to shew that such a narrative could hardly have been the work of an eye-witness, still less of an author relating a decisive event of his own life, M. Da Costa would answer that he discerned in it the tokens of a most delicate and sensitive modesty. It was impossible to argue with a man, who, though most kindly and amiable in private life, was absolutely impracticable upon any theological subject.*

At the present moment, the man upon whom in great measure rests the hope of the orthodox party, is M. J. J. van Oosterzee,† who was for many years a pastor at Rotterdam, but who has lately been appointed Professor of Theology at Utrecht. It may be doubted whether he has really gained anything by exchanging a popular pulpit, in which his brilliant oratorical talents ensured him an immense

* The complete works of Da Costa are published by Kruseman, of Haarlem.

† Author of a Christology, several apologetical treatises in behalf of orthodoxy, and a great number of sermons.

success, for an academical chair, where no floods of eloquence suffice to cover the defects of a system. It would, however, be a mistake to class M. van Oosterzee among those ignorant orthodox believers who owe the immoveable firmness of their faith to the fact that, knowing nothing, they dare assert everything. He is a learned man, disposed to make many concessions to science, provided, however, that they shall not too strongly shake a conservative system, resting upon a basis of authority to which he attaches or rather fastens himself with an energy which nothing can discourage. It is, above all, the supernatural point of view which he defends against the current of modern theology. He *loves* miracle. The complete emancipation of the individual conscience terrifies him, and he wishes to maintain his attachment, if not to the letter, at least to the fundamental principles of the old confession. His adversaries reproach him with the lack not of learning, but of a scientific spirit, and complain that he often sacrifices the results of an impartial criticism to the seductions of a lyric oratory. Always applauded by the numerous hearers who crowd round his pulpit when he is invited to preach in the churches of Utrecht and the neighbouring towns, he has great difficulty in making his ideas acceptable to the students, who for the most part incline to the new theology. Only lately these very students, who publish every year an *Academical Almanac*, in which they very frankly distribute praise or blame to their professors, have censured his courses of lectures with a youthful vivacity of wit, which indicates that M. van Oosterzee will have a difficult task in imposing his convictions upon studious youths who are eager to know the why and wherefore of things.

The line of thought pursued by the majority of the theological students of Utrecht is, indeed, a significant phenomenon. All their professors, with the exception of M. Ter Haar, who lectures upon ecclesiastical history, and who inclines toward a moderateliberalism, belong to different shades of orthodoxy. A tradition of the university, dating from the time of Voetius, is, that its work is to furnish defenders of a conservative theology against the "new lights" which threaten it on different sides. Nevertheless, this is no security for the orthodoxy of the pastors who are educated in it. No one of the professors can be considered as a repre-

sentative of pure Calvinism. A moderate orthodoxy like that of the late Archbishop of Dublin, accompanied by a little more biblical criticism, would agree sufficiently well with their teaching upon all great questions.

It is not, then, in the University of Utrecht, as such, that retrogressive orthodoxy finds any very strong support. This the orthodox party confess and lament. It has a body of less learned but more ardent champions in a considerable number of pastors, who in an infinite series of sermons and pamphlets advocate an exclusiveness which grows in fierceness in precise proportion to the advance of modern theology. The *Dominie* (for this is the name by which a Dutch clergyman is commonly known), the orthodox Dominie of the old type, is an excellent man, but solemn, stiff, measured, with a long clay pipe rarely out of his mouth, and delighting in the exercise of his personal authority. Hence, in spite of liberal institutions, has arisen a kind of *Dominocracy*, which has not a little contributed to augment the number, happily but small, of the declared enemies of Christianity.

In fact, the orthodox reaction has given birth to an anti-Christian tendency, the organ of which is the *Dageraad* (The Aurora), a monthly journal published at Amsterdam. When I wrote in 1860, that journal, which had then been five years in existence, still exercised some influence. But since that time it has greatly declined. Its independent but very unscientific and trivial criticism of modern theology has deprived it, little by little, of the sympathies of all educated liberals. In the present day, it is all but reduced to the contributions of such writers as identify, from the resemblance of the names, Brahma and Abraham; so that whoever knows a little Sanscrit and a little Hebrew shrugs his shoulders and puts the paper aside. I mention it in this place only that I may omit to record none of the features of the religious physiognomy of Holland.

I may also add that many orthodox pastors are peaceably inclined, in the firm conviction that violence can do nothing to help their cause, and that free discussion alone can solve the problems with which the Church is now perplexed. Many have already openly made the sacrifice of pure Calvinism, and limit their desires to the maintenance of certain doctrines which they call "fundamental," such as the supernatural authority of the Scriptures, the metaphysical divinity

of Christ, the fall of man and his redemption by the expiatory death. The difficulty of their position arises from the fact that, though they agree upon these main points, they begin to differ as soon as they come to any development or precise definition of them. Hence arise many misunderstandings. The people believe them to be strictly orthodox, although in reality they are not so. They belong rather to what is called in Germany the *Vermittelungstheologie*, or theology of mediation (MM. Nitzsch, Dorner, Hagenbach, Lange, &c.), called sometimes by its adversaries the *Schwebetheologie*, that is to say, the backwards-and-forwards theology. It would be unjust to accuse them of want of frankness to others ; they fail in this respect rather toward themselves. Their sympathies are orthodox, while their intellect has ceased to be so. Hence painful efforts, whimsical and obscure theories, designed to accomplish the ungrateful task of patching an old rent garment with new cloth.

M. Chautepie de la Saussaye, for a long time Walloon pastor at Leyden, at present Dutch pastor at Rotterdam, is the most notable representative in Holland of this school of mediation. It is not without a certain hesitation that I attempt to give a *resumé* of the theological ideas of this prolific writer, whose distinguishing quality is certainly not clearness of conception, and whose views seem from moment to moment to be self-contradictory.* For example, M. de la Saussaye would lay down propositions of the greatest ecclesiastical breadth, and defend himself against any accusation of exclusiveness by declaring that "the Church has no right to expel from its communion any who profess their willingness to seek their salvation in Jesus Christ."† But at the same time he constantly makes common cause with organizations which have been called into existence by dogmatic intolerance, and which make it their more or less ostensible object. Upon the divinity of Christ he constructs such phrases as the following : "I believe in the Logos, in the Divine

* The reader who wishes to form an idea of the opinions of M. de la Saussaye may consult not only numerous articles published in the journal, now no longer issued, *Ernst en Vrede* (Earnestness and Peace), and several sermons in French and Dutch, but a work, written in French, *La Crise Religieuse en Hollande*, 1860, and another more recently published in Dutch, *De Godsdienstige Bewegingen van dezen Tyd in haren Oorsprong geschetst* (Contemporary Religious Movements traced to their Origin), Rotterdam, 1863.

† *Crise Religieuse*, p. 174.

Word, which is the reason of man, in the identity of the Logos within and beyond the bounds of human nature."* But beware of proclaiming the pure humanity of Christ, if you would not pass for one of those men "who prophesy in his name, but who follow him not." He is, above all, an ardent defender of the supernatural, of miracle, of the objective authority of the biblical revelation ; but if you closely follow the thread of his thought, you will find that, in his view, miracle is little more than a development of nature, such as it would have been apart from the corrupting effect of sin, and that the moral consciousness of man is the sovereign authority to which that of the sacred book is really subordinate. I do not know whether the English reader will easily seize the principle of this *ethical-reconciliatory* (*éthique-irénique*) tendency (as it is called) of which M. de la Saussaye is the representative. It consists in this, that the ancient confessional orthodoxy is to be considered as the perpetually valid base of the religious teaching of the Church, but that it is not on this account necessary to recognize in the orthodox doctrine any other permanent and objective elements than those which the moral consciousness can assimilate and in which it finds a possibility of self-elevation. Consequently we apply the criterion of dogmatic truth when we inquire in regard to any doctrine, What does it say to my religious and moral sense? If it contains elements which do not touch my heart and conscience or which move them to horror, they are to be neglected or rejected ; but if, on the contrary, I find that I am religiously and morally sustained by them, I am to regard them as true. Undoubtedly, there is a certain sense in which the applicability of this test will be universally recognized, but it must at the same time be confessed that this method can produce none but subjective judgments. For different persons may derive from the same doctrines different moral and religious impressions ; while, again, it constantly happens that the purely religious and moral elements of a doctrine are mingled with others which are irrational and evidently untrue, for the due separation of which recourse must be had to that very reasoning and criticism from which M. de la Saussaye wishes to deliver theology

* *Crise Religieuse*, p. 162.

and the Church. And when we watch his own method of operation upon the old dogmas, we are inclined to fear that he will attain no other result than that of wedding Dutch mists with German fogs. These inconsistencies constitute at once the strength and weakness of this tendency ; its strength, because its orthodox modes of treatment and expression attract a notable section of the orthodox party, which has sagely begun to suspect that there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in the traditional theology, and which finds in M. de la Saussaye and his friends a scientific expression of its indecisive aspirations ; its weakness, because the majority of the party suspect it to be less *faithful* than they had imagined, and that these perpetual vacillations, these undulations of religious thought, can have no other issue than the formation of a transition between the past, which M. de la Saussaye wishes as much as possible to preserve, and the future, which advances under a flag that they utterly hate.

M. de la Saussaye will himself serve as our point of transition to the theological tendencies which have wholly broken with the traditional orthodoxy.

Before coming to the school which now represents the progressive movement, we must mention one, only lately the object of all orthodox malediction, which has incontestably prepared the way for religious liberalism, but which, for want of logical boldness, has, at least in my opinion, been gradually supplanted by a more courageous and more radical tendency.

I speak of what is called the Groningen school, because in the University of that city are to be found its centre and its principal representatives.

If English influence had not been preponderant in Europe, it is probable that the Dutch religious revival, properly so called, would have developed itself under the auspices of this school of Groningen. This it was which, even before the orthodox reaction had gathered strength, took the lead in many philanthropic labours, the object of which was the moral elevation and instruction of the people. In this respect, its action upon the country has been most fruitful, — a fact which has demonstrated that the old doctrines are not the only possible source of an active and zealous Christian life. The principal representatives of this school are

MM. Hofstede de Groot, Pareau and Muurling, professors of theology at Groningen, and M. Meyboom, pastor at Amsterdam.* It recognizes (and in this breaks at once with the 18th century) that mysticism has an important place in religion, that a reasonable and mild morality is not sufficient to satisfy the thirst for the infinite with which a truly religious man perpetually burns. It appeals to the great mystics of the Netherlands before the Reformation, and particularly to Wessel Gansfort, to prove that in this respect it stands in the direct line of national tradition. But at the same time it recognizes that the progress of the human mind demands a revision of Christian doctrine, which in its traditional shape is as constantly opposed to the teaching of the Bible as it is to human reason. It especially aspires to lay down a fundamental principle broad enough to embrace all the religious development of humanity. And this principle, already proclaimed by Lessing and Herder, is the education of the human race by God, whose design it is gradually to raise His human children into the likeness of Himself.

The culminating point of this educational action of God is the sending of Christ, in regard to whose nature the Groningen doctors have a theory not very remote from Arianism. Christ is not God, but a divine being prepared by the Heavenly Father for the mission which he came to fulfil, clothed in a human nature. But since his ascension, Christ, to whom God has in some sort delegated His power over men, perpetually directs the religious destinies of the church; and it is in the idea of an immediate personal communion with the glorified Christ that the mystical element of the doctrine of Groningen is chiefly to be found. Upon other points of ecclesiastical teaching, this school adopts a middle course, not always satisfactory to strict logicians; although from the first it was acceptable to many minds which were

* Vide *Encyclopædia Theologi Christiani*, delineata a P. Hofstede de Groot et L. G. Pareau, third edition, 1851; *Dogmatica et Apologetica Christiana*, scripsit L. G. Pareau et P. Hofstede de Groot, third edition, 1845; *Praktische Godgeleerdheid* (Practical Theology), by W. Muurling, second edition, 1860; *Institutio Theologia Naturalis*, fourth edition, 1861, by P. Hofstede de Groot; *De Groningsche School* (The Groningen School), by the same; the *Journal, Waarheid in Liefde* (Truth in Love). M. Hofstede de Groot, Jun., has answered the *Letters upon the Bible* of M. Busken Huet, of which we shall speak hereafter.

repelled by the asperities of the old Calvinism, and which gladly welcomed the possibility of a religious life unaccompanied by the necessity of putting their good sense to the torture. Fifteen years ago the Groningen school, still the liberal school *par excellence*, drew down upon its head all the thunders of intolerant orthodoxy. Addresses to the Synod protested against the invitations given by the consistories of the great towns to pastors imbued with this heterodox tendency. It was the abomination of desolation to the Da Costas, the Schwartzs, and all their kind. Now, since the liberalism of Leyden has appeared upon the scene, attacked upon many points by the old Groningen men (and at the same time attacked scientifically by them almost alone), exclusive orthodoxy has shewn itself mollified towards its ancient enemy, and tolerates its heresies in consideration of the energy with which it maintains the supernatural authority of the Bible and the reality of miracles. We may indeed say, that up to the present time the most evident result of the theological crisis in Holland is to have consolidated the former floating debt, and to have inscribed in the Great Book of the State certain authorized doctrines which any man is henceforth free to profess if he will.

At the bottom, what the Groningen school really wants is philosophy and criticism. On that side it does not seem to feel that modern thought can no longer content itself with the *Deus ex machina* of the old Deism, and that, if it rightly clings to a living God, it cannot deny His immanence in the universe. In the same way, it has general theories upon the sacred books, but does not criticise them with the ardour and the scientific disinterestedness which alone can produce durable results. These weaknesses and defects of the Groningen system must make themselves felt more and more, in proportion as the taste for religious science diffuses itself among the educated classes, and they become accustomed to ideas, discoveries, inferences, which upon their first appearance might have evoked only surprise or antipathy. Hence the strength of the Leyden school, which in these latter years has held in Holland the sceptre of theological science.

The University of Leyden was founded by William the Silent as a reward for the heroism displayed by that city in its famous siege by the Spaniards. It was long one of the

great centres of European philology. There, one after another, taught Scaliger, Saumaise, Heinsius, the Schultens, father and son. At the present time it possesses, in the venerable Professor Van Hengel, a representative of the old erudition, which, although it now meets with but scanty appreciation, is not the less the mother of all our modern development. More than 80 years of age, M. Van Hengel continues his exegetical labours,* the fame of which has passed beyond the limits of Holland. Occupying himself little with doctrine and historical criticism, he has amassed treasures of erudition in the department of grammatical analysis, and, in maintaining the taste for solid and severe studies, may congratulate himself on having prepared, at least in his own country, the way for the recent developments of theology. We see in him the genius of the old philology encouraging young criticism, while giving to it at the same time the prudent advice authorized by long experience.

In the same faculty, besides M. Niermeyer, who died prematurely at the moment when his reputation was about to be assured by his labours upon the Apocalypse (in which, in common with most German critics, he sees an elaborate composition, to be explained by its reference to the ideas current about the year 69 respecting Nero, his death and his speedy return),—besides M. Kist, an esteemed professor of ecclesiastical history, who also died not many years ago,—we may mention M. Rauwenhoff, a young professor of great promise, the successor of M. Kist, who has written nothing as yet, but whose lectures, full of a very liberal spirit, are greatly prized by the students. At the present moment, M.M. Scholten and Kuenen, the first as professor of Christian doctrine, the second as a critic, may be considered as the theologians who best represent progressive religious thought.

It is needful that we should give an outline of the system of M. Scholten, put forward by its author as the logical and necessary development of the primitive doctrine of the Reformation.† He thinks that liberal Pro-

* See especially his *Commentarius Perpetuus* upon the Epistles of St. Paul.

† His principal works are, *Geschiedenis der Godsdienst en Wysbegeerte* (History of Religion and Philosophy, translated into French, published by Treuttel and Würtz at Strasburg), Leyden, third edition, 1863; *De Vrije Wil*

testantism, in accordance with an easily explicable reaction against the abuses of the old dogma, has made the mistake of neglecting the thorough study of the old Calvinistic and Zwinglian theologians. It would have found that their real spirit and essential principles shewed but little agreement with the common orthodoxy of the present day. Who, for example, has noticed the repeated assertion of the venerable Doctors of the Reformation, *Christus qua mediator non est adorandus*,—an assertion so categorical, so positive, that, wherever the pure Reformed type has been preserved, prayers directly addressed to Jesus have never been sanctioned? Who has rightly estimated the importance of the debate, in its origin so scholastic, upon the *donum superadditum* of Roman Catholic theologians? They were of opinion that the possession of truth and holiness was a *gift superadded, super-imposed* upon human nature by the creative power, and that this *donum superadditum* had been lost by the fall,—a theory which left room for the conception of a salvation externally and mechanically communicated by a church, or rather by a clergy, divinely set in authority over the faithful. The Doctors of the Reformation, on the contrary, maintained that human nature *in statu integritatis* had in itself the knowledge of God and holiness. Let us strip this discussion of its outer clothing of subtleties and dogmatic asperities: it remains the great question to know whether man possesses in himself the germ of his own perfectibility, whether salvation is not really the same thing as the development of his own faculties and aptitudes, or whether it needs to be mechanically *added on* to the soul. Philosophy can admit only the first half of the alternative.

These two examples will suffice to shew how M. Scholten, while burying himself in the old dogmatics of the Reformation, and carrying into them the torch of modern philosophic thought, has drawn from them a complete and vigorous system, of which we now propose to describe the general outline.

Religion presents itself to observation as a natural fact, a

(Free Will); *De Leer der Hervormde Kerk in hare Grondbeginselen uit de Bronnen voorgesteld en beoordeeld*, fourth edition (The Doctrine of the Reformed Church in its Fundamental Principles set forth and criticised, from its Original Documents).

spontaneous tendency of human nature, which consciously attaches itself to the absolute Being, whose existence is thus implied independently of all reasoning. By contemplating the universe in nature and in history, man succeeds, as far as is possible to him, in knowing Him whose manifestations these are. For as the absolute Being, the conscious synthesis of the universe, cannot be limited by the visible world, the latter is necessarily the expression of His life, and reveals Him to those who are able to read the great book of the universe. This is the distinction between *manifestation* (*φανέρωσις*) and *revelation* (*αποκαλύψις*), which occupies a prominent place in M. Scholten's system. In fact, God always manifests Himself to all ; but only the men of highest endowment are able to interpret the manifestation. These are, in the largest sense of the word, prophets, revealers,—the men who, throughout the whole course of history, have distinctly heard the mysterious voice, of which the multitude caught only the vague and distant echo. Inspiration is, then, that superiority of the religious sense which renders them capable of imparting to the mass of men truths which they could never discover for themselves. Looked at from this point of view, religious inspiration differs in its object, but not in its nature, from the poetical and scientific inspiration which constitutes genius, and to which humanity owes its progress of every kind. But the inspired man is not infallible in the expression which he gives to the sentiment which animates him, any more than the sentiment itself is independent of the state of religious perfection in which he who experiences it may be. On the other hand, this sentiment necessarily reflects the object of the prophetic intuition, and it belongs therefore to the reflective reason to seek intellectual truth, or *dogma*, in the word of the revealers. Revelation thus understood is neither opposed to reason nor a promulgation of pretended mysteries to be imposed upon faith. To speak rigorously, mystery is that of which we are ignorant ; and if, on the one hand, mystery must exist so long as man has not attained to perfect and universal knowledge, on the other, the domain of mystery diminishes in exact proportion as that of revelation extends,—a fact which is entirely irreconcilable with the sense in which the word mystery is commonly used. For the rest, M. Scholten thinks that this common use of the

word is a subterfuge of obsolete orthodoxies, which have found it very convenient to shelter under an imposing phrase dogmas long ago invented for the very purpose of defining the vague and enlightening the obscure.

In this system the Bible preserves the rank which is incontestably secured to it by the gradual progress of revelation in the human consciousness, although such a theory of inspiration leaves full and entire liberty to historical criticism. We must not wish to make a modern philosopher of Christ; but it is necessary to bring out prominently the fact that, in his spontaneous intuition of God, Jesus laid hold of important and sublime truths which are modern only in name, and which the contemporary thinker recognized with a feeling of pious gratitude in his inspired word. Thus the old Christian idea of *Our Father who is in heaven* implies the infinity of God and His sovereignty over the world; whilst the *Spirit of God* which speaks to the heart of man wonderfully answers to the modern idea of the divine immanence. When the Church of the fourth century defined the dogma of the Trinity, which existed up to that time in a very vague form, it rightly supported itself upon an imperious necessity of human reason, which will not have a God who remains, inert and solitary, in the icy depths of eternity; but it was unable to maintain the unity of the Divine Essence except by a contradiction; it separated the Word from the Holy Spirit, failing to see that one was the Greek, the other the Jewish form of the same religious idea, and committed the mistake of identifying the eternal Word with the historical person of Jesus Christ. The true Word is the eternal revelation of God in the world. As far as we are concerned, Christ, in his humanity and by his moral and religious perfectness, is the supreme manifestation of the Divine Word which speaks in and by him. Jesus is the *Son of God* in that sense of spiritual relationship with God in which the Jews had long been accustomed to use that phrase. And in this Son of God, who was also Son of Man, human nature has been able to celebrate its consummate union with the nature of God.

On the domain of anthropology, M. Scholten thinks that man was originally and is still constantly born in an animal state, although an animal containing within itself the germ of a spiritual development, the objective ideal of which is God Himself. The fall is not a fact of history, but of the

human mind, arising from the comparison of what we are with what we ought to be. This is the idea which is expressed in the old story of Eden, the details of which can only be explained upon the supposition of a gradual progress from the state of animal innocence to that of human reflection and conscience. Individual immortality is implied in the fact that man feels himself called to a higher than the physical life, and that, in contradistinction to all other living beings who have preceded him upon the earth, his spiritual often exacts the sacrifice of his bodily life. Sin is the failure, the imperfection, of the spiritual life, and consequently the true misfortune ; for happiness in every living thing can consist only in the development of life and the realization of destiny. Sin, therefore, is both what ought not to be and the intermediate state which separates the state of innocence from that of holiness. Here M. Scholten returns to the favourite ground of the old Doctors of the Reformation, and decisively pronounces for moral *determination* (*determinisme*) ; he regards absolute free-will as a chimera, an illusion, arising from the fact that we are unable to point out the motive, nevertheless really existent in every case, which determines our action. But he rejects fatalism in the statement that man, enlightened by experience and in virtue of his power of reflection, is able to suspend his decision and to subject himself to the influence of good motives. His liberty can be real and complete only in so far as it consists in freedom from every kind of moral evil. Such is the destiny for which God has created man, and to the realization of which, in virtue of the absolute sovereignty of God, man will sooner or later arrive. The Calvinistic idea of the assurance of salvation thus reappears in an entirely new light, and is stripped of the gloomy horrors of an eternal hell.

The Christ came out of the very bosom of our race, which must necessarily, as well as the individuals of which it is composed, arrive at its destined goal. In Christ, pure religion, the complete abandonment of self to God and men, has been realized. In him, who above all others possessed "a pure heart," the light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world shone with an incomparable brightness, enabling man clearly to read the word which nature and his own conscience had not as yet spoken to him, or which he had not yet ventured to decipher—God is love. In conformity with the laws of the solidarity of spirits, a power of light

and life emanates from Christ, which, from the time of his coming, acts among mankind like leaven, dissipating superstitions, insensibly reforming social institutions, continually bringing men to a better understanding of their duties and their true happiness, until, according to his own word, *the whole lump shall be leavened*. Christ is thus the living demonstration of our divine destiny, inasmuch as he possessed, while yet upon earth, the eternal life, and was able to promise it to all his brethren. It is necessary, therefore, to live in communion with him, and to apply the principles drawn from that pure source to the labours of every kind, brilliant or trivial, which make up our life. M. Scholten thinks, with Schleiermacher, that the religious ought to be to the ordinary life what harmony is to the melody which it helps and sustains. Thus it is that the divine life is to flow more and more abundantly into the veins of humanity. If its progress be slow in comparison with our impatience, we must not the less have faith in the future; and not suffering ourselves to be beaten back by obstacles, must press forward in the firm and joyful confidence that, according to the sublime prediction of the apostle, "God will at last be all in all."

Such is the completest system of modern Dutch theology, to which we may fairly say that most of those who are known to belong to the progressive religious movement attach themselves more or less closely. It will have been seen that this system gives full liberty to biblical criticism, inasmuch as it relies for support only upon the religious and moral contents of the sacred books,—upon what may be called their evident worth,—and consequently abandons to free science all questions relative to their origin, their authenticity and their union in the canon. Hence the alliance which exists between the dogmatic tendency of M. Scholten and the more exclusively critical tendency of M. Kuenen, his colleague, who is especially occupied with biblical science, and who is preparing to give to his country the completest introduction to the Old Testament which Europe possesses.* The two first volumes—one devoted to the his-

* *Historisch-Kritisch Onderzoek naar het Ontstaan en de Verzameling van de Boeken des ouden Verbonds* (Historico-Critical Investigation into the Origin and Collection of the Books of the Old Covenant). By the same author, *Critices et Hermeneutices Librorum N. Fœderis lineamenta*. Editio ii.

torical, the other to the prophetic books—have already appeared ; and permit us to bear testimony, from personal knowledge, to the impartial spirit, the minute conscientiousness, with which this Herculean labour has been performed. Those who, after having read it, still feel themselves able to maintain on scientific grounds that the Pentateuch is the work of Moses, or that it came from a single hand, and has undergone no subsequent revision, or that the last forty chapters of Isaiah are the work of a prophet contemporary with Ezekiel, must have great confidence in their own polemical ability. It is much to be desired that so profound a work should some day be translated into English, as it has been into French and German. It would be impossible, without extending this article to an unreasonable length, to give even an outline of the results of this learned criticism. Let us content ourselves with saying a few words on the most interesting point, that of the prophecies.

M. Kuenen formally rejects the commonly received idea of prophecy, that the work of these extraordinary men was only to predict the future, and especially to describe several centuries beforehand a few accidental circumstances of the life of Christ. The prophets, he says, preached rather than predicted. Their predictions, when they made any, stood in close connection with their age, with surrounding circumstances, with their own personality ; which could not have been the case had they been dictated from on high, as oracles in which human reason had no part. It can, besides, be proved that several of these predictions have never been realized. The prophetism of Israel is, like its monotheism, a phenomenon which attained among that people its highest and noblest development, but which exists in more or less analogous forms among other Semitic peoples also. Enthusiasm for their country and their national religion,—this is the one thing common to all the prophets. Whatever in their manner of life and speech may be strange and even incomprehensible to our prosaic and reflective minds, is to be accounted for by the phenomena of inspiration, manifesting themselves in the midst of a still primitive people. By reason of the sincerity of their zeal, the prophets, although deeply attached to the law of Moses, loved it in the spirit rather than in the letter, and thus became the men of the future, the announcers and forerunners of the

gospel. The predictions which the old theology saw realized in the history of Christ and the church are much more naturally explained by facts contemporary, or nearly so, with the prophets themselves. But this does not prevent them from being the organs of that marvellous Messianic hope, the rudiments of which may be discerned and its varied forms followed through all their writings, and upon which Christianity was finally grafted.

At the bottom, in Holland as elsewhere, criticism, as applied to the sacred books, is the true mother of modern theology. This it is which, by modifying old notions of the nature and the authority of the Bible, has compelled dogmatic theology to remodel itself, and to become, instead of an authoritative science, *sui generis*, a science like others, taking account of religious facts in order to deduce from them laws and inferences, and seeking no other support than that of reason and the religious sentiment. This fact explains the powerful assistance which the modern theology of Holland has received from a quarter whence it was little expected, that of Utrecht and its Academy. It is true that this assistance has not come from the theology of Utrecht, but from a professor of philosophy, M. Opzoomer, one of the best writers of Holland, and a man whose influence upon the literary public and students of his city is very great.*

Endowed with an acute and sagacious mind, an artist as well as a thinker, he has adopted in philosophy a sort of spiritual empiricism which in principle resembles the system of Auguste Comte, but which is practically much superior to it. Observation, the classification of facts and the determination of their laws,—this is the first work of philosophy as he conceives it. It ought thus to be nourished with the juice of all the other sciences, and should grow with them. But it is commonly believed that this empirical and positive method must logically lead to materialism and atheism. And yet the religious and moral sentiments are also facts, realities just as objective as the data afforded by the five senses, and forming the indestructible basis upon which it will always be possible to build up religious and moral doctrine, even if

* *De Waarheid en hare Kenbronnen* (Truth and its Sources), 2nd edition; *Het Wezen der Kennis* (The Essence of Knowledge), 1863; also numerous philosophical, juridical and political *brochures*. A Translation of the Plays of William Shakspeare, with a Commentary (in course of publication).

every idealist philosophy should be unable to hold its ground against criticism. Hence a provisional dualism which M. Opzoomer believes to be still inevitable between the aspirations of the religious and moral sentiment and the data of the experimental sciences. Nevertheless, in proportion as he develops his ideas, M. Opzoomer constantly draws nearer to Christianity, and above all extols the religious and moral ideal realized in Christ. He finds in it the principles of liberty, the disinterested love of truth—in a word, the salutary tendencies to which the thinker must conform his intellectual labour, as well as man his conduct in the world. It is on this side that his philosophy has powerfully influenced the theological course of many young men who, after their entrance upon the work of the ministry, have applied its principles to religious doctrine.*

At first sight, the principles of M. Opzoomer and those of M. Scholten are opposed. M. Scholten, without failing to recognize the necessity of observation as the base and point of departure, is a speculative philosopher. M. Opzoomer, without confining himself to the meagre results of a narrow positivism, is a declared partizan of empiricism. Thus there has often been a contest, and that of a very lively kind, between the two professors, on questions of method (*de methodo*), to the great joy of orthodoxy, which already hopes to see modern theology divided into two irreconcilable camps. But, in spite of its predictions, the disciples of the two schools have not ceased to remain at one; the two currents re-unite in theology and in the Church. The reason is, that M. Opzoomer limits himself to the enunciation of principles; and when these are once laid down, it is very difficult for those who teach and preach a positive religion, not to come to some conclusions greatly resembling what M. Scholten defines as the essence of Christian doctrine. Let us rather say that in this double current of critical and dogmatic theology, each rectifying and completing the other, lies a pledge of success, a force of propagandism, which modern theology could not possess to the same extent if its only product were one system the

* The first part of an important work by this Professor, entitled, *De Godsdienst* (Religion), has just appeared. It will consist of the application of his philosophical principles to religion, and already fully warrants the judgment pronounced in the text.

more in addition to those that already exist, or an all-dissolving criticism never ending in any substantial result.

The special question which the school of M. Opzoomer has raised in the religious world is that of the supernatural. From the purely empirical point of view, miracle, properly so called—that is, the contradiction of those laws of the physical and moral world which have been and can always be experimentally verified—is inadmissible. To attempt to counterbalance this reasoning by invoking metaphysical or historical considerations, is to abandon the legitimate domain of observation. M. Scholten has not considered this question from the same point of view ; but if his speculative theory upon the relations of God and the world be admitted, it is difficult to see how his system, which descends from heaven to earth, leaves room for the supernatural, any more than the empirical method of M. Opzoomer, which ascends from earth to heaven.

It will be easily understood that this blow at the very root of the old systems has excited much strong feeling, and even frightened many old liberals, especially when they saw the new principles very vigorously applied to theology, properly so called, in the preaching and books of M. Opzoomer's most brilliant pupil, Dr. Pierson, pastor of the Walloon Church of Rotterdam.* His works, which are much sought after, unite to a boldness which many do not hesitate to call temerity, a deeply religious unction, which often calls to mind the orthodox circle in which the author, who is still young, was brought up, and are, we must confess, the delight of one party, the dread of the other. We may say of M. Pierson that he enjoys one of the privileges reserved for men of great ability, that, whether praised or blamed, he is never spoken of but with emotion. And as M. Opzoomer has, up to the present time, occupied himself with religious questions only indirectly, it is M. Pierson who is the leader, properly so called, of that branch of the modern theology which draws its inspiration from the philosophy of Utrecht.

My sole remaining task is to give some brief account of some other distinguished Protestants of modern Holland,

* *De Oorsprong der Moderne Rigting* (Origin of the Modern Tendency), 2nd edition ; *Rigting en Leven* (Tendency and Life), 1863 ; *Intimis*, a Religious Romance. Dr. Pierson is also the author of many polemical and critical pamphlets.

who in various ways are assisting in the transformation of theological science. Thus, without forgetting Professor Moll, of Amsterdam, the esteemed author of several works on ecclesiastical history, MM. Roorda, Veth, Rutger and others, who preserve the precious traditions of Dutch philology in the domain of Oriental languages, we must mention M. Hoekstra, Mennonite Professor at Amsterdam, the author of several theological and philosophical works, among which is especially to be noted an excellent commentary upon the *Hooglied*, or Song of Songs, interpreted in accordance with the general opinion of modern German criticism, as a dialogue between Solomon and a young peasant girl whom he seeks in vain to espouse. There is in this book, in my view, less fancy but a more rigorous exegesis than in the analogous book of M. Renan. M. Busken Huet, a writer of great merit, has sought to popularize, in his *Brieven over den Bybel* (Letters upon the Bible), the results of an advanced and sometimes adventurous criticism. He occupies what may be called the extreme left of the reforming movement. In our mention of M. Huet, we must not omit to record the fact, in every way to be regretted, that this young and spiritual writer, up to the present time Walloon pastor at Haarlem, has felt it to be his duty, in consequence of difficulties with his Consistory, quite independent of his dogmatic opinions, to resign his pastoral functions; and that, from his last publications, it would appear as if he were desirous of withdrawing himself from the church as from a sphere henceforth alien to him. M. Tiele, Remonstrant pastor at Rotterdam, also a young man, has made himself known by some remarkable investigations into the religion of Zoroaster.* M. Van Heusden, of Bois-le-Duc, a

* This book, drawn from the original sources, forms a part of a series of works upon the history of religions by different learned men, which are published by Kruseman, of Haarlem. "Islamism," by Professor Dozy, of Leyden, has already appeared. While speaking of this historian, who is well known abroad, we may add that he has just published a very curious book, entitled, *De Israëlieten te Mekka* (*The Israelites at Mecca*), in which, side by side with many very doubtful statements upon Jewish archaeology, he makes known to the learned world a discovery of the greatest importance, to all appearance firmly established upon the comparison of many passages of the Old Testament with Arabic authorities, which up to the present time have been imperfectly known or misunderstood,—namely, that the sanctuary of Mecca and the religion professed there before the time of Mahomet, owed their origin to the Israelitish tribe of the Simeonites, who were exiled or who emigrated about the time of

very liberal Protestant layman, an ex-member of the General Synod, has published, under the title of *Waarheid en Godsdienst* (Truth and Religion), a series of treatises on the side of modern theology. This also reckons among its best supporters the *Volksblad* (Journal of the People), which is printed at The Hague, and diffuses the new ideas among the lower classes in forms appropriate to its readers, as well as the "Library of Modern Theology," a journal edited by M. Maronier, Remonstrant Pastor at Leyden, and containing German, French and Swiss articles full of the same spirit. Lastly, we may note two magazines of scientific theology, the *Godgeleerde Bydragen* (Theological Studies) and the *Jaarboeken voor de Wetensch. Theologie* (Annual of Scientific Theology), which, freely open to the representatives of the different tendencies, contribute rather to expedite than to clog the wheel of the movement. Among miscellaneous reviews, the *Gids* (the Guide), which in Holland holds the first place, and the *Tijdspiegel* (Mirror of the Times), which is very widely read, usually sympathize with it.

The struggle has thus reached its moment of crisis. What will be the issue? To attempt to predict would be overbold. Besides, without seeking to conceal our individual prepossessions, we have endeavoured to describe rather than to criticise the situation. In what the still powerful forces of orthodoxy consist, we have already said. The prudent and mediating tendency of Groningen has still a strong hold upon the middle classes and the clergy. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that, in spite of all the efforts of its detractors, the modern theology is at this moment gaining ground, as regards both the number and the influence of its adherents. Its weak side is, that it is more frequently held by ministers and theologians than by congregations: almost a third of the ecclesiastical body may be reckoned as having fully embraced it. Still it advances. The youth of the universities, many who have received an orthodox education, many cultivated men, especially in the liberal professions, many former unbelievers whom orthodoxy had driven away from Christianity and the church, whole classes of

Saul and David, and who carried into Central Arabia the ideas and the still very idolatrous worship of the Hebrews of that age. I mention, without attempting to estimate its value, this novel theory, which will not fail to excite the lively attention of Orientalists.

the population in the towns, and for some time past in country districts of the North, have declared themselves in its favour. On the other hand, this increasing success has excited a loud cry for disciplinary measures which shall summarily suppress "impious negations." Up to the present time, the General Synod has resisted all the intolerant inclinations of individuals and of certain local consistories. For some months past, however, the reactionary party seems to hope that it may finally attain its ends. One hears of pulpits, an entrance into which is forbidden to certain preachers; of the need of amputating the gangrened members of the church in order to save the whole body; and so forth.* But what real purpose can be answered by such measures of exclusion? If the people wish to hear a preacher who edifies them, how, in a country of free discussion and of complete political liberty like Holland, are they to be prevented? And besides, it is already too late. Not long ago, a minister of the Walloon Church, a disciple of the modern theology, having to go to Amsterdam to take the place of a sick brother, found that three members of the Walloon Consistory had inserted an advertisement in the papers of that city, warning the congregation against his preaching, which they described as contrary to the principles of the Church. The only result was, that the preacher was greeted by a great crowd flocking round his pulpit and listening to him with the most sympathetic attention.

One of the greatest mistakes committed by an orthodoxy which incessantly reproaches liberal theologians with failing to satisfy the wants of the heart and conscience is, that it refuses to acknowledge the fact that there are thousands of souls which it no longer edifies, and which seek elsewhere the satisfaction of their strongest and most sacred desires. Let us hope that, in Holland as elsewhere, the difficulties of this critical moment may be overcome by no other means than by free discussion and sober science. The problems are clearly set forth: this, all the lamentations, all the maledictions in the world cannot prevent: and every problem, once set forth, demands a solution. The anathemas of Protestant orthodoxy will no more prevent modern theology

* The exclusive party has lately been exasperated by the public defection of MM. les Pasteurs Hugenholz, of Amsterdam, and Zaalberg, of The Hague. The latter is at present the object of its fiercest hatred.

from doing its work, than the sound of episcopal bells has hindered the circulation in France of more than one hundred thousand copies of M. Renan's work. And when we note the little effect produced upon Arminianism by the Synod of Dort, we may well ask what new secret of success has been discovered by the intolerance of to-day. It is undoubtedly possible that modern theology may involve many errors, many false conceptions. But only let full and entire liberty prevail, and whatever is defective both in it and in its rival will disappear in the crucible of free inquiry; and an important step will have been taken towards the constitution of that Church of the Future, in which "all who love the Lord Jesus" shall be made one.

ALBERT REVILLE.

II.—DOMESTIC MISSIONS FROM ANOTHER POINT OF VIEW.

[Some difference of opinion as to the facts and principles stated in the article on Domestic Missions, which appeared in our last number, having been publicly expressed, we have opened our pages to a gentleman whose long and successful experience in connection with Domestic Missions gives him a peculiar title to be heard upon the subject. With the publication of his paper the discussion of the subject will cease.—ED. THEOL. REVIEW.]

THE letter and spirit of the New Testament are so pregnant with regard to the duties of Christians to the poor, that a simple reference to the fact will be in itself sufficient to justify any systematic efforts to fulfil those duties, whether by the instrumentality of Domestic Missions or otherwise. These institutions have been long enough in operation to invite candid criticism as to how far they have succeeded or failed in their Christian purpose. We propose to offer a brief statement to shew that rightly viewed they cannot be considered to have failed; that they meet the wants of a very numerous and very deserving class; and that, as regards that class, the presentation of religion "without controversy," in its devotional rather than in its dogmatic aspects, is, on the whole, the more excellent way.

At the same time, we would lay down no rigid rules in any of these respects, believing that to leave the spirit unfettered in its expression or reception of Christianity, and free in its use of all merely secondary means for the attainment of its sacred ends in reference to the poor, or indeed to any other class, is most in harmony with the method of Christ himself.

There is nothing so likely to cure us of theories about Domestic Missions as having to work at them. We usually begin things with plans—even our religious lives—admirable plans some of them; only the wear and tear of daily exigencies seem to rub them to shreds. Of course we never get so bad as to be living quite without method; still, what we are always finding ourselves most in need of, is the ready and true perception of the best thing to be done just at the right moment. Very little observation, and a not very wide induction, lead to the conviction that many of the evils of poverty are only phenomenal; that they have their real source in the moral condition of the poor; that prevention is better than cure; and that what is chronic in its source requires adequate time for its removal. Accordingly, while here and there, and now and then, the domestic missionary deals with the phenomena by way of present mitigation, he proceeds cautiously and persistently to devise methods which will, he believes, ultimately reach the source, and arrest in whole or in part the issues, which break out in such foul sores in that large portion of the body politic included under the term *poor*. Considerations connected at once with the duty of providing for the wants of the body, and the still higher duty of providing for the wants of the soul, naturally lead to the founding of such institutions as Domestic Missions. They are the offspring of the twofold form of Christian charity. They include in their purpose, they embrace in their means and methods, the whole man—physical, mental, moral, religious; and that purpose and those means and methods will take their form and colour in no small degree from the actual circumstances, the special habits and pursuits, of the poor in any one locality.

The term *poor* is generic, and includes species, varieties and individuals. It embraces a higher, middle and lower class. It includes all those whose resources are barely sufficient in good, and are always insufficient in bad times, to

provide for the necessities of the body ; who are not, therefore, in a condition permanently to maintain their social status ; to whom a bad harvest or any serious disturbance of the trade of the country is a serious calamity. Practically our Domestic Missions have mainly to do with the great middle class of poor ; so far as they have tried, they have all but failed to reach the lower class, or materially to improve their condition. These various classes have their own social distinctions, and are marked off by the same lights and shades which distinguish the higher grades of society. The broad lines which separate the various ranks have their roots in our common human nature, and often serve the valuable purpose of exciting a praiseworthy ambition to rise from a lower to a higher social grade. The methods of Domestic Missions for helping, in the best sense of the word, the numerous class of poor just indicated, will not very materially vary from those employed by any Christian congregation which does not limit its good offices exclusively to its own members, or whose members embrace a fair proportion of the different orders of society as it now exists.

For reasons already assigned in the article on Domestic Missions which appeared in the last number of this Review, as well as others we shall indicate, the original idea of the excellent Dr. Tuckerman has had to undergo considerable modification. His primary conception of the functions of a domestic missionary was that of a minister at large, attached to no particular congregation, and scarcely to any particular denomination. He was to go from house to house, and seek out the lost sheep and bring them back, where possible, to the folds from which they had strayed ; or where they acknowledged no fold and had never known a shepherd, then the minister at large was to make a fold himself and become its shepherd. Like every originator, he was able to succeed where others, who did but imitate him, either failed or succeeded only partially. But Tuckerman soon found the need of institutions to secure what he had gained, and to give permanency to his out-door operations. The sheep which acknowledged no shepherd had to be gathered together at stated times, hence a chapel became necessary ; their children had to be taught, hence followed schools ; provident habits had to be encouraged and nur-

tured, hence means for that purpose had to be adopted. In fact, nearly all the methods of our modern Domestic Missions arose in the natural order, not so much of demand, as of want and supply. The social condition of the poor in England, so different in many respects from that of the poor in such a city as Boston, required a considerable modification of Tuckerman's primary conception. Their vaster numbers, their occupations, their peculiar moral exposures, made it a hopeless task and toil for any one man to encounter the difficulties that beset his daily path. Besides, the field in which Tuckerman moved and laboured was all his own; he had no competitors, he had no rivals. His footsteps were not preceded or followed by city and town missionaries, denouncing his principles, hinting suspicions of his motives, and alarming the half-superstitious fears of the ignorant, to the prejudice of his person and his work. The over-zealous competition for the souls of the people in almost every part of England, the spiritual touting for members to increase the strength of congregations, the actual bribing in many cases of parents and even children to draw them to church or chapel, make house-to-house visiting a most delicate and difficult task; so much so, indeed, as to compel any highminded minister of the poor to withdraw altogether from a competition so odious, and to limit his visits almost exclusively to the homes of those with whom he holds a legitimate connection. No doubt he will, from time to time, invite and labour to persuade the poor to attach themselves to some Christian church; but he will often prefer in his home visits to leave the solemn subject of religion in abeyance where he has grounds for believing that he will simply be regarded as one of a number of Christian visitors who are competing with one another for the people and their children, and who will regard their attendance at church or chapel or school as a *quid pro quo* for temporal gifts present or future. Home visiting is both legitimate and salutary, an indispensable part of every mission, where it is carried on with thoughtful discrimination and with Christian courtesy; in seasons of sickness and bereavement it is peculiarly welcome and opportune. The fruits of such visits cannot be tabulated, are often indeed of a nature too personal and sacred for more than a bare reference; but to the missionary they are

amongst the best evidences that his otherwise monotonous and seemingly barren labours are far from unproductive. It is on such occasions that he finds his poor's purse a very timely means of relief, meeting an immediate pressure perhaps in the shape of rent ; helping some struggling widow to tide over an unexpected difficulty ; or some small trader or street vendor by a timely loan to carry on the occupation by which a large family is barely supplied with its daily bread. It is just possible that our very salutary repugnance to foster habits of pauperism and its usual accompaniments, thriftlessness and intemperance, may impel us towards another extreme—the refusal of all temporal aid ; but Christianity, as we have seen, has its sympathies for the body as well as for the soul ; and if those sympathies are placed under the guidance of experience, observation and the wisdom that cometh from above, free scope may be given to their practical expression, and a rich blessing attend their exercise both to the giver and receiver. The town and city missionaries of the orthodox denominations are left wholly unprovided with means, and in most cases are forbidden to afford temporary relief, so as to leave them free simply to present the spiritual side of Christianity to the poor. But they would hardly say that their efficiency had been thus increased. We know, as a matter of fact, that in winters when sudden and sore distress has prevailed, their general instructions have been relaxed, and they have been permitted to administer such relief as the friends of those missions have furnished. At other times they are compelled to adopt circumlocutory methods for the same object, so difficult do they find it to resist the natural impulses of their own hearts to afford aid to the sick and suffering. In fact, with regard to all such questions, as was said just now, it will not do to get method-bound. In Kinglake's Crimean War there occurs a remark about an excess of military taste being subversive of good soldiery, and we feel sometimes that it is so in more services than one ; if we think overmuch about our mere drill we may lose our efficiency. Indiscriminate giving of course is bad, so is indiscriminate anything ; but what we want the poor to know and feel is the fact that Christian men and women are their backbone friends. And the most successful missionaries, as it appears to us, have neither been those who

have given little or much, but those who have been their most thorough sympathizers and trusted friends—judicious friends, we repeat, but still not friends in words only. To raise men religiously is doubtless the missionary's highest work ; but it is far from being his only work, for even when they are so raised it does not render them poverty-proof for life. Besides, rich men are often busy men ; and they are frequently willing, nay anxious, to distribute ; but what can they do ? How can they go about verifying poor people's claims ? They must trust somebody ; and being practical as well as busy men, they are very naturally apt to trust those who are likely to know most about the matter—they trust ministers and missionaries ; and though of course it must be conceded that mere gratitude is no very high attitude of mind, yet has it no ennobling power ? Indeed it has ; it sometimes rises almost into a religious emotion ; and the tears that have fallen have been no less than filial tears as the sufferer has said, " This help has come from God." This is no imaginary picture ; missionaries witness many such things.

There is, however, another form of moral help which does not certainly rise to the height of religion, but with which the worker amongst the poor has a great deal to do : we mean wise friendship applied to common life. And this is not without its consolations for those who mourn over having done so much less than they longed to do ; in the perhaps incidental discovery that much more than they knew had been done in this lesser direction : how men, for instance, had acquired more Christian views of social relationships ; had imbibed a feeling of confidence and trust, instead of a vulgar democratic envy and suspicion ; had learned to comprehend and practically acknowledge the true principles of political well-being, instead of being swayed by mere personal and selfish interests. Few things, in fact, have done more to soften the political asperities of the working classes, and to render them patient and hopeful of better times, than the opportunities they have thus had of frequent intercourse with men of superior education, known to be sent amongst them and supported by the so-called privileged classes. They have felt how genuine has been the interest manifested in their condition, how earnest and kindly the efforts made for their improvement, how peculiarly this has been the case in regard

to the education of their children. Of one thing they are certain, whatever their own beliefs or unbeliefs may be, that those who profess and call themselves Christians, by whatever name they are otherwise known, are their real friends in thus coming and labouring amongst them so disinterestedly.

Witness, again, as an instance of this lesser order of assistance, in how large a degree these missions help the poor to help themselves. Savings' Banks, Provident Funds, Clothing and Coal Clubs, all self-supporting, are carried on, in some shape or other, at most of our mission stations. One of the largest and most prosperous co-operative societies in the kingdom—that at Liverpool—was presided over by Mr. Wilson during most of the period that he held the office of missionary there, and no small share of its success was owing to the practical wisdom he brought to bear on its proceedings, and the confidence he inspired in its members. In fact, wherever the missionary possesses adequate faculty and taste for his work, he will prove to be a highly efficient agent in carrying out schemes and plans of self-help amongst the poor in particular and the working classes in general, and not less so in his warnings and counsels against deceptive undertakings, against individuals and societies that seek to prey upon their credulity and thoughtlessness. He is thus by the wisdom of sympathy and experience a kind of standing counsel to all who may be led to seek his advice and help, whose only fee is the happiness he feels in being helpful to and trusted by the people whom he serves.

Then, again, in the all-important work of popular education, our Domestic Missions play a by no means undistinguished part. Attached to most, if not to all, of their stations are day-schools, many of them in connection with the Government, Sunday-schools, evening-schools and classes, reading-rooms and lending libraries, with the attraction of popular lectures often given by distinguished men. The day-schools, like all others of the kind throughout the kingdom, receive partial support from the small weekly sums paid by the scholars. The really superior common education afforded by National and British Schools has all but extinguished the small middle-class schools so numerous in bygone years. The Birkbeck self-supporting schools are few and far between, being confined almost exclusively

to the metropolis and a few of the large towns. It would therefore be a vain attempt for any Domestic Mission to establish self-supporting day-schools. They fix their scale of payment at the usual rate, and are therefore only charity-schools in the limited sense in which all the common schools of the country may be so regarded. Their other schools and classes are self-supporting. The teachers, too, are mostly voluntary, and have, many of them, sprung from those with whom the missions are mainly concerned. This is a signal gain in itself, and compensates in some measure for imperfections which must cling to all teaching that comes from minds not specially trained for the purpose. The Sunday-school the missionary finds to be one of his chief aids. It gives him scope for extending his influence to the homes of the children, and helps him to reach and affect the hearts of the parents. Friendly and lasting intimacies between him and them thus spring up, and in time he comes to be viewed and received as a family friend. Very numerous are the instances where he succeeds as an intermediary between children and their first employers, in giving the former their first start in the world; and he often enjoys the after gratification of watching them as they grow up into good citizens of the world and respectable and respected heads of families.

The libraries and reading-rooms connected with the missions are also taking part in the popular education of the working classes. They offer strong counteractions to the sorest temptation to which they are exposed—the noxious excitements associated with the public-house. The libraries are carefully selected, so as to exclude the unwholesome stimulants furnished by the lowest class of sensation literature; and it is not a little remarkable and encouraging to notice the growing taste of the readers for works of the highest order of composition and, not seldom, of the highest style of thought. The popular lecture is another favourite method employed by our missions to supply healthful food and recreation for the minds of the people; and this method farther commends itself to our regard by the fact that it draws to our mission men of high cultivation, often of various religious and political sentiments, who sink both for awhile that they may meet and instruct and often delight large popular audiences by unfolding the ever-growing

beauties of literature and the grand discoveries of science. To an observer and lover of human nature, it is a rich treat to witness the sympathetic mental encounter, so to speak, of such a man as George Dawson and a crowd of working people of the class so often referred to; to see their toil-worn faces break into smiles, to hear their hearty laughter, or notice their eyes suffuse with tenderness, as that masterly popular orator touches their naïve sense of humour or compassion while depicting with Saxon force and directness the sayings and doings, the trials and sufferings, of some hero or heroine of bygone days. Nor scarcely less gratifying is it to mark the catholicity of an institution which can attract to its common platform for popular instruction and amusement such men as Mr. Tom Taylor, the Rev. Paxton Hood, the son of the missionary Williams, Dr. W. B. Carpenter, and many others of varying religious beliefs, without any compromise of honest conviction, or any ostentatious display of religious liberality. Domestic Missions serve in this, as in many other ways, to link together different classes of society, and afford some compensation in our large towns for that healthier natural daily intercourse and interchange of human fellowship and kindly offices for which country districts afford greater facilities.

But the primary aim and purpose of Domestic Missions must undoubtedly be the inculcation of religious truth, the promotion of vital Christianity. The poor do not need any *special* application of religion. Christ and his apostles spoke the same truths to all classes, and in this respect placed all upon an equality. Hence Christianity seeks a grand spiritual unity, and is opposed to sectarian diversities. It forbids Christ's disciples to become followers of Paul or Apollos or Cephas; it recognizes but one spiritual Head and one Christian body fitly joined together. The antagonisms, the controversies of Christians, however necessary for given times and seasons when formalism and dogmatism have weighed down and almost crushed out the life of God in the soul of man, are peculiarly perplexing to uncultivated minds; and the mutual assertions and denials of sects—above all, their often bitter recriminations, tend to breed and foster many of the doubts of the more intelligent of the working classes, and incline others not a little to the religious apathy and atheism too prevalent amongst them.

Dark and irrational dogmas have also this fatal tendency. The want of early religious training among the poor; their habitual companionship with minds of their own stamp; the condition of their homes; their modes of daily life, so little in harmony with nature, so far apart, in our great towns, from its tranquil healthful excitements; above all, their moral subjection to the opinions and prejudices of their own class,—render it peculiarly difficult to bring the great subject of religion so to bear on their moral being, that its power will be felt, recognized and submitted to. A working man religiously wrought upon becomes at once an object of curiosity—becomes, in fact, a marked man—is taunted and ridiculed for any slight inconsistency of conduct as “a chapel-goer.” Again, the home culture of his devotional feelings becomes all but an impossibility. For the poor man, there is literally no privacy, no closet he can enter, the door of which he can shut, and where he may pray to his Father who seeth in secret. Taking all these things into account, Christianity needs to be presented to him under its peculiarly devotional aspects. Meeting his fellow-worshippers rarely more than once a week,—needing religion as a power to raise, quicken, strengthen, comfort him,—it would seem at once to be the more excellent way to present it to his mind and heart without controversy. Of course occasions do sometimes arise in which minds otherwise constituted may feel the need of more distinctly enunciated opinions, when it is natural to a man to speak of those specific thoughts which have been most helpful to his own mind; but perhaps personal private converse would generally be the better method for this: for most minds, the attitude, or rather habit, of worship is the great thing they need. And thus a hymn-book embracing the rich devotional utterances of all times and churches becomes the truest manual of devotion. The hymn-book of Wesley has done far more to diffuse and deepen his views than his own rather bald sermons, or the ablest preaching of his preachers. There is something truly inspiring in the fervid though not always refined singing of a crowded congregation of the classes that compose the majority of Wesleyan congregations. The preaching, too, though often turning upon dogmas, is almost always designed to meet and satisfy the spiritual yearnings of the people. Preaching

diversified by parables and illustrations, after the model of our Lord's, would be just the kind to win the hearts of the multitude. It should often rise into poetry, should not disdain homely anecdote, should flow in currents of true feeling, yet always be in harmony with the solemn themes of life, death and immortality. Now all this may exist without dogma and without moral platitudes. Surely the religion of such a book as most of our churches now possess in "*Hymns for the Christian Church and Home*," is neither dogmatic nor simply ethical. And where it is at all possible to ascend to the heights to which its lofty strains would carry the worshiper, the minister in the pulpit may be regarded as favoured in no common measure with one of God's greatest spiritual gifts if it be in his power so to ascend and carry his hearers with him. If he fails, his ambition is laudable, and his purpose and his efforts cannot but awaken in himself and them something of the feelings and aspirations which constitute the essence of true worship. Nor does he cease to be a theologian by his adoption of a course like this. Every affirmation he makes about God and Christ, and man and eternity, partakes of the nature of theology. Only let them be the affirmations of his own convictions, springing from his own deeply-moved being, uttered and urged with all the intensity that belongs to one who is *moved* by the same spirit that spoke in prophets and apostles, and that filled the Son of Man without measure. Such a preacher may justly regard it as an irreverent presumption to claim convictions of this order exclusively for his own or for any other denomination. Nor is he fairly chargeable with suppressing any views of truth that should be given to the people if from time to time he gives affirmative expositions of the sacred Scriptures, dealing with the text as he finds it, in reverent freedom, but always in subordination to the transcendent end of divine worship. Nor, if tested by results, do we believe that such a method will prove ineffective in at once fostering the religious life of one class and awakening it in others; while it may prove peculiarly applicable to the condition of sceptics and unbelievers. Indeed, it is noteworthy how comparatively few of the sceptical and secular order of minds are won to faith in God and Christ through any simply controversial or dogmatic process. As a very general rule, any religious change

in them is produced, in the first instance, by an instinctive yearning of the soul for its Infinite Object, awakened by some afflictive providence, or by the quiet or active sympathy of the Christian spirit of others. Two popular sceptical lecturers are known to us as now members of the church of Mr. Maurice, won by him in the first instance by his efforts to found and to carry on the People's College. The well-known Thomas Cooper, a man of remarkable popular gifts, has turned away from Secularism and become a Baptist; Bebington, another Secularist lecturer, has also renounced that dismal system; and Joseph Barker has quite recently avowed a similar change and returned to his first love. In all these, and in many such cases, when the reaction begins in the soul against Atheism or Secularism, it is usually borne to some other extreme, and rarely does it rest in any *via media* of liberal Christianity. Theology in itself, however clear, definite and rational, is insufficient to meet the passionate longings of the religious instincts when once they have been aroused and impelled to seek their Source, the living God. Usually the views inculcated in childhood by religious parents, and afterwards fostered by religious companionship and church fellowship, predominate and are gladly embraced. It is also notorious that where these instincts have not been quickened and fostered by liberal views and forms of Christianity, the latter are abandoned for others associated with the devotional aids and excitements that prevail in the so-called orthodox churches. Facts like these may well be pleaded by those ministers or missionaries who long for a warmer, a more devotional, and a less dogmatic presentation of Christianity, as better fitted to meet the wants of the soul, as indeed the atmosphere in which it can best live, move and have its being. But the truth is, no definite rule can be laid down, no one course prescribed, in a matter so peculiarly individual as that of teaching Christianity. Profound reverence of heart and true spiritual freedom combined will be the teacher's best guide in a sphere so sacred as the office he holds. Hence that freedom must be the life and health of our mission and other pulpits; and neither negatively nor affirmatively should any rule be enforced by churches or committees to limit the scope of their minister's or missionary's pulpit teaching. Some well-understood general harmony of views

ought of course to exist between them. The confidence reposed by the one in the other should not be abused by any violation of that harmony; and where any materially wide divergence arises friendly explanations should be given, or a friendly termination of their connection should take place.

The office of domestic missionary is one beset by peculiar difficulties, and therefore needing for the right discharge of its manifold duties special aptitudes. In a very practical sense, he must be all things to all men. The people with whom he has mainly to do, though often manifesting many noble virtues and Christian graces, are rarely capable of magnanimity. All their habits and surroundings tend to limit the range of their ideas and sympathies, and render them peculiarly liable to prejudice and misconception. They are singularly sensitive to anything wearing even the appearance of neglect. They are full of partialities and partizan feelings, and many of them as froward at times as wilful children. Great patience and forbearance, therefore, are needed by one who mixes habitually with them with the unselfish object of improving their social, moral and religious condition. He must make very large allowances for peculiarities which naturally spring from their circumstances, if he would escape painful irritations and sore disappointments. He must often look for moral failure even where he has bestowed much care: sad lapses into forsaken sins; half-subdued tempers and passions suddenly kindled into their ancient heat; fickle changes of feeling towards himself and his work,—these and kindred things trouble him, and reveal at once the many unpromising aspects connected with his labours, and his own personal insufficiency to cope with them. No one will at times be more ready than he to acknowledge failure, if tested by his ideal and his aims. On the other hand, he has what may be as truly termed successes. After many days or rather years, he finds the bread cast upon the waters sometimes richly productive. He notes spiritual and moral growth here and there; he wins and secures confidence, affection, and even co-operation; and the blessings of those who were ready to perish he often enjoys with a profound sense of gratitude to God and quickened resolution to perseverance. It is a mistake to suppose that he must be for ever on his guard against deception and

assume the manners of a detective. The cases are rare where attempts are made to play upon his credulity and his sympathies, still rarer to betray the trust he reposes in the people who habitually look up to him for counsel, help and comfort. "The wisdom of love" is fully adequate for his guidance under all circumstances, and is the one thing needful to give him suitable qualification for his office.

Our missions and churches as at present constituted should be regarded as tentative. A church that really gathered or blended *all* classes into one fold, would, so far, present a true ideal of a Christian church. Their present aspects and operations result in great part from the special conditions of modern society and the prevalent religious modes and forms almost universally sanctioned by custom and tradition. A richer and deeper Christian life will in due time externalize itself in other forms and methods. Meanwhile we can but wisely adapt ourselves to men and things as we find them, and labour on in faith and hope, until it shall please God to honour and reward our Christian fidelity by favouring us with more light and grace to help us in our good works, while we humbly acknowledge Him to be their source, and give to Him the glory and the praise.

C. L. C.

III.—AUTHORITY AND FREE THOUGHT: DR. NEWMAN'S APOLOGY.

1. *A Correspondence on the Question whether Dr. Newman teaches that Truth is no Virtue.* Longmans. 1864.
2. "*What then does Dr. Newman mean?*" *A Reply to a Pamphlet lately published by Dr. Newman.* By the Rev. Charles Kingsley. London: Macmillan. 1864.
3. *Apologia pro Vita sua: being a Reply to a Pamphlet entitled "What then does Dr. Newman mean?"* By John Henry Newman, D.D. Parts I.—VII., with Appendix. Longmans. 1864.
4. *Phases of Faith, or Passages from the History of my Creed.* By Francis William Newman. London: Chapman. 1850.

FEW Englishmen of what may be called the later Elizabethan age of our national literature stand out so distinctly

to the imagination of the student as two remarkable men who, though children of the same father and mother, are yet hardly known as brothers ;—Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, the first of the English Deists, and George Herbert of Bemerton, the poet of “The Temple.” Nor do they live only in their religious writings. Lord Herbert of Cherbury has embalmed his own memory in the singular autobiography which was first printed by Horace Walpole at his private press at Strawberry Hill. George Herbert has been most lovingly portrayed in one of those five exquisite biographies which still endear the name of Isaak Walton to many who have no care for angling. In the life of either brother we hear little of the other ; their paths were as far apart as could well be. The elder, married at fifteen, in order to enlarge the family inheritance, to a cousin six years older than himself, went to Oxford, accompanied by wife and mother ; expatiated there over a far wider field of learning than was afforded by the common studies of the place ; came to the great world of London when not yet nineteen ; was patted on the cheek by Queen Elizabeth, swearing her usual oath that “ ’twas pity he was married so young ; ” was made a Knight of the Bath by King James ; and at last, finding that the austere pride of his virtue could not remain untarnished in that corrupt court, bade adieu to his wife, much against her will, and went in search of adventures beyond sea. His first visit to France was one of pleasure only ; afterwards we find him acting as a volunteer in the innumerable wars of the Low Countries ; fighting duels for any fancied point of honour ; needlessly hazarding his life to maintain the reputation of English courage ; displaying a singular fearlessness in the supreme moment of danger ; shewing himself at all points noble, courteous, capable, and yet somewhat arrogant and obstinate too. He maintained the same character in many subsequent transactions at home and abroad ; now defending himself successfully against hired assassins in Whitehall ; now putting himself forward in answer to a braggart challenge from the Spanish army ; now risking his life in the river Usk to save a drowning servant ; now leaping a refractory horse over the parapet of a bridge into the stream below. At last, after many wars and much travel, in which he shewed himself always ready to fly from the somewhat uncongenial atmo-

sphere of home to the rescue of any distressed potentate, he was sent as ambassador to France, the culminating point of his fortunes. Here it was that the philosopher who maintained the needlessness of all revelation, asked for a direct act of revelation to authorize the publication of the book in which he proved his thesis; and hearing, in answer to his prayer, "a loud, though yet gentle noise, coming from the heavens—for it was like nothing on earth"—believed that he had received it. At this point the autobiography breaks off, and of his subsequent life we know but little. In the great civil war he characteristically threw his sword into the scale of the Parliament, but took no conspicuous part in the contest, and is not even named by Clarendon. He died in 1633, in the very crisis of his country's fate, a stern, self-centred, self-reliant man; assuredly more feared and honoured than beloved; living two lives in one—a soldier and a diplomatist with Spinola and Montmorenci, a religious philosopher with Grotius;—and, as the records of his private prayer testify, able and wont to speak face to face with God.

For the single common quality which, so far as can now be discerned, bound these two brothers together, was the possession of that faculty of spiritual insight which in its noblest form comes to no man except by birthright. Yet nothing could be more diverse than the phases of its development in each. The one sought to establish the cardinal truths of religion on a basis independent of revelation, the other was a Churchman and a ritualist of the school of Laud. It is difficult to tell in brief the story of George Herbert's life; the events are so few, the picture dependent for its effect so much more upon colour than upon motive or action. He was his parents' fifth son; twelve years younger than his eldest brother. From Westminster School he was chosen to a scholarship at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he pursued the usual studies with success, being elected Fellow of his College, and, in 1619, Public Orator of the University. The office was then something more than an opportunity for the display of a courtly Latinity; it led directly to political employment; one of Herbert's predecessors had been made Secretary of State, another, Secretary to the unhappy Elizabeth of Bohemia, "the Queen of Hearts." For eight years George Herbert

filled this place to the great content not only of the University, but of the pedant upon the throne: but preferment came not, and with the death of James died all his hopes. Solitary and sick at heart, he gave up, at a fortunate moment for his own fame and happiness, all thoughts of the court, and resolved to take orders. His ecclesiastical career was brief indeed; yet long enough to make him the special saint of the Anglican Church, the typical priest, as Ken is the typical bishop. His scant preferment was the Prebend of Layton Ecclesia in the diocese of Lincoln,—where he spent far more than his official income in rebuilding the parish church,—and afterwards the rectory of Bemerton, a village about a mile from Salisbury. Here he lived for something less than three years—one instance the more to shew how narrow a field of manifestation is needed by the highest excellence; how “in short measure life may perfect be.” We have no directly theological works from his hand, but his poetry sufficiently shews the school of Churchmanship to which he belonged. He recoiled from Puritanism as far as it was possible to go. A poet and a musician, he delighted in the material aids to devotion afforded by a splendid ritual. He was the friend of Nicholas Farrer, who at his house of Little Gidding, in Huntingdonshire, established and presided over a kind of Protestant monastery. At the beginning of the 17th century an impassable gulf yawned between Canterbury and Rome; no Englishman could become a Catholic without at the same time turning traitor. But had he been born in our age, George Herbert would have flung himself heart and soul into the Tractarian reaction, would have contributed his verses to the *Lyra Apostolica*, and might not impossibly have followed Dr. Newman into the ancient Church. *Then* there could be no wider divergence than actually existed between the philosophical Deist and the Anglican priest. And yet the brothers, thus standing at opposite poles of religious thought, are united in a common obedience and a common piety. Strange that one should be familiarly known to all after generations as “Holy George Herbert,” that the other should be thus apostrophized by the first of living poets, “rare Ben Jonson:”

If men get name for some one virtue, then
What man art thou, that art so many men,
All-virtuous Herbert!

A strange parallel to the divergence of the Herberts is presented by the career of two living brothers—John Henry and Francis William Newman. Each has won for himself a name in literature; each has exercised a strong personal influence upon his generation; the character of each stands high above reproach. We have no intention of instituting an elaborate comparison between them, or of estimating their relative weight in the religious movement of our time; we admit at once that, in the actual sequence of events, Dr. Newman has played a more distinguished part than his younger brother, and that he probably would have done so had their religious history been the reverse of what it is. It is more to our present purpose to point out that we now possess singular facilities of tracing that religious history from its identical commencement in the earlier and nobler phase of Evangelical theology to its termination at the antipodes of belief. Mr. F. W. Newman has long ago told the world in his "Phases of Faith" how his naturally restless and critical intellect began to pick holes in the Articles not long after he had first signed them; how first one and then another assumption of the Evangelical system proved upon examination to be baseless; how a more serious difficulty about infant baptism settled itself in his mind; how, again signing the Articles upon taking his Bachelor's degree, he nevertheless began to suspect that he could never enter the ministry of the Church; how, gradually and half-unconsciously growing out of harmony with the form of orthodoxy in which he had been brought up, he found to his bitter amazement that he was losing all his hold upon Christian fellowship too; till, being thus thrown back upon himself and God, he pursued his onward way with the steadier resolution; and, Calvinism, Trinitarianism, biblical infallibility, one by one renounced, came at last to what some critics would call the outskirts, others the citadel of religion,—a simple belief in the existence of a personal God, in communion with whom the human soul finds the source of its truest strength, the satisfaction of its worthiest desire. A happy accident has now induced his brother to make a similar autobiographical confession. For the first time the clouds, not only of necessary public ignorance, but of grave moral suspicion which had obscured his career, have been dissipated; and we can trace the processes of thought which led him, a willing neophyte, into the outstretched arms of

Rome. No more suggestive or instructive book than Dr. Newman's "*Apologia pro Vita sua*" has appeared within our memory. In the following pages we shall not attempt the impossible task of discussing the manifold questions which it directly or indirectly raises; but shall content ourselves with indicating the general outline of its statements, and briefly comparing its results with those attained in the "*Phases of Faith*."

Dr. Newman's *Apology* owes its origin to an article on Mr. Froude's *History of the Reign of Elizabeth*, published by the Rev. Charles Kingsley in the January number of *Macmillan's Magazine*. In this paper Mr. Kingsley, flinging firebrands of rhetoric right and left with more than even his usual recklessness, said, in the course of a vehement attack upon the Catholic Church: "Truth for its own sake had never been a virtue with the Roman clergy. Father Newman informs us that it need not, and on the whole ought not to be," and so forth. In a former number we have given a brief account of the correspondence which arose out of this assertion, and in which Dr. Newman, while not discussing the general question of the moral teaching of Catholicism in regard to the obligation of truth, held up Mr. Kingsley to scorn and ridicule as having made a *personal* accusation which he was unable to substantiate. Dr. Newman had so much the best of the fight, and received so unanimous an applause from critics of every class, that Mr. Kingsley's combative instincts were roused to the production of the pamphlet the title of which we have placed at the head of this article. It is long, vehement, almost savage; and although again evading the special personal question to which in the previous correspondence Dr. Newman had rightly sought to confine him, and expatiating over the whole of his opponent's public teaching, does, it must be confessed, produce a general impression prejudicial, if not to Dr. Newman's personal veracity, yet to the truthfulness and honesty of the theological and ecclesiastical system of which he now professes himself the servant. In one word, the virtue of truthfulness occupies a more conspicuous place in Protestant than in Catholic systems of ethics. Dr. Newman admits this; all Englishmen more or less consciously feel it; and Mr. Kingsley has clothed in characteristic garb the general belief of his countrymen.

To which Dr. Newman in effect replies—"This accusation of trickery, deceit, evasiveness, practical and verbal unverity, is no new thing to me. I have silently borne with it for many years ; for I have felt the impossibility of satisfactorily repelling it. So soon as I meet one charge by statement and argument, another rises up in its place : of many words there is no end and no result. But now it seems as if my countrymen would listen to me with impartial ears : I will simply tell the tale of my religious life as accurately as I can ; and Mr. Kingsley may judge whether I am a liar or no." Hence, then, the series of pamphlets to which he has given the title of "*Apology for my Life*."

The first impression made upon the mind of any unprejudiced reader of this narrative will be, that all charges against Dr. Newman's personal sincerity and veracity must henceforth be abandoned as unsustainable. He traces the steps of his gradual approach to Rome with such manifest fidelity, explains so clearly why he halted at this point or made an onward movement at that, unconsciously exhibits throughout the whole so complete a consistency of motive and mental habit, as to cover with ridicule any theory of deliberate Jesuitism, or even of distinct foresight of the goal towards which he was nevertheless advancing. Only Dr. M'Neile or Dr. Cumming, whose minds are in a state of what the Roman Catholic Church charitably calls "invincible ignorance" as to the possibility of a sincere religious development other than their own, will refuse credence to the testimony of this *Apology*. But, at the same time, it is impaired by all the necessary defects of an autobiography. Men are seldom accurate judges of themselves : apart from any distorting influences of vanity or shame, they theorize upon their own, as upon others' characters, and often as mistakenly : they are peculiarly liable, in regard to their own history, to interpret the past by the present ; and their work is at best the history of events from a single, fixed point of view. As a narrative of the Tractarian movement, in that phase of it with which no one can be so well acquainted as Dr. Newman—its rise, growth and decay in his own mind—this *Apology* is of the greatest possible value. But it is no more than a contribution to the general history of the Anglican reaction. Whenever that is written, we shall want to know not only what impression other men made

upon Dr. Newman, but what image of himself he stamped upon them. Even in this subjective history it is not difficult to detect the points at which, either from the force of circumstances or the peculiarities of his own character, he must have appeared something less than candid to the common judgment of mankind.

Dr. Newman begins by telling us that he was brought up from a child to take great delight in reading the Bible, but that although he had "of course perfect knowledge of his Catechism," he had no formed religious convictions till he was fifteen. Even at this early age, however, some rudiments of Catholic faith and practice, derived he knows not whence, hung about him. He used to cross himself when he went into the dark. He finds on the first page of his first Latin verse-book a figure of a cross, and underneath it a rude drawing of something like a rosary. At fifteen years of age, however, a great change took place.

"I fell under the influences of a definite Creed, and received into my intellect impressions of dogma, which, through God's mercy, have never been effaced or obscured. Above and beyond the conversations and sermons of the excellent man, long dead, who was the human means of this beginning of divine faith in me, was the effect of the books which he put into my hands, all of the school of Calvin. One of the first books I read, was a work of Romaine's; I neither recollect the title nor the contents, except one doctrine, which of course I do not include among those which I believe to have come from a divine source, viz. the doctrine of final perseverance. I received it at once, and believed that the inward conversion of which I was conscious, (and of which I still am more certain than that I have hands and feet,) would last into the next life, and that I was elected to eternal glory. I have no consciousness that this belief had any tendency whatever to lead me to be careless about pleasing God. I retained it till the age of twenty-one, when it gradually faded away; but I believe that it had some influence on my opinions, in the direction of those childish imaginations which I have already mentioned, viz. in isolating me from the objects which surrounded me, in confirming me in my mistrust of the reality of material phenomena, and making me rest in the thought of two and two only supreme and luminously self-evident beings, myself and my Creator;—for while I considered myself predestined to salvation, I thought others simply passed over, not predestined to eternal death. I only thought of the mercy to myself."—Pp. 58, 59.

In another passage from a different part of the narrative, Dr. Newman expresses himself thus strongly upon the identification of religion with dogmatic theological belief :

"From the age of fifteen, dogma has been the fundamental principle of my religion : I know no other religion ; I cannot enter into the idea of any other sort of religion ; religion, as a mere sentiment, is to me a dream and a mockery. As well can there be filial love without the fact of a father, as devotion without the fact of a Supreme Being. What I held in 1816, I held in 1833, and I hold in 1864. Please God, I shall hold it to the end. Even when I was under Dr. Whately's influence, I had no temptation to be less zealous for the great dogmas of the faith, and at various times I used to resist such trains of thought on his part, as seemed to me (rightly or wrongly) to obscure them."—Pp. 120, 121.

And indeed his mental history from the moment of his conversion may be described as a perpetual enlargement of belief. While his brother needs but to look at a doctrine to find in it some flaw, which presently widens into a fatal defect, he welcomes every fresh demand upon his faith, and clasps the new dogma to his heart. Not, indeed, that it is not necessary for him sometimes to enter upon a different path of dogmatic development—as, for instance, when he passed from the Evangelical to the Sacramental party—but his transitions are gradual and not altogether conscious, while he has a strange art of reconciling that which he gains with what to ordinary apprehension he seems to lose. First of all we hear of his meditating a reverential pilgrimage to the parsonage of Thomas Scott ; of his hanging upon the lips of Daniel Wilson ; of his being convinced by "Newton on the Prophecies" that the Pope was Antichrist. Then there is a mysterious feeling—partly belonging, we think, to the same order of phenomena as the cross and rosary in the exercise-book—that it was the will of God that he should lead a single life, "an anticipation which has held its ground almost continuously ever since." By and bye he learns the principles of accurate thinking from Dr. Whately, under whom, as Principal of St. Alban Hall, he served as Vice-Principal and Tutor. A book of Dr. Sumner's—afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury—teaches him baptismal regeneration ; Dr. Hawkins, Provost of Oriel College, introduces him to tradition as a source of Christian truth ; and the Rev.

William James, "about the year 1823, taught" him "the doctrine of apostolical succession in the course of a walk round Christchurch meadow."* But, in truth, there is a certain kind of intellectual food which his mind receives and assimilates from almost every source. For instance, he learns from Butler's Analogy that the material is "economically or sacramentally connected" with the spiritual system of the universe, and that probability is the guide of life; while Whately imparts to him the fruitful idea of the Church "as a substantive body or corporation," and "the anti-Erastian views of Church polity" afterwards characteristic of Tractarianism. It is plain that by this time we are far from Evangelicism and Romaine, although we hardly know how the transition has been effected. No more will be heard of a pilgrimage to Aston Sandford. Daniel Wilson has ceased to be a prophet.

We regretfully pass over Dr Newman's vivid reminiscences of his fellow-workers in the Tractarian movement: we cannot even attempt to characterize that movement itself. But we pause at the moment when, in conjunction with Richard Hurrell Froude and John Keble, he is laying the foundation in his mind of what were afterwards known as Anglican principles, to allude to a theory which has long had some currency, that Dr. Newman's tendency towards Rome was the result of a recoil from theological liberalism. There is but little in these pages to support this view. One or two passages might indeed be quoted in its defence,—passages which leave upon the mind a vague impression of hiding more than they reveal. He says in one place, that Mr. Blanco White led him "to have freer views on the subject of inspiration than were usual in the Church of England at the time."† In another, he speaks of moving "out of the shadow of liberalism which had hung over his course."‡ But if this narrative is to be accepted as a trustworthy record of his mental history, there is no proof that he ever consciously doubted or disbelieved any of the cardinal doctrines of the Church. And yet, if we read his story rightly, this theory, however it may have assumed an unauthorized garb of fact, is nevertheless the key to all its development. This Evangelical neophyte, this Anglican divine, this Roman

* P. 67.

† P. 65.

‡ P. 87.

Catholic Oratorian, who "falls under the influence of a definite creed" at fifteen, who from every fresh friend learns a fresh dogma, who meekly receives in his old age the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, hangs ever on the verge of scepticism. As a child he doubts the reality of the material universe ; as a man he professes that his only certainty is of the existence of God and of himself. Read his last utterance : it contains the essence of his belief at every period of his life :

"People say that the doctrine of Transubstantiation is difficult to believe ; I did not believe the doctrine till I was a Catholic. I had no difficulty in believing it as soon as I believed that the Catholic Roman Church was the oracle of God, and that she had declared this doctrine to be part of the original revelation. It is difficult, impossible to imagine, I grant—but how is it difficult to believe ? Yet Macaulay thought it so difficult to believe, that he had need of a believer in it of talents as eminent as Sir Thomas More, before he could bring himself to conceive that the Catholics of an enlightened age could resist 'the overwhelming force of the argument against it.' 'Sir Thomas More,' he says, 'is one of the choice specimens of wisdom and virtue ; and the doctrine of transubstantiation is a kind of proof charge. A faith which stands that test, will stand any test.' But for myself, I cannot indeed prove it, I cannot tell *how* it is ; but I say, 'Why should not it be ? What's to hinder it ? What do I know of substance or matter ? just as much as the greatest philosophers, and that is nothing at all ;'—so much is this the case, that there is a rising school of philosophy now, which considers phenomena to constitute the whole of our knowledge in physics. The Catholic doctrine leaves phenomena alone. It does not say that the phenomena go ; on the contrary, it says that they remain : nor does it say that the same phenomena are in several places at once. It deals with what no one on earth knows anything about, the material substances themselves. And, in like manner, of that majestic Article of the Anglican as well as of the Catholic Creed,—the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity. What do I know of the Essence of the Divine Being ? I know that my abstract idea of three is simply incompatible with my idea of one ; but when I come to the question of concrete fact, I have no means of proving that there is not a sense in which one and three can equally be predicated of the Incommunicable God."—Pp. 374—376.

It is not merely that there are difficulties in connection with this article of faith and that, but that the human mind

stands in an unreal relation to knowledge altogether. "Que sçai-je?" was Montaigne's motto; and upon the implied confession of human ignorance and incapacity which furnished the text for the moralist's half melancholy jesting, Pascal erected a system of Christian evidence. Dr. Newman's method is substantially the same. If we set out, each on his private journey of investigation, in hope of finally seeing eye to eye with infinite realities, we find that, outside of our own consciousness, there is no safe foothold: we know that we exist, but that is all: the whole round world may be a delusion, the simplest facts of experience only a part of the show. What refuge from the all-devouring flood of scepticism, but the island of Authority, the Church founded upon a rock? We may believe upon the faith of another what we cannot prove for ourselves: the work of reason is restricted to the investigation of the teacher's credentials. And so the same gravitating force of a restless intellect may urge two minds, from the same starting-point of faith, in exactly opposite directions: the one seeking Truth in the fearless exercise of its own powers, the other perpetually imploring an asylum from its own questionings under the calm shadow of Authority. The Rhone and the Rhine have their topmost springs in the icy depths of one glacier, which pours its waters on the one hand to wash the sacred shores of Rome, on the other to mingle with the colder seas which fret the German Ocean.

About the year 1828, Dr. Newman, already full of his new thoughts, resumed the systematic study of the Fathers, the first fruits of which was his work on "The Arians of the Fourth Century." At the same time he seized upon the important conception—probably in the works of Bishop Bull—that "Antiquity was the true exponent of the doctrines of Christianity and the basis of the Church of England;" a thought which, as we shall see, long enabled him to withstand the attractions of the Church of Rome. Then it was, too, that a series of practical forces struck upon his mind, converting the retired student, who far less invited than shrank from companionship and the exercise of personal influence, into the leader of a party. But the story is best told in his own words:

"While I was engaged in writing my work upon the Arians, great events were happening at home and abroad, which brought

out into form and passionate expression the various beliefs which had so gradually been winning their way into my mind. Shortly before, there had been a Revolution in France; the Bourbons had been dismissed: and I believed that it was unchristian for nations to cast off their governors, and, much more, sovereigns who had the divine right of inheritance. Again, the great Reform Agitation was going on around me as I wrote. The Whigs had come into power; Lord Grey had told the Bishops to set their house in order, and some of the Prelates had been insulted and threatened in the streets of London. The vital question was how were we to keep the Church from being liberalized? there was such apathy on the subject in some quarters, such imbecile alarm in others; the true principles of Churchmanship seemed so radically decayed, and there was such distraction in the Councils of the Clergy..... With the Establishment thus divided and threatened, thus ignorant of its true strength, I compared that fresh vigorous power of which I was reading in the first centuries. In her triumphant zeal on behalf of that Primeval Mystery, to which I had had so great a devotion from my youth, I recognized the movement of my Spiritual Mother. 'Incessu patuit Dea.' The self-conquest of her Ascetics, the patience of her Martyrs, the irresistible determination of her Bishops, the joyous swing of her advance, both exalted and abashed me. I said to myself, 'Look on this picture and on that;' I felt affection for my own Church, but not tenderness; I felt dismay at her prospects, anger and scorn at her do-nothing perplexity. I thought that if Liberalism once got a footing within her, it was sure of the victory in the event. I saw that Reformation principles were powerless to rescue her. As to leaving her, the thought never crossed my imagination; still I ever kept before me that there was something greater than the Established Church, and that that was the Church Catholic and Apostolic, set up from the beginning, of which she was but the local presence and organ. She was nothing, unless she was this. She must be dealt with strongly, or she would be lost. There was need of a second Reformation."—Pp. 93—95.

A journey to Italy in company with Hurrell Froude seemed by many fortuitous circumstances to deepen the impression upon his mind that the time was come for action, and that he himself was marked out by Providence as a foremost defender of the Church.* The Sunday after his

* It was on his return from Italy, as the ship was becalmed in the Straits of Bonifacio, that, animated by these feelings and hopes, he wrote the well-known verses, "Lead, kindly Light."

return, July 14, 1833, Mr. Keble preached in the University pulpit an assize sermon, afterwards published under the title of "National Apostacy." This was, in Dr. Newman's view, "the start of the religious movement of 1833."

The consciousness of having a work to do infused such new health and vigour into the man, that his friends hardly knew him. And he bent to it with a certain recklessness of strength which shewed itself on one side in a fierce intolerance, on the other in a carelessness as to methods of action, the confession of which lends some justification to Mr. Kingsley's indictment. The intolerance is a phenomenon unhappily not peculiar to any single religious reaction; the carelessness deserves to be recorded in Dr. Newman's own words as a curious study of character:

"I wished men to agree with me, and I walked with them step by step, as far as they would go; this I did sincerely; but if they would stop, I did not much care about it, but walked on, with some satisfaction that I had brought them so far. I liked to make them preach the truth without knowing it, and encouraged them to do so. It was a satisfaction to me that the Record had allowed me to say so much in its columns, without remonstrance. I was amused to hear of one of the Bishops, who, on reading an early Tract on the Apostolical Succession, could not make up his mind whether he held the doctrine or not. I was not distressed at the wonder or anger of dull and self-conceited men, at propositions which they did not understand. When a correspondent, in good faith, wrote to a newspaper, to say that the 'Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist,' spoken of in the Tract, was a false print for 'Sacrament,' I thought the mistake too pleasant to be corrected before I was asked about it. I was not unwilling to draw an opponent on step by step to the brink of some intellectual absurdity, and to leave him to get back as he could. I was not unwilling to play with a man, who asked me impertinent questions. I think I had in my mouth the words of the Wise man, 'Answer a fool according to his folly,' especially if he was prying or spiteful. I was reckless of the gossip which was circulated about me; and, when I might easily have set it right, did not deign to do so. Also I used irony in conversation, when matter-of-fact men would not see what I meant.

"This kind of behaviour was a sort of habit with me. If I have ever trifled with my subject, it was a more serious fault. I never used arguments which I saw clearly to be unsound."—
Pp. 114, 115.

But the important point is the stage of religious thought which Dr. Newman had now reached. He defines three propositions which he most confidently held. The "first was the principle of dogma : my battle was with liberalism : by liberalism I meant the anti-dogmatic principle and its developments. . . . I have changed in many things ; in this I have not."* "Secondly, I was confident in the truth of a certain definite religious teaching, based upon this foundation of dogma, viz., that there was a visible Church with sacraments and rites which are the channels of invisible grace. I thought that this was the doctrine of Scripture, of the early Church, and of the Anglican Church. Here, again, I have not changed in opinion : I am as certain now on this point as I was in 1833, and have never ceased to be certain."† But then, in the third place, although his feelings of prejudice against the Catholic Church had been weakened since the time when his youthful zeal had rashly identified it with Antichrist, he still "thought the Church of Rome was bound up with the cause of Antichrist by the Council of Trent. . . . Moreover, at least during the Tract movement, I thought the essence of her offence to consist in the honours which she paid to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints ; and the more I grew in devotion, both to the Saints and to Our Lady, the more impatient was I at the Roman practices, as if those glorified creations of God must be gravely shocked, if pain could be theirs, at the undue veneration of which they were the objects."‡ And in this view he felt perfectly safe on the Roman Catholic side. The Anglican system was impregnable to any assault from that quarter. "I felt such confidence in the substantial justice of the charges which I advanced against Rome, that I considered them to be a safeguard and an assurance that no harm could ever arise from the freest exposition of what I called Anglican principles. All the world was astonished at what Froude and I were saying : men said that it was sheer Popery. I answered, 'True, we seem to be making straight for it ; but go on awhile, and you will come to a deep chasm across the path, which makes real approximation impossible.'"§ In short, the new "way" was, as its admirers called it, a *via media*, in which they who walked

* P. 120.

† P. 121.

‡ P. 125.

§ P. 128.

were equally safe from Giant Pope, and that new Giant of Liberalism, who was happily unknown to honest John Bunyan.

Yet it is plain to be seen, as no doubt Dr. Newman himself sees now, that in the adoption of these principles all his subsequent course was logically involved. Their practical force is concentrated in the second, through which he virtually passed from the Protestant to the Catholic side of the great controversy, even though a longer experience was needed to inform him of his real place. For the true Protestant theory maintains the possibility of immediate and efficient communication, without the intervention of priests, sacraments or mediators, between the human soul and its God, and looks upon all ecclesiastical rites, ordinances, arrangements, as nothing higher than lawful devices to assist the weakness of the worshipping spirit in securing this communication. And although we can conceive of an invisible church of the faithful, discerned as one in the consciousness of God, and knit together in the sense of a common relation to Him, all visible churches are truly voluntary associations, not enjoying in virtue of their incorporation any closer communion with Heaven, but finding the essence of their religiousness in the individual religious life of their members. So that a Christian disciple who passes from isolation to church fellowship, only gains by the change whatever glow may be added to his fervour by the consciousness that he is one of many brethren, or by the actual influence of their hearts upon his own: his fundamental relation to God and to spiritual realities remains precisely what it was before: there is no nearer way to the Divine footstool than is open to every soul that stands beneath the overarching sky. Whereas the Catholic theory (held unconsciously or in part by many sincere Protestants) is, that there exists upon earth a visible Church, founded by Christ, confirmed by the Apostles, taught by the Fathers, hallowed by the Saints, watered by the blood of the Martyrs, out of communion with which it is impossible to please God; that divine grace descends upon human weakness only by the channel of sacraments and ceremonies performed by duly ordained priests; that the common access of praise and thanksgiving and penitence to God is thus not natural, but supernatural; and that this door of prayer alone is open,

all others closed evermore to the most importunate pleadings of human want. And while Protestantism, logically conceived, drives the worshiper back upon himself to determine in every needful way his personal relation to God, and throws upon him the responsibility of permanently maintaining that relation upon the highest possible ground,—all that the Catholic has to do is to satisfy himself which among many claimants is the True Church, and then to submit himself to her guidance. Granting the existence of such a Church, having such functions and prerogatives as Dr. Newman enumerates, what long hesitation can there be? Once substitute for the personal search for God and his truth, the investigation into the “notes” of the true Church,—for the flight of pious aspiration and the calm information of a manly judgment, the inquiry into Catholicity, Antiquity, Authority,—and every road leads to Rome. So, in truth, Dr. Newman found. He tries during many weary years to prove that the English Church might be such a Church as he describes. He has to invent for her a theology and a history which the vast majority of her members indignantly repudiate. He has to employ all the resources of a most subtle dialectic to interpret in a Catholic sense Articles which were drawn up against Catholicism. But it is all in vain. Little by little the *via media* sinks from beneath his feet, and he stands face to face with the unwelcome fact, that between Catholicism and Protestantism there is no halting-place. What he himself said about this time of Evangelicism proved to be singularly true of his own party. “It does not stand on entrenched ground or make any pretence to a position ; it does but occupy the space between contending powers, Catholic Truth and Rationalism. Then indeed will be the stern encounter, when two real and living principles, simple, entire and consistent, one in the Church, the other out of it, at length rush upon each other, contending not for names and words or half views, but for elementary notions and distinctive moral characters.”*

The work, therefore, of the next few years was to develop the theory of the *via media*, and to define its place on the ground of theology and history. While this was being done,

* P. 192, quoted from the *British Critic* of April, 1839.

for that portion of the public whose sympathies it was hoped to enlist, in the "Tracts for the Times," Dr. Newman addressed himself to the scientific performance of the task in his work on "The Prophetic Office of the Church viewed relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism." Its main idea was that the Anglican was a branch of the Catholic Church, co-ordinate with the Latin and the Greek branches; that it stood in as direct a line of development from primitive Christianity as if the Reformation had never taken place; and that its claim to be God's visible Church upon earth, and to possess the consequent privileges, was just as valid as that of the Church of Rome, while yet not exclusive of it. Other works by different authors followed in the same track of thought, while the Tracts for the Times popularized the movement in thousands of country parsonages. Up to 1838, the skies were bright, the breeze propitious. Then the first mutterings of the coming storm were heard in a charge in which the then Bishop of Oxford animadverted, in guarded but significant terms, upon the Tracts. Dr. Newman, with true Catholic obedience to his diocesan, offered to suspend their publication; but the offer was not accepted, and the clouds for a while cleared away. Again, in the summer of 1839, a shock came, this time not from without, but from within. As Dr. Newman conceived the controversy between Canterbury and Rome, the rival communions divided between them the two great "notes" of the Church; "the Anglican disputant took his stand upon Antiquity or Apostolicity, the Roman upon Catholicity. The Anglican said to the Roman: 'There is but One Faith, the Ancient, and you have not kept to it;' the Roman retorted: 'There is but One Church, the Catholic, and you are out of it.'"^{*} And again, in an article in the *British Critic* of January, 1840, he said: "It would seem, that, in the above discussion, each disputant has a strong point: our strong point is the argument from Primitiveness, that of Romanists from Universality. It is a fact, however it is to be accounted for, that Rome has added to the Creed; and it is a fact, however we justify ourselves, that we are estranged from the great body of Christians over the world."[†] But only a little before the date of the last extract, Dr. Newman had

^{*} P. 197.[†] P. 206.

set himself to study the Monophysite controversy. "Here, in the middle of the 5th century," he found "Christendom of the 16th and the 19th centuries reflected."* Or, as he described his feelings in 1850 :

"It was difficult to make out how the Eutychians or Monophysites were heretics, unless Protestants and Anglicans were heretics also ; difficult to find arguments against the Tridentine Fathers, which did not tell against the Fathers of Chalcedon ; difficult to condemn the Popes of the sixteenth century, without condemning the Popes of the fifth. The drama of religion, and the combat of truth and error, were ever one and the same. The principles and proceedings of the Church now, were those of the Church then ; the principles and proceedings of heretics then, were those of Protestants now. I found it so,—almost fearfully ; there was an awful similitude, more awful, because so silent and unimpassioned, between the dead records of the past and the feverish chronicle of the present. The shadow of the fifth century was on the sixteenth. It was like a spirit rising from the troubled waters of the old world, with the shape and lineaments of the new. The church then, as now, might be called peremptory and stern, resolute, overbearing, and relentless ; and heretics were shifting, changeable, reserved, and deceitful, ever courting civil power, and never agreeing together, except by its aid ; and the civil power was ever aiming at comprehensions, trying to put the invisible out of view, and substituting expediency for faith. What was the use of continuing the controversy, or defending my position, if, after all, I was forging arguments for Arius or Eutyches, and turning devil's advocate against the much-enduring Athanasius and the majestic Leo ! Be my soul with the Saints ! and shall I lift up my hand against them ! Sooner may my right hand forget her cunning, and wither outright, as his who once stretched it out against a prophet of God ! anathema to a whole tribe of Cranmers, Ridleys, Latimers, and Jewels ! perish the names of Bramhall, Ussher, Taylor, Stillingfleet, and Barrow from the face of the earth, ere I should do aught but fall at their feet in love and in worship, whose image was continually before my eyes, and whose musical words were ever in my ears and on my tongue !" —Pp. 209—211.

The impression was deepened by an article by Dr. Wiseman in the *Dublin Review*, applying to the "Anglican claim" the analogy of the Donatist controversy, and especially by a sentence which it quoted from Augustine, "*Se-*

* P. 209.

curus judicat orbis terrarum”—“The judgment of the whole world is secure.” These words rang in his ears, eat their way into his heart. Here was a last and simple test. “The deliberate judgment, in which the whole Church at length rests and acquiesces, is an infallible prescription and a final sentence against such portions of it as protest and secede.”*

Still these impressions, however vivid, were only impressions, needing time to crystallize into logical form, while many of Dr. Newman's prejudices against Rome were as strong as ever. And while he was still anxiously labouring to persuade himself that many true and indispensable “notes” of the true Church attached to the Church of England, he was seized by the idea that if the English Church were “nothing else than a continuation in this country of that one Church of which Athanasius and Augustine were members,” its doctrine must be the same. In other words, was it possible to put a Catholic sense upon the Articles? Could it be proved that between the Roman and the English Church there was a fundamental identity of belief? Well may Dr. Newman call this an “*experimentum crucis*”—an experiment, nevertheless, from which his practised subtlety did not draw back. The result was the publication of the famous Tract 90 in February, 1841, and the consequent abrupt conclusion of the series to which it belonged. Then followed a succession of episcopal charges, proving most conclusively that the English Church repudiated, by the mouth of its chief officers, Dr. Newman's theory of its doctrine and position. But even these moved him less than the establishment, in conjunction with the Prussian Church, of the Bishopric of Jerusalem. This act, which might well be interpreted as a motion of friendliness between two differing branches of the Church of the Reformation, was, in his view, a shameful recognition of Lutheran and Calvinistic heresy. Against it, therefore, he delivered himself of a solemn protest, “the beginning of the end.”

And yet the end was still four years distant; a period during which, to use his own phrase, he “was on his death-bed, as regarded his membership of the Anglican Church.”† And “a death-bed has scarcely a history.” He still felt that he could not go to Rome, with her honours paid to

* P. 212.

† P. 257.

Mary and the Saints, and he held back others who were disposed to make the change. As little could he retain office in the Church of England if he were not "allowed to hold the Catholic sense of the Articles." His outlook, therefore, was towards a gradual falling back into lay communion. But all the time the current of his thought was steadily setting in one direction. There is, indeed, a state of mind in which a man moves slowly, unconsciously, and yet irrevocably, towards a given point of the compass, whatever effort he or others may make to produce a contrary impetus—as a ship slowly drifts with the tide, which with full set sails she is endeavouring to stem. And as her backward lapse is revealed to her crew only by direct observation of some well-known landmark or careful appeal to the pilot stars, so men often fail to recognize their changed place on the ocean of opinion, until it is revealed to them by the convincing testimony of events. Then, for the first time, they call in their logical faculty to justify the transition of which it has been the cause, only indirectly, if at all, and invent syllogisms to account for what has really been an irresistible development of forces, generated in their most secret depths of being. The most that can be said of these four years is, that Dr. Newman was slowly finding out that he was already a Roman Catholic in belief and sympathy, and ought to make his ecclesiastical position correspond with his inward thought. He was a suspected man, and felt the bitterness of reproach when first one and then another of his pupils went to Rome before him. He tried to invent a middle way between even the *via media* and Rome, and thought for a time that he had succeeded. But this failed, as former theories had failed; and in 1843 he first formally retracted all the hard things he had ever said against the Church of Rome, and next resigned his vicarage of St. Mary's at Oxford. Then came the last act, the Essay on Doctrinal Development. The theory there worked out completed the logical justification of the step which on every other ground he was already prepared to take; and before the book was finished he resolved to be received. In the autumn of 1845 he finally quitted the Church of England, exchanging the burden of his conscience for obedience to a superior's will, the restlessness of an all-questioning intellect for the perfect peace of implicit belief.

There are many passages of the deepest interest in this autobiography which we have necessarily passed over, in order that we might fix our undivided attention upon the course of Dr. Newman's theological development:—his personal reminiscences of his coadjutors in the Tractarian movement, the side-lights incidentally thrown upon the general history of religious thought in Oxford, the half-unconscious revelations of his own character, the suggestive statement of his present relation to the dogmatic authority and demands of the Roman Catholic Church. Even were it possible to miss the lesson which that development has to teach, the sum of the whole matter is clearly set before the reader in Dr. Newman's concluding pages. He finds in the authority of the Church the only secure refuge against "the all-corroding, all-dissolving scepticism of the intellect in religious inquiries."* It is true that the existence of a God is, independent of that authority, "as certain to him as the certainty of his own existence,"† though it is not easy to put even this primal belief into satisfactory logical form, and it is encumbered with almost insuperable practical difficulties. "I know," he says, "that even the unaided reason, when correctly exercised, leads to a belief in God, in the immortality of the soul, and in a future retribution; but I am considering it actually and historically; and in this point of view, I do not think I am wrong in saying that its tendency is towards a simple unbelief in matters of religion. No truth, however sacred, can stand against it, in the long run; and hence it is that in the pagan world, when our Lord came, the last traces of the religious knowledge of former times were all but disappearing from those portions of the world in which the intellect had been active and had had a career."‡ "Supposing then," still to use Dr. Newman's words, "it to be the Will of the Creator to interfere in human affairs, and to make provisions for retaining in the world a knowledge of Himself, as definite and distinct as to be proof against the energy of human scepticism, . . . there is nothing to surprise the mind, if He should think fit to introduce a power into the world, invested with the prerogative of infallibility in religious matters."§ The choice, therefore, is between self-reliant Reason and the infallible Church. There

* P. 379.

+ P. 377.

‡ P. 380.

§ P. 382.

is a logical fitness in adopting either half of the alternative, none in attempting to find a *tertium quid* between. A man must either take, in all humility, the responsibility of his religious belief upon his own shoulders, and answer for it face to face with God, or he must submissively accept his creed at the hands of the only Church which makes a confident claim to infallibility. In regard to the *ground of belief*, the only choice is between the position held by Dr. Newman and that occupied by his brother. Once quit the stronghold of personal judgment and accountability in matters of religion, and there is no safety but in Rome.

And in this part of Dr. Newman's statement we are bound to say that we entirely agree. More than this, we believe that the religious controversies of our time are daily passing into phases which will bring into a continually more vivid distinctness this great opposition of thought. At present English Protestantism seeks to evade the necessity of entrenching itself in the ultimate stronghold of all Protestant religion, first by setting up some phantom of Church authority—a pale reflection of the majestic reality of Rome,—and next by enthroning an infallible Bible in the seat of the infallible Church. We cannot pause to discriminate the ways in which these two expedients are apt to be confused into one; how, on the one hand, the real authority of creeds and articles is made to consist in their agreement with the Bible, while, on the other, the Bible is carefully interpreted in accordance with creeds and articles; how the theological student is enjoined to examine the Scriptures for himself, yet anathematized if he arrive at any other results than those sanctioned by the Church to which he may chance to belong. Taking each as it stands by itself, the first is sufficiently disposed of by the lessons of Dr. Newman's experience. No authority can be binding unless it be also infallible; and no Church claims infallibility but Rome alone. And the second could be logically maintained only if the Bible consisted of a series of dogmatic and preceptive statements, too plain to require any interpretation. The moment the necessity of interpretation is admitted, and the fact that churches and men interpret it diversely is taken into account, the old alternative reappears. Is every man to interpret for himself, or is there an authorized interpreter? Adopting the latter supposition,

of what use is an infallible Bible unless the interpreting Church be infallible too? Chillingworth's famous maxim, "The Bible and the Bible only the religion of Protestants," has both truth and force when used as a protest against the Roman Catholic appeal to tradition as a co-ordinate authority, and so long as it is taken in the sense of the Article that the Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation. But if it be meant to convey that the Bible is logically the ultimate authority in matters of religion, and so to elevate it among Protestants to the position held towards Catholics by the Church, it is a betrayal of the true principle of Protestantism. That principle we take to be that every man, being endowed by God with faculties of judgment, and having by His great goodness abundant opportunities of knowledge (of which the Bible is undeniably the chief) placed within his reach, is bound to construct such a system of religious belief as best approves itself to his own reason and conscience; and is directly responsible both for his faithfulness in the use of power and occasion, and for the result to which he arrives. Between this and the infallible Church there is no logical "*via media*;" Catholicism and Protestantism, rightly understood, are antipodal faiths.

But Dr. Newman's statement means something more than this. It not only narrows all controversy as to the ground of belief to this single alternative, but declares the alternative as to the *matter* of belief to be equally simple. For everything but the conviction of the existence of a personal God he relies upon authority; even to that, apart from authority, he clings only with an effort. And if to this creed of a single article, is to be added anything of what Christians deem almost equally essential to religious faith,—if even in this the mind is to rest with unwavering trust,—the whole system of Roman Catholic dogma must be received. To believe that Christ came from God, we must accept the immaculate conception of Mary; the resurrection stands or falls with the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius. The less cannot exist without the greater; whoever will claim a part must take the whole. On this ground, then, we may conceive of such a Catholic as Cardinal Wiseman offering to Protestants the belief of Dr. Newman and of his brother as the only alternative open to them. "Be-

lieve," he might say, "with one, all that the Church of Rome imposes upon the robust faith of her children, or sooner or later you will be compelled, with the other, to pitch your tent outside the great camp of Christendom. The only safeguard against the tyranny of reason is to deliver it, bound hand and foot, into the keeping of the Church."

To this latter part of Dr. Newman's statement we demur, as completely as we agreed with the former. He has simply mistaken his personal experience for an universal fact of humanity. There are minds which are able to cast anchor beneath the ebb and flow of uncertainty, in a firm holding-ground of belief: to describe the action of the intellect in matters of religion as "an all-corroding, all-dissolving scepticism," is a transparent absurdity. For the appeal here is not to logical fitness, but to historical fact. We have to inquire, not into the validity of human methods of investigating religious truth, but simply into the results which have actually been attained. And although it may be perfectly true that for Dr. Newman himself, with his peculiar mental constitution, there could be no place of repose between a self-distrustful Theism and a full reception of Catholic dogma, the very existence of Protestant Churches is fatal to his theory. It is indeed the characteristic mistake of Churches to suppose that free inquiry must necessarily lead to a single doctrinal result: the Catholic Church cherishes the belief that its logical end must be atheism, while every Protestant community bewails as erratic the investigation which carries men away from itself. Yet the intellect—from which alone of human faculties any uniformity of action can be expected—is so far from being the only motive power engaged, as not even to exercise in matters of religion its fair share of influence. Not the pure reason, working in strict conformity with scientific rule, practically chooses a man's faith for him, but some rough faculties of intellectual discrimination and moral choice, swayed by innumerable subtle affections, affinities, prejudices. Here a rapt soul, careless of dogma, floats upon depths of mystic experience; there a keen, hard intellect carves out a sharply-cut system of doctrine: now a blameless life passes through deep meadows and still waters of holiness; now a passionate nature clings, after many storms of sin and repentance, to a sure anchorage of faith. In a great degree, phases of

human faith answer to types of character, and are independent even of the distinctions of churches. Within the Catholic Church, Augustine resembles Fenelon as little as Bunyan is like Baxter among English Protestants; while Tauler, Fox, Boehme, Swedenborg, all belong by birth, whatever their ecclesiastical relationships, to the great family of Mystics. Give but free play to the religious instincts of men, and the result will be a variety of faith, which, however diverse, draws, like the multiplicity of nature, a single light and heat of life from its central Sun. That so many men, within the bounds of Christendom, are neither Atheists nor Catholics, sufficiently proves that there are possible resting-places of faith between Atheism and Catholicism.

But we are willing, for a moment, to accept the alternative which we have put into the mouth of Cardinal Wiseman, and to try the cause of Free Thought against Authority in the form in which we have supposed him to state it. We are to choose between Catholicism on the one side, and on the other a Theism which does not care to assume the name or to invest itself with the associations of Christianity. These two brothers have wandered away from a common home, into regions of faith, where all is different, save the one God and the one rule of right: what, roughly stated, is the balance of loss and gain?

The elder brother, after a sharp struggle through the Slough of Despond, has reached the Interpreter's house, and has gladly dropped from his shoulders the burthen of a restless mind and a wayward will. The infallibility of the Church has relieved him of the first; his superiors, and, notably, his director, of the second. What he is to do, from what he is to abstain—the time, the place, the method of action—all are prescribed for him by a wisdom higher than his own. He has exchanged the perpetual self-questioning of responsibility for the peaceful activity of obedience; from a general, charged with the conduct of a difficult campaign, he has become a private soldier of the Church, whose only duty is to do or die at the word of a supreme will. He has escaped, in great measure, from the distrusts, the uncertainties of aspiration: he knows that he stands in the line of divine grace: by adoption, he is among the Israel of God: he has passed from the free breezes and skyey dome of natural piety into the roofed temple of sacramental religion,

where the air is heavy with incense, and a Present Deity abides always upon the altar. He can trace back his spiritual pedigree in a direct historical line to the Primitive Church : the succession of Sovereign Pontiffs begins with Peter : he is of one communion with the Fathers and Doctors of Christendom : even now his Church is not the Apostolic only, but the Catholic, from which all others have cut themselves off. Noble as are the traditions of many national Churches, it is nobler and wider than they all : it speaks one faith in many tongues ; illustrates one duty in many types of character ; and day by day offers to God the homage of the whole world in one sublimely universal ritual. Who but a Catholic can glory in an effectual discipline, an acknowledged authority, a well-defined faith, all recommended and enforced by perpetual miracle ? Who like a Catholic can own himself "a fellow-citizen with the Saints," who continually intercede for the faithful before the throne of God ?

But this is not all gain. Like the Roman of old, who "made a solitude and called it peace," the Church offers this repose of spirit at the price not of the solution, but of the abandonment of the problems which are most natural to the human mind. To fly ignominiously from doubt, is not the same thing as to face and fathom it. Such ghosts, though never so cunningly exorcised with bell and book and candle, are apt to rise again when least looked or wished for. Can any conscience which has once known the prerogative of choice, quietly surrender itself, not for a time but for ever, into the keeping of a fallible human will ? The free and subtle training which the responsible soul undergoes at the hand of God may be often hard to understand and to follow, but what uncertainty can equal in agony the doubt of that moment when the natural dictate of right and the will of the human director are plainly seen to differ ? And then if the convert to Catholicism is grafted into the majestic unity, the sublime antiquity, the imposing authority of the Church, he becomes one with her throughout. For he not only believes the creed, but is a part of the communion ; he glories in her glory, let him also blush for her shame. He sets his hand to articles of belief which are proved neither by reason nor Scripture, but rest, in their very incapacity of proof, upon the unsupported authority of the Church. He is required to contradict in

his religion every canon of inquiry which he applies in common life ; a host of childish legends blunt his sense of truth, innumerable practical abuses dull his perception of right. He is enlisted, whether he will or no, in the service of "powers that be," no matter how treacherous, how base, how cruel ; he must defend the divine right of at least Catholic kings to trample upon the liberties and happiness of their subjects ; he must learn to prefer any political abuse and corruption to the impious anarchy of self-government. If he be a man of science, he must see with the eyes, hear with the ears of the Church ; or, if the results of his research be displeasing to Rome, must deny by his silence the truth which God has given him to be made known. If his communion be the Church of Athanasius, of Augustine, of Gregory, it is the Church of the De Medicis and the Borgias too ; if he claim fellowship with Fenelon and Pascal, he must also strike hands with Mazarin, De Retz, Dubois. If he counts martyred saints, let him count murdered heretics ; and remember that if those stately roofs of Milan and Cologne to which men still look up with despairing admiration were reared by his Church, that if her services of praise and prayer seem to unite the world in one solemn uniformity of worship, the dungeons of the Inquisition are also among her temples, and auto-da-fés have been her religious festivals. Surely this is a great price to pay for admission even into the oldest, the widest, the most splendid, the most authoritative of visible churches !

We have taken Mr. Francis Newman's position as being the very outpost of Protestantism. He, too, if we may say it with due respect to one whose motives are so pure, whose benevolent activity so incessant, is among the most Protestant of men ; individual to eccentricity in his opinions and methods of action ; rarely borne along by any current of general feeling ; putting forth his utmost strength when he stands alone against a host. Theologically he has abandoned much to which we cling with the firmest faith, and sometimes seems to manifest a strange incapacity of understanding what he himself once revered, and others still hold sacred. Innumerable associations, to the music of which the Christian heart beats in unison, have lost their charm to him ; he pauses to criticise where others are content to admire, and turns away in dissatisfaction from a

shrine where countless worshippers kneel in wondering awe. He has lost much ; what has he retained ? He is still able to come into the very presence of God—never before, if his own tale be true, with so free and so large a heart—and in preserving the password to that communion has kept the essential strength and light of all religion. He stands alone with God upon the open levels of humanity ; no Church interposing, no priest, no sacrament ; and as friend with friend, he knows and is known of Him. His church is as wide as the human race ; and wherever a thought approves itself to his mind as true, a deed is owned by his conscience as noble, he is able, without conditions or drawback, to acknowledge and to love. He is in harmony with the strong desire of the age for a wider knowledge, a more perfect government, a safer liberty, a less unstable peace. He can throw himself, with no misgiving, into the profoundest speculations of philosophy, as into the least hopeful struggles of social reform, believing that the honest effort of faithful men must end in the final victory of truth and right. For ourselves, we may think that some of his theories are mistaken, some of his methods ill-judged ; that it is possible, without forfeiting any of the spiritual privileges to which he clings so firmly, to stand in a closer and truer relation to the religious history of the race ; and that, after all, the promised land of philosophical Theism is only “the kingdom of God” which Christ preached more effectually long ago. But what the common consent of Christendom would call Mr. Newman’s excesses of speculation, only strengthen our case. If we are to choose between the man from whom Protestantism has taken all it can, and the man to whom Catholicism has given all it can, we take our stand by the side of the younger brother who trusts himself to the direct training of God ; we leave the elder, though with respectful and regretful admiration, to the guidance of the visible Church.

IV.—STRAUSS'S NEW WORK ON THE LIFE OF JESUS.

Das Leben Jesu, für das deutsche Volk bearbeitet. (The Life of Jesus, adapted to the German People.) von David Friedrich Strauss. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1864.

NEARLY thirty years have now elapsed since a "Life of Jesus" by David Frederic Strauss made its first appearance. We were at that time in Germany, and remember well the startling effect that it produced. There were not indeed wanting men who at once perceived, that the views which it set forth with such uncompromising fearlessness, were a natural consequence of principles of criticism which had been for a long time partially and perhaps unsuspectingly applied. But even those who were familiar with such principles and freely recognized them in relation to insulated points of the gospel history, had never fully realized to themselves the results with which they were pregnant, and were filled with a sort of terror when they saw all their possible applications gathered to a focus and urged home with remorseless consequentiality to their legitimate issue. Of replies to this alarming book there was no lack; but none of them, not even that of Neander, were felt to have effectually repelled the serious blow which it aimed at the old traditional trust in the strictly historical character of the evangelical narratives. Every ensuing contribution to the criticism of the New Testament which bore on it the stamp of solid learning and thorough honesty, though it might approach the subject from another point of view, moved in the same direction, and tended rather to confirm than to weaken the scepticism raised by Strauss. This was especially true of the Tübingen school of theology. The immediate effect was a general unsettling of opinion and a pervading sense of uneasiness. It was impossible for things to remain as they were. The old rationalism which, assuming the impossibility of miracle, had attempted to unite with this negative theory a literal acceptance of the facts recorded in the Gospels, had exhausted its resources, and was shewn by the unanswerable logic of Strauss to be more untenable and absurd than the simple, childlike faith which it had undertaken to replace. Only one of two courses now

remained: either to fall back into broad, self-consistent orthodoxy, which took things as they were written with unquestioning credulity; or else to go boldly forward in the path opened by Strauss and Baur, and develop the results which they had established, with courageous honesty into all their consequences. A perfect trust in truth and fearlessness of the world, such as few men possess, was indispensable to the adoption of the latter alternative. It was a trial of the spirits, and not many were equal to it.

From the storm of reproach and execration which assailed him on all sides, Strauss took shelter in studious privacy; and for many years, finding little encouragement to the prosecution of theological research, busied himself with pursuits of another though still kindred character, which bore valuable fruit in his biographies of Ulrich von Hutten and Reimarus. Meantime the world moved on, however theologians might wish to be stationary. The events of 1848 and 1849 had powerfully roused the popular mind of Germany; and the outbreak of the almost contemporary movements of the German Catholics on one hand, and of the Protestant Friends of Light on the other, shewed what a craving there was in all quarters for release from ecclesiastical bondage and freer religious development. Strauss from his retreat marked these ominous phenomena with thoughtful and not irreverent eye. Cautious and temperate in his political views, he felt with growing conviction, what he has so strongly expressed in the preface to his present work—that the country of the Reformation can only become politically free, to the extent that it has wrought out for itself a spiritual, religious and moral freedom.* He discerned the risk to which many minds were exposed from their inability to draw a clear line of separation between the permanent and the perishable in Christianity—of renouncing the spiritual substance with the historical form—or at least of oscillating continually between a wild unbelief and a spasmodic piety.† The result was a firm persuasion that it was a duty to come to the relief of this morbid condition of the popular mind. He had convinced himself that, owing

* "Wir Deutsche können politisch nur in dem Masse frei werden, als wir uns geistig, religiös und sittlich frei gemacht haben."—Vorrede, xx.

† Ibid. xviii.

to the wide diffusion of education, the people of Germany were prepared for the profitable entertainment of many questions, which might have been justly thought to be prematurely agitated a quarter of a century before. He had gained the experience, which has been constantly that of other teachers of religion,—that on spiritual topics where the premisses lie within every human consciousness, there is often a readier perception of deep, fundamental truth in simple and earnest men of the lowest class, than is to be found among their superiors in social position, whose minds are clouded by conventional prejudices, and not seldom darkened by the interposition of an useless mass of artificial book-learning between their inner vision and the eternal realities of the universe. In this purpose of bringing his views before the general public, he was encouraged by the warm sympathy of his brother, who, though himself a manufacturer, took a strong and intelligent interest in the theological controversies of the time, and was regarded by Strauss as no unfitting type of the middle-class intellect of Germany, fully competent to decide on the main points at issue between the conservative and the progressive schools. Before the publication of the present work, Rénan's *Vie de Jésus* appeared in France. The reception it met with furnished additional proof, that the time had come when the ancient limits of learned insulation might be broken through, and an appeal be safely made to the popular mind and heart. Beyond this general appeal from the verdict of a craft to the judgment of the world, the works of Rénan and Strauss have little in common.*

Strauss's first work was intended immediately for theologians. Some wished at the time that, like Bretschneider's *Probabilia*, it had veiled its heresies in Latin. From the task that it proposed to itself, it was essentially analytic and destructive, and it seemed to leave behind it a very negative result. It took the whole mass of gospel narratives as it found them, and subjecting them to the severest

* In one point they touchingly agree—in the dedications prefixed to each; one to the memory of a beloved sister, the other to that of a brother. In both we painfully miss the distinct recognition of a hope, which to us seems the only availing consolation in such cases. Yet both are affectionate in tone, and, we do not doubt, are genuine utterances of the heart—each strongly marked by the idiosyncrasy of character and race—that of Strauss, grave and earnest; that of Rénan, airy and sentimental.

critical test, it affirmed that it had succeeded in dissolving much that had been received as history, into legend and even into myth, of which the source could often be traced, and of which the aim was obvious. Like the lines of approach drawn round a beleaguered city, the hostile movement was from the circumference towards the centre—constantly advancing further and further, and breaking down one defence after another, till at last it seemed doubtful whether the inmost citadel itself would not be stormed and reduced to a ruin. There was something almost appalling in the imperturbable coolness and apparent recklessness of consequences with which Strauss pursued his work. But it was a work which had to be done. It was desirable to test the utmost force of criticism on the historical frame-work of Christianity. Dissent as we may from the author's conclusion, and even in cases where he leaves no way to any definite conclusion at all, it is impossible not to admire, in many sections of the book, the remarkable acuteness and skill with which a number of widely dispersed and scarcely appreciable indications are combined to throw light on the possible origin of a particular narrative. Though the general theory of Strauss, in the unqualified largeness of its earliest enunciation, must doubtless undergo important limitations, yet his first work will ever retain a high value, as opening the source from which many elements have been supplied to the present texture of the gospel history, and furnishing the student with a model of thorough critical investigation.

His new work has been written with quite another view. It is in no sense a revised edition of the first. If the object of the former was to decompose a multifarious whole into its constituent parts, the main design of the present volume is to reconstruct, by gathering up the residuary facts into a solid nucleus, and then attempting to explain how a mythic atmosphere has formed around it. It reverses the order of the foregoing process. It advances from the centre towards the circumference, making good its ground as it proceeds—striving to convey as distinct an impression of the origin and founder of Christianity as facts now ascertainable permit, and maintaining with calm earnestness throughout, that no results of historical criticism can affect the certainty of those eternal truths, or impair the influence of that beautiful life,

which make the gospel what it is—a possession for ever to mankind. This is evidently the aim of the book. No candid reader can dispute it. There are occasions on which we think he has overstrained his theory. We cannot accept all his assumptions without material qualification; and his own premisses appear to us to yield more positive and consolatory conclusions than he has himself drawn from them. But the volume before us, with all its deficiencies, is the clear expression of an honest, an earnest, and, we will add, a noble mind—a mind which has sought truth for its own sake, though on some vital points we feel strongly that it has missed it, and which has at least proved its own sincerity by cheerfully paying the penalty which truth's loyal service too constantly incurs. Strauss, in his preface, does not conceal his anxiety that his two works, as having different objects, should be kept perfectly distinct; and he has even left directions in his will, that in case a new edition of his former work should be called for, it should be faithfully reprinted, without any reference to the present volume, from the first edition, with only a few corrections from the fourth.*

The limits to which we are restricted, will prevent us from giving more than a summary outline of the plan and contents of this learned and suggestive work. After a rapid survey of successive attempts to write a "Life of Jesus"—beginning with Hess near a century ago, and terminating with Rénan and Keim†—Strauss proceeds to determine the criteria of authenticity, and to inquire how far they are satisfied by any extant testimony to the Gospels. He decides, that in their present form they furnish no evidence at first hand. They are the embodiment of a cumulative tradition, carrying down with it some written memorials of particular discourses and transactions from a very early date. He shews how credulous and uncritical were the earliest witnesses to the books that form our actual canon

* Vorrede, xiii.

† *Die Menschliche Entwicklung Jesu Christi* (The Human Development of Jesus Christ), a very interesting inaugural address on accepting the chair of Theology at Zurich, December 17, 1860; much commended by Strauss, and furnishing, in the warm devotional sentiment with which it envelopes the person of Christ, a not unwelcome relief from the somewhat chilling influence of his own more negative views.

—Irenæus and Tertullian, and even the more learned and philosophical Origen and Eusebius. Fidelity to simple fact, even after the desire to harmonize the four evangelists had awakened something like a critical spirit, was constantly overpowered in their minds by dogmatic or practical considerations—by the wish to extract a moral or establish a conclusion. This was the spirit of their age. They were conscious of no wrong in yielding to it. The examination of Papias's account of the origin of Matthew's and Mark's Gospels, proves that the works referred to by him could not have been identical with those which we now possess under the same names. Indeed, the preposition *κατά*—according to—hardly allows direct authorship. In like manner the indication in Luke's preface of many contemporary records of Christ's ministry, and the evident desire which both the Gospel and the Acts betray, of reconciling the opposite tendencies of the Jewish and the Pauline schools, presuppose a later period for the composition of both those books than is reconcilable with their having proceeded in their present form from a companion of the apostle Paul. Contrary to the opinion which he once held, Strauss has yielded to the arguments of Baur, and is now convinced that the apostle John cannot have been the author of the fourth Gospel. He ascribes the tenacity with which Schleiermacher and some other eminent men have clung to the opposite view, rather to sentiment than to critical proof, and thinks it had its source in strong reaction against the old rationalism which was supposed to find its chief support in the Synoptical Gospels. Only in the Epistles of Paul, and in the Apocalypse which he regards as the work of the apostle John, does Strauss recognize any works of direct apostolic origin in our present canon. Having upset the earlier dates which the old apologists had attempted to fix, he does not pretend to find any more definite lower down. We gather from the general tenor of his criticism, that he supposes our four Gospels to have assumed their present form some time in the earlier part of the second century. With the notions now prevalent in the Christian world, this may appear distressingly vague. But can those who complain, satisfactorily establish anything more certain? We want evidence, not declamation. When we consider how these narratives have been composed, of what materials they consist, through

what changes of form they have passed, how gradually they have in all probability been accumulated, and how little anything like formal publication, in our sense of the word, can be predicated of them, till their authoritative recognition by the Catholic Church towards the close of the second century—it is obvious that the assignment of a precise date to the authorship of any one of them, is altogether out of the question. By taking this broad though vague ground, from which there is as yet no final verdict of criticism to warn him off, Strauss gains time and space for that free development of tradition and its consequences, in which he finds a natural solution of many perplexing enigmas in the gospel history. Possibly he may carry his theory too far in this direction, as he certainly on some points overstrains its application; but he is at least more self-consistent than Ewald, who agreeing to the full with Strauss in an absolute renunciation of the miraculous, cuts off by his limitation of the date of the Gospels, especially the Gospel of John, all possibility of accounting without violence for its introduction into the narrative of the New Testament.* Notwithstanding this free treatment of the written documents of Christianity, Strauss distinctly admits that a full and living stream of tradition poured itself into them, which bore along with it the new spirit of Christ,—vivid impressions of the most salient features of his personality, and authentic records of his most remarkable words and acts—and with such a penetrating and diffusive power, wherever it spread, that it “created a soul,” to use a fine expression of Milton’s, “under the ribs of death,” and deposited far and wide over the exhausted soil of heathenism the elements of a higher faith and a nobler life. We have often thought we could trace a wonderful providence in the apparently defective medium through which Christ has been revealed to us;—not set

* Most unnecessarily, on more occasions than one, Strauss seems to us to have explained away a very probable fact into the exposition of a mere idea. Can anything be more fanciful than his interpretation of Luke’s statement, that Jesus, in consequence of the unbelief of his own kindred, transferred his residence from Nazareth to Capernaum, where he met with a more cordial reception—as a symbolical announcement of the rejection of Christianity by the Jews, and its acceptance by the heathen? (p. 121). There is to us also something equally unreal in his comparison of the Sermon on the Mount with the Sinaitic legislation (p. 124), though this may have been suggested to him by his strong persuasion that, according to the Messianic conceptions of that age, the Christ was to be a second Moses.

forth in clear and definite outline, with every feature exactly delineated, and every light and shade filled up—a presentment which would have exhausted by at once satisfying the imagination,—but disclosed to us in transient glimpses of ineffable sweetness and surpassing majesty, which require the co-operation of our own highest thought to interpret and complete them, and make the Christ in whom is our deepest trust, the creation in part of God's own spirit within us. What Christ planted in the world, was not a dogma nor a form, but a living word, which had its root in his own life, and carried with it his own spirit. It propagated itself under God's blessing, but through human agencies, over all the earth, imbibing a flavour from the various soils which nourished it, and taking a new colour from changing skies. We mark its earliest growth in the Galilean records of Matthew. We observe how its vital juices sprout into luxuriant tendrils and put forth leaves and blossoms in Paul and Luke. We see it bending with purple clusters in John. There is a sense in which the fourth Gospel, while deeply tinged with the ideas of the time, may still be said to present us with the most genuine expression of the spirit of Christ, because it exhibits the highest point of organic development within the New Testament; though it may not have been written by the apostle whose name it bears, and though many of its contents may not correspond to historical fact.

“The Johannean Gospel,” writes Strauss (p. 143), “with its image of Christ, attracts more sympathy from the present generation than the Synoptical with theirs. These, written out from the quiet heart of undoubting faith in the primitive society (for, in their conception of the person and being of Christ, there is comparatively little difference between the liberal Judaism of the first, and the tempered Paulinism of the third Gospel), found a natural response in the equally sure and quiet trust of the centuries of faith. The former, with its restless striving to reconcile a new idea with the existing tradition—to represent as an objective faith, what it grasped subjectively as certain truth—must be better suited to the temper of a time, whose faith is no longer a tranquil possession, but an incessant struggle, and that would fain believe more than it yet properly can. In reference to the impression which this side of its influence makes on our present Christianity, we might call the Gospel of John, the romantic Gospel, though in itself it is anything but a romantic

production.* The unrest, the intense sensitiveness, which in the believer of to-day result from his effort, amid the new views which irresistibly force themselves on him, still to keep firm hold of his ancient faith—proceeded, on the contrary, in the evangelist, from his endeavouring to raise the old tradition to the height of his new ideas, and mould it into accordance with them; but the restlessness and the effort, the flickering before the eye, the wavering in the outline of the image so produced, is on both sides the very same; and hence it is precisely towards this Gospel that the modern Christian feels himself especially drawn. The Johannean Christ, who in his self-delineations continually, as it were, overdoes himself, is the counterpart of the modern believer, who to be a believer must be ever in like manner overdoing himself. The Johannean miracles, which are resolved into spiritual signs, and yet at the same time exhibit the extreme form of outward miracle, which are reported and attested in every way, and yet are not to be regarded as the true ground of faith—are miracles and yet no miracles; people ought to believe them, and yet believe without them: just as this half-hearted age seeks to do, which wears itself out in contradictions, and is too worn and spiritless to attain to clear insight and decisive speech in religious things."

There is much truth in these words, but not the whole truth. They do not do full justice to the very case which they so forcibly put. No doubt we have in the fourth Gospel a vivid expression of the endeavour to reconcile the simple, popular trusts which are transmitted to us in the three first, with a philosophic conception of God's relation to the universe which at that time pervaded with its subtle influence the whole upper region of thought throughout the Greco-Roman world. But it was not all unrest; it was not interminable struggle. In those wonderful chapters, from the 13th to the 17th, which are the highest utterance of the Johannean Gospel, the problem has its solution. In love and trust, in oneness of affection and endeavour with the omnipresent God, in self-surrender to the Parent Mind through the heart's deep sympathy with the holiest human manifestation of filial obedience—the troubled spirit finds at last the rest and peace for which it has yearned. And so it will be in the final issue of this agitated and questioning

* The allusion is to the distinction between the classical and the romantic schools, familiar to all who are acquainted with the history of German literature in the early part of the present century.

age of ours. When the battle between science and faith, between historical traditions and the religion of the inner consciousness, has been fought out, and their mutual relationship has been adjusted; the spirit of Christ will survive these controversies of the intellect, and disengaged at length from artificial obstructions and gratuitous difficulties, will descend with all its power into the human soul, and fill it with a profounder faith and a holier love.*

The somewhat tentative character of Strauss's first book and its large application of the mythic principle, that on the image of Christ, as presented to us in the Gospels, some of the most striking features had been impressed by the Messianic assumptions of the primitive Church,—left on the reader's mind a painful doubt whether the author recognized any historical Christ at all, and whether what we had been accustomed to accept as such, was not to a large extent a product of the imaginative enthusiasm of the first believers; or, to put it in the briefest form, whether, instead of Christ's having created the Church, the Church had not rather created Christ. The supposition, conceived in this broad, unqualified way, is so preposterous that it furnished those who were eager to find in the work not what it might contain of truth, but where it could be most effectively assailed, a ready and obvious point of attack. It is only justice to Strauss to say, that his mature thoughts embodied in the present volume, afford no ground for imputing to him so wild an extravagance. He affirms most distinctly not only the historical existence of Jesus of Nazareth, but the wonderful effect of his personality in introducing the greatest spiritual revolution in the history of the human race. What he contends for is simply this: that the image of that personality has not been conveyed to us through perfectly transparent media; and that though the features are sufficiently distinct to enable us to verify the individual, they have been blended in their transmission with the deep subjective influence of the recording mind. Before we condemn this view, we must first shew that with a thoroughly honest criticism we are able to escape it. That Jesus was born

* How searching are these words of the great Augustine! "*Vae animæ audaci, quæ speravit si a te recessisset, se aliquid melius habituram. Versa et reversa in tergum et in latera et in ventrem, et dura sunt omnia. Tu Solus requies.*"—*Confess. Lib. vi. c. 18.*

and bred of humble parentage in Nazareth of Galilee ; that he was a hearer of John, and received baptism at his hands ; that he commenced the career of an independent religious reformer in Galilee, sharing in the general Messianic expectations of his time ; that he penetrated to the spiritual substance of the law, and believed that in the coming age its outward form would be abolished for ever ; that he attached followers to himself from his own rank in life, and preached to multitudes repentance and faith, awakening into consciousness the higher life that was slumbering in them ; that he waged an unsparing war with the formalism and hypocrisy of the professed guides and instructors of the people, and gave his interest and sympathy in preference to publicans and sinners ; that the essence of his teachings is condensed in the Sermon on the Mount, in innumerable parables, and in occasional words that escaped from the fulness of his inmost spiritual being in varied intercourse with the world,—all summed up in the two great commandments of love to God and love to man, of which his whole life was a living impersonation ; that, though he foresaw the fate which awaited him from direct encounter with an irritated and malignant priesthood at Jerusalem, this did not deter him from resolutely pursuing his prophetic career till its close ; that, betrayed by one of his own followers, he fell into the hands of his enemies, and was executed ignominiously by the Roman authorities on the cross ; that notwithstanding the dismay and the dispersion which this event immediately produced among his disciples, they nevertheless after a season recovered their confidence and hope, and firmly believed in his resurrection from the dead and his continued presence and visitation from the heavenly world ;—these are facts which Strauss clearly recognizes as the historic frame-work of the evangelical narrative, and as the basis of his further speculations respecting their accompaniments. He thinks that in consequence of being so far above the ideas of his age and country, Jesus has been often misunderstood by those who heard him ; and that we are therefore justified in interpreting the general tenor of his instructions by the highest and most spiritual utterances recorded of him ; that, for instance, we have probably a truer reflection of his spirit in some of the parables peculiar to the Pauline Gospel of Luke than in

others which occur in Matthew's, and bear evident marks of the Judaic narrowness of its original materials. He believes that we can trace a spiritual growth in the mind of Jesus, and that the consciousness of his Messianic mission did not take possession of him all at once,—that it first becomes distinctly conspicuous about the time of the transfiguration. Having once acquired the conviction that he had been chosen by God to fulfil the Messianic work, it was only a natural consequence that Jesus should apply to himself, and expect to find realized in himself as God's instrument for a great purpose, the several predicates that were attached by universal belief to his office. In this part of his life, however, it is especially difficult to disentangle what he may actually have said about himself, from the stronger and ampler language respecting the Messiah then current among the Jews, which later faith assumed that he must have used, and therefore unhesitatingly applied to him. Enough—he was profoundly sincere in his conviction, courageous and ready for self-sacrifice in carrying it out; and if the admission implies that there was a certain tinge of enthusiasm in his character, he possessed this quality in common with some of the purest and noblest spirits that have adorned the human race; nor is it in any wise incompatible with a providential vocation and a divine life. Such we gather to be Strauss's impression of the historical Jesus.

But in this history there are two elements—one which we have just described, probable in itself and consistent with the known laws of matter and mind; another, intermingled with it, which transcends those laws and stands out as an exceptional case in the history of the world. Strauss's theory of the universe (of which we shall have to say a word or two by and by) precludes him from admitting the possibility under any imaginable circumstances of such occurrences as would constitute the latter element. The problem, therefore, which he has to solve, is to account for the copious infusion of this element into every part of a history which contains so much of the highest truth and has left so profound an impression on the subsequent course of human affairs. His explanation is the following: that assuming the traditional facts of Christ's actual life as their basis, it was the object, first of the preachers of the gospel, and afterwards of those who reduced our earliest records to

writing, to establish on that basis a conclusive argument that Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ or expected Messiah, the Son of David, the second Moses, the Son of God ; and that the working of this strong purpose, blended with intense conviction, on the traditional materials subjected to it in a mental atmosphere already deeply charged with foregone conclusions, evolved more and more, as the actual facts receded into further distance, the mythical halo which has invested the whole narrative with a supernatural character. If Jesus were the Messiah, then all the passages of the Old Testament which had a Messianic import, and all the expectations to which the current interpretations of them had given rise, must have had their fulfilment in his person and his life ; and this assumption, ever present to the mind of the evangelists, moulded unconsciously the loose and fluctuating mass of oral tradition into the form in which we now possess it, and mingled with it elements that had their source in the fervid faith of the believing mind. This is what has been called the mythic theory of Strauss. The old rationalistic school, including Eichhorn and Paulus and not wholly excluding Schleiermacher himself, disbelieved equally with Strauss the possibility of the strictly miraculous ; but they attempted by various expedients to explain it away from a narrative which they accepted in the main as historical. Strauss saw the futility of this method, and the violence which it did to the plainest rules of exegesis ; but he attained the same object of accounting for the introduction of the miraculous, by carrying down the Gospels to a later date, and ascribing it to the imperceptible growth of tradition.

It becomes necessary here, for the sake of the English reader, to define a little more exactly the idea conveyed by the word *myth*, when used in this sense. Heyne was one of the first who shewed that the myth was a necessary form of thought in the earlier stages of human development. While language is yet imperfectly furnished with abstract terms, and the imaginative are ascendant over the reasoning faculties, ideas struggling for utterance clothe themselves in an objective shape and find expression in narrative and personification. Heyne made a distinction between conscious and unconscious fiction ; and regarded the latter alone as properly a myth. In this sense a myth has been called the

spontaneous expression in a historical form of the indwelling idea of a community. Since Heyne's time the subject has been more scientifically developed by George in his essay on "Myth and Legend."* In legend, according to him, there is always at bottom some fact, however much it may have been subsequently overgrown by the wild offshoots of the imagination. A myth, on the contrary, fills up with its own creations from the first—imagining what must have been—the absolute vacancy of the past. But in the proper myth, as in the proper legend, according to this interpretation of them, whatever fiction they may involve is unconscious, is unintentional. With the progress of the intellect, however, and a clearer perception of the distinction between a fact and an idea, this primeval unconsciousness becomes no longer possible. Fiction is still practised, but it now justifies itself by its intention, that of inculcating a moral or enforcing a truth. The literary conscience of antiquity was much laxer in this respect than our own. The line between fiction and history was far less distinctly recognized. If a good end could be served, no hesitation was felt in assuming a false name to recommend a work, and in arbitrarily combining and interpolating the actual facts of history to bring out more effectually the impression intended to be produced. The centuries preceding and following the birth of Christ, abounded in works of this description. It was almost a characteristic of the age. The late F. C. Baur was the first theologian of standing and authority who ventured boldly to assert the occurrence of this practice within the limits of the New Testament, as an element towards the solution of the complicated question of the relative credibility of the evangelists. It was with him an unavoidable consequence of the conclusions at which he had arrived respecting the origin and composition of the fourth Gospel. Indeed his clear and forcible reasonings reduce us to this dilemma; we must either admit the authenticity and trustworthiness of John, in which case the Synoptics fall at once in value, as shewn to be constantly in error; or else, assuming the three first Gospels to exhibit the primitive Pales-

* *Mythus und Saga: Versuch einer wissenschaftlichen Entwicklung dieser Begriffe und ihrer Verhältnisse zum christlichen Glauben.* Berlin, 1837. Legend is an inadequate, and in reference to its etymology, an inaccurate rendering of *Saga*, for which there is no exact equivalent in English.

tinian tradition and John to have used their materials, we must allow that he has handled them, in many instances at least, with a freedom that deprives them of all proper historical character. No third course seems possible. Strauss has embraced apparently in their whole extent the views of Baur on this subject. He describes the Johannean Gospel as another Apocalypse, projecting its images not, like that of the apostle whose name it has assumed, on the thunder-clouds of the future, but on the quiet wall of the past (p. 156). He has been compelled, too, under the same influence, to use the word *myth* in a much wider sense than that to which it had been restricted by Heyne and George, including conscious as well as unconscious fiction. In its application to the evangelical narratives, he considers the only distinction of importance to lie between the *historical* and the *ideal*, from whatever source the latter may proceed.

"In this new form of the Life of Jesus, I have," he says, "chiefly in pursuance of the indications of Baur, allowed more scope than formerly to the supposition of conscious and intentional fiction; but I have not on that account thought it necessary to employ another term. Rather in reply to the question, whether even the conscious fictions of an individual can properly be called myths, I must, even after all that has been written on the subject, still say: by all means, so far as they have found credence, and passed into the tradition of a people or a religious party; for this is at the same time a proof that they were fashioned by their author not simply at the instance of his particular fancy, but in harmony with the consciousness of numbers. Every unhistorical narrative, however it may have arisen, in which a religious community finds an essential portion of the holy foundation on which it rests, inasmuch as it is an absolute expression of the feelings and conceptions which constitute it what it is, is a myth; and if Greek mythology is concerned in separating from this wider definition of myth, a narrower one which excludes the idea of conscious fiction, critical, on the other hand, as contrasted with orthodox theology, has an interest in embracing under the general conception of myth, all those evangelical narratives to which it assigns a purely ideal significance."—P. 156.

The mythic principle so understood Strauss applies to the explanation of the second of the two elements which we have described as entering into the composition of the Gospels. The earliest evangelists preached and wrote to shew that Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ; and the course

of their argument, with the kind of proofs on which they chiefly insisted to sustain it, was powerfully influenced by the conception through which they habitually realized to themselves the Messianic character and office—whether as the Son of David, the Son of God or the Incarnate Word. The devout Jew of that age firmly believed that the Messianic era was at hand. His exalted faith threw its own glowing imagery on the sacred pages of the law and the prophets; so that wherever he opened them, whether he lighted on history or poetry or precept, the mystic interpretation in which he had been trained, enabled him to discern some foreshadowing of him that was to come. The Christian had convinced himself that he was already come in Jesus; and consequently all those passages of the ancient Scripture, in which he had been accustomed to find the clearest indications of the future deliverer of Israel and mankind, he assumed without doubting, as God was true, must have their fulfilment in his person and life. What men are persuaded they must see, we know as a rule that they will see, even when present appearances are against them; but when this enthusiastic conviction operates not on contemporary facts, but on a continually receding tradition, it inevitably overpowers the objective by the subjective, and envelopes the history of the past in a hazy atmosphere of imaginative feeling. Without adopting Strauss's theory in all its details, and strongly questioning some of his assumptions, truth nevertheless compels us to admit, that of many statements in the Gospels, after thoroughly analyzing and comparing them, the origin and character are best explained on the supposition that this mythic principle was largely concerned in producing them.

This side of the history of Jesus, Strauss has brought out in a series of mythic groups, in each of which he endeavours to discover the formative idea which gave birth to it; in other words, what Messianic assumption has invested the simple historical nucleus with a character of its own. In the first of these mythic groups relating to the birth of Jesus and the communication of his supernatural powers, three views are clearly traceable which must have originated in different conceptions, and are incapable of perfect reconciliation with each other, though they are blended to some extent in our existing Gospels. We have first the

account of the descent of the Spirit at his baptism, which is probably the oldest view; then two narratives, in Matthew and in Luke, of his conception by a virgin under divine influence, which are inconsistent with each other; and lastly, the doctrine of the word made flesh in John, who omits the genealogies, and has no allusion to Christ's having come into the world in any other than the ordinary way. His birth at Bethlehem, with the miraculous accompaniments of the star and the heavenly host, and the adoration of the magi and the shepherds,—the murderous jealousy of Herod, the flight into Egypt, and the presentation in the Temple,—incidents which it is utterly impossible to weave together into a self-consistent narrative, and which, strange and startling as they were, do not appear to have exercised the slightest effect on thirty ensuing years of tranquil obscurity,—we can hardly doubt were assumed to have occurred, because certain passages referring to the Messianic advent in the Old Testament were believed to require them, and because they were such as antiquity, Jewish and heathen, constantly associated with the entrance of great men into the world. Strauss has instituted a parallelism between the life of Moses and that of Jesus which is to us novel, and which we think he has somewhat overstrained. Both, however, were deliverers; both effected the emancipation of their people through sore trials and temptations; and both, according to the popular belief, ran a risk of perishing in infancy. This last incident often occurs in the legendary memorials of the heroes of the world. It is told of Augustus by his freedman Julius Marathus, in the broad daylight of Roman civilization, and in an age contemporary with Christ.* The relations of Jesus with the Bap-

* Suetonius, Octavianus c. 94. It had been announced a few months before the birth of Augustus, that a citizen of Velitræ (to which his family belonged) should become the ruler of the world; whereupon the Senate being alarmed, issued a decree that no child born in that year should be reared. We had marked this passage some time ago as forming a parallel to the story of the murder of the innocents, and noticed, what Strauss has omitted to mention—that the language used is identical with that in which Suetonius in another part of his book, and Tacitus in his History, describe the Messianic expectation of the Jews. The following is the prophecy about Augustus: "*Velitria, antiquitus tactâ de celo parte muri, responsum est, ejus oppidi civem quandoque rerum potiturum.*" Of the Jewish belief Suetonius thus writes: "*Esse in fatiis, ut eo tempore, Judæa profecti rerum potirentur*" (Vespas. c. 4); and Tacitus in the very same words: "*Profectique Judæa rerum potirentur*" (Hist. v. 13).

tist and with his earliest followers have probably, according to Strauss, been tinged in the later conceptions of them with something of a mythic hue. The acknowledgment of his superiority by the former, could not have been so clear and decided from the first as is represented; otherwise the disciples of the Baptist would not have continued to form a separate sect, nor would Christ's own ministry have first taken independent ground when the Baptist had been silenced by being cast into prison. With regard to his disciples, Christ is described as summoning them at once, and the call (to give a greater air of authority to his words) as having been immediately obeyed. In both cases, probably, the effect was gradual. The result only is given. What had preceded it is passed over. The development of these two relationships—the first with his forerunner, the second with his followers—forms the subject of two separate mythic groups in this part of Strauss's exposition of the life of Jesus. Less difficulty will generally be felt in accepting the accounts of the temptation and the transfiguration as mythical; for few thoughtful theologians of any school can now for a long time past have seriously treated them as historical. A conflict with the Evil One is the fundamental idea pervading the whole ministry of Christ; and a symbolical representation of it would form a natural introduction to the history of his public life. So, again, Moses and Elias had prepared the way for the gospel; and besides the current belief that the old prophets would reappear in the days of the Messiah, it was a fitting consecration of the last and most trying period of his ministry, when death was awaiting him and all worldly hopes were about to be extinguished in the blood of the cross, that his great predecessors should be seen to be associated with him in glory, and that the voice from heaven should once more be heard pronouncing him the Beloved Son. In these transactions we have two other mythic groups. It is unnecessary to go through the entire series. We would simply remark, that in those passages of the life of Jesus which record the exertion of miraculous power, the theory of the author assumes its strongest expression and most uncompromising application.

Strauss's philosophical system precludes his recognizing the strictly miraculous in any sense. Its utter impossibility is an assumption which he carries with him *ab initio* to the

criticism of the evangelical narrative ; and it is an assumption so deeply rooted in his first principles of belief, that no accumulation of outward testimony could overcome it, any more than it could make him accept a logical contradiction. His theory, therefore, leaves him no alternative but to eliminate the miraculous from the history as something necessarily untrue. He starts from this premiss ; and all his reasonings are in harmony with it. His book is self-consistent throughout. With him the phenomenal universe is an ultimate fact, carrying its cause and principle within itself. There is nothing, and we can know nothing, beyond it. He would not, of course, deny that there may hereafter be an evolution of new and unexpected results from laws and agencies already in operation ; but those laws and agencies, once clearly ascertained, themselves furnish, in his view, the limit to any further development of phenomena that can be conceived. Any power not already contained in the phenomenal, that could control its course and infuse a new element of life into the growth of the universe, he would disown as a gratuitous assumption. His belief, if we understand him correctly, is limited to the phenomenal alone, and does not extend to any power extraneous and antecedent to the phenomenal.

Every theory of the universe must start from some assumption : the question is, whether the assumption which admits or that which excludes benevolent intelligence and righteous will as the root and sustaining principle of the universe, is most in accordance with the only analogies that can guide us in a matter so entirely beyond our experience, and best satisfies the instinctive belief, the spontaneous trust, the devout yearning which, if the voice of our collective humanity be not the utterance of a falsehood, must indicate some corresponding object in reality. It is not our intention to argue this question with Strauss. It is one too vast and deep to be discussed within the limits of the present paper, and belongs in fact rather to philosophy than to theology. We notice it here only to mark with distinctness the point where our own views diverge widely from those of the author, which, though not essential to his historical criticism, nevertheless underlie it throughout, and give to his conclusions the cold and negative character that need not of necessity belong to them. The religious philosophy implied

in this book, which, we again say, should be considered something apart from its historical criticism, seems to us essentially pantheistic, and at war with the deepest heart of the religion of whose history it is the exposition. Take away the belief in a Living God who can be approached in prayer and has communion through his omnipresent Spirit with the human soul ; take away the sense of our personal relation to a Personal God—the child's sense of kindred with an Everlasting Father, which gives the hope of an undying life in Him ; take away the trust, that the love and the worth and the beauty which shew themselves in things perishing and phenomenal, are an influx from an exhaustless Source which is at once within and beyond them ; and what remains that deserves the name of religion—to carry home the words of Jesus to the inmost recesses of the heart, or to explain the power and sanctity of his own life ? We feel, therefore, a much stronger objection to the philosophic theory which prevents our author's admission of the miraculous—that is, of the intrusion of any power from without into the phenomenal—than to the historical criticism which shews that in any particular case the report of the miracle has probably had a mythic origin. We will even add, that were criticism to succeed in demonstrating that not one miracle recorded in the New Testament was historically true, with a better religious philosophy put under that criticism and tempering its results, our faith would receive no shock, and our trust in the great truths of Christianity would be as strong as ever. The difficulty that we experience in wholly giving up the miraculous, is not a religious, but a critical one. Not a few of the miracles of the New Testament, it is true, may, we think, not unreasonably be considered as the product of tradition, interpreting literally the poetic imagery of Isaiah,* and assuming that the wonderful works of Elijah and Elisha must have been repeated by Messiah himself. But allowing the utmost for this source of the miraculous, there still remains so large an amount of extraordinary curative influence, explicable by no laws at present accessible to us, interwrought with the inmost substance of the history of Jesus, that if we attempt to separate it, the very texture of

* "Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as a hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing." (Isaiah xxxv. 5, 6.)

the narrative is destroyed ; and if we suppose it altogether the creation of a pious fancy, so sharp a blow would be inflicted on the credibility of even the great fundamental outlines of the history, that we could hardly tell whether we were dealing with any reality at all. Our faith in Christ's word and work does not depend, we are free to confess, on any alleged miraculous attestation in their favour, but on our inward experience of their truth and power ; we should believe in them just as firmly, if it could be proved that not a single miracle had ever been wrought : but we wish to save the character of the narrative through which they are conveyed to us ; and taking our stand on the earliest and most authentic Palestinian traditions, which have probably been preserved to us in Matthew, and partly, perhaps, in Mark,—we have never yet met with any critical process which could entirely extrude what has at least the semblance of miracle, and leave even the ground-work of a credible history behind. What the consistent anti-supernaturalist has to shew is this—how he can divest the person of Jesus of all miraculous influence attaching to it, and yet leave as large a residuum of positive history as Strauss himself accepts as the basis of his theory. John the Baptist was in the first instance as much the object of Messianic expectation as Jesus, and for some time their two ministries appear to have occupied independent spheres ; yet no traditions of supernatural power have gathered round the person of the former. We find it difficult, therefore, to believe that gifts of some extraordinary kind, displayed chiefly in curative effects, and involving also deep spiritual insight, were not possessed by Jesus—a result of the peculiar organization with which he was originally endowed ; and that these formed, as it were, the *punctum saliens* of primitive fact out of which the whole mass of mythic and legendary amplification naturally grew, as they may at first have been the providential means of exciting and securing the attention of some whom more spiritual influences would not so readily have reached. Obscurity is cast over this subject by the vague meaning attached to the word *miraculous*. Scarcely two persons use it in the same sense. No one of any philosophical culture, whatever his religious theory, ever supposes God to act without law. Law springs out of the very nature of mind. The more perfect mind is, the more

surely it is obedient to law, as the condition of harmonious and self-consistent action,—involving in its effects all the difference between a *kosmos* and a *chaos*. But it does not, therefore, follow that the deepest laws of the infinite working can be seized by a finite intelligence, or are even contained as yet within the limits of the phenomenal. The idea of progress and development which the past history of our planet irresistibly forces on us, implies the continual accession of something new, which, as it transcends the actual, the actual is not of itself competent to originate. Out of the vast, unexplored possibilities of the spiritual, which enfold and pervade and underlie the phenomenal, influences at times may, and (if the world is to advance) must issue, which contradict the results of experience, and limit the universality of laws which a premature generalization had accepted as final. It is this occasional intrusion of the spiritual into the phenomenal, which we suppose people mean in general to express when they speak of the miraculous. No doubt the disposition to believe in such intrusion (which is in itself significant, as forming a part of the natural faith of the human soul) has led constantly to its gratuitous supposition, and, in ages when there was no science, assumed its presence in cases which further inquiry shewed were resolvable into laws uniformly in operation around us. The number of such cases, it must be confessed, has been regularly on the decrease with the progress of science. Nevertheless, after every deduction on this account, phenomena are still on record, supported by unexceptionable testimony (testimony, the rejection of which would subvert the foundations of all history), and inexplicable by any laws which science can define, for the solution of which we must go to something beyond the phenomenal as yet known to us. Every one at all acquainted with the history of religion, or, if the reader so pleases, of superstition (for the two histories are closely interwoven with each other), is well aware how constantly every fresh outbreak of the religious life, especially after a long suppression in formality and indifference, has been accompanied by some mysterious and unaccountable phenomena. Our own generation has witnessed them. The miracles ascribed to St. Bernard are reported on more direct testimony than can be alleged for those of the Gospels. All such cases we would have subjected to the seve-

rest scrutiny, and left to rest each on its appropriate evidence, apart from any theory. They will probably be found to contain a large mixture of delusion and self-deception with some unaccountable reality at bottom—linking our human nature, here and there, amid the tangled web of the actual, with dim, mysterious agencies which are slumbering as yet in the bosom of the Infinite, and of which only at the rarest intervals we catch a passing glimpse. This is a subject on which no man will venture to dogmatize. It is the truest philosophy to hold the mind in candid and reverent suspense. The extreme devotion of the present age to the physical sciences confines its interest and belief to the ascertainable and phenomenal, and indisposes it to any recognition of the vaguer realities of the spiritual. We only desire to enter our protest against the narrow and one-sided philosophy which would shut up all possibility within the limits of law reducible to scientific formulas, and exclude the great Parent Mind from all direct action on the condition of his human family.*

The logical rigour with which Strauss carries out the consequences of his system, and his determination to explain every word and every act which appear to him not to come within the range of the strictly historical, in accordance with its pervading principle, have blinded him in some cases to the moral beauty and significance of the narrative, and the deep spiritual intuitions which, amidst errors of scriptural interpretation, have filled Christ's words with enduring light. His theory binds his faculties as with a spell, and keeps him intent on exploring the dim traces of rabbinical refinement and mysticism, when with a mind

* There is a superficial philosophy current in some quarters, that will probably treat with derision the conceded possibilities of the foregoing paragraph; that accepts without difficulty, by the aid of certain traditional formulas, all the miracles of the Old and New Testament, as exceptional cases (peculiar and limited to them) in the order of the world, and yet scorns as weak and irrational credulity every attempt to reduce such cases to deeper but constant laws, and bring them into harmony with the facts of universal history. To the consideration of such persons, who, to be consistent, should believe more or believe less, we commend the following wise and seasonable words, ascribed (we have reason to know, on the best authority) to one of the first mathematicians of the age: "What I reprobate is, not the wariness which widens and lengthens inquiry, but the assumption which prevents or narrows it; the imposture theory, which frequently infers imposture from the assumed impossibility of the phenomena asserted, and then alleges imposture against the examination of the evidence." Preface to a book entitled, "From Matter to Spirit," p. xxix.

more open and erect he could not have failed to bring more prominently into view that remarkable feature of the gospel history—the sympathy, if we may so express it, of its miraculous elements with the moral life of Christ himself, glowing with the same warm hues of human tenderness and love, breathing the same deep tone of devout trust and aspiration, as if the common and the miraculous of the record grew out of the same spiritual root. This may be no sufficient proof of the strictly historical character of these narratives, but it attests at least the intensity of the impression under which they were conceived, and shews how the spirit of Christ had entered into and moulded anew the minds that consorted with him, and handed down the living tradition of his personal presence which has taken shape and consistency in our present Gospels. The predominance of this moral and religious element is the great distinction of the canonical from the apocryphal Gospels, and a proof of the fine spiritual tact of the primitive Church which so clearly separated them.

We shall notice only two instances of what appears to us a certain logical narrowness in Strauss. In commenting on the beautiful words about the resurrection, Matt. xxii. 51, 52; Mark xii. 26, 27; and Luke xx. 37, 38 (pp. 259, 260), he sees no force, as De Wette does, and as we do, in the inference drawn by Christ from the pregnant expression, "the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob," clenched by the sublime universalism peculiar to Luke—*πάντες γὰρ αὐτῷ ζῶσιν*—"for all live unto him." We may admit that the exegesis adopted by Christ in this passage was a rabbinical one, and that the words taken by themselves furnish no direct proof of the doctrine associated with them. But Strauss himself discerns an evidence of Christ's greatness in the new spirit with which he read the old scripture, shewing him to be a prophet, though no interpreter; and it is surprising to us that one who can see and acknowledge all this, should not also feel the depth and force of the spiritual intuition which perceived at once there could be no death for the soul in God, and, truer than the ancient words in which it found utterance, was the revelation of an eternal reality to the world. The other passage is the story of the raising of Lazarus. We are constrained by internal and external evidence to believe with Strauss that this narrative cannot be

historical. We cannot else understand how an event of such importance, affecting the most intimate friends of Jesus, could have been so entirely passed over without the remotest allusion by the Synoptical Gospels. We think there is great force in Strauss's reasons for regarding it as an embodiment in this concrete form of the doctrine, that the Word is in himself, *ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ζωὴ*—"the resurrection and the life." But in his rigid development of this idea, and in his anxiety to shew how it has influenced every part of the narrative, he loses all sense of that exquisite tenderness and pathos which would seem to have so entirely possessed the mind of the evangelist, that in the glow of composition he forgets the divinity of his subject, and is completely carried away by his human sympathies, and in individual expressions falls into dissonance with his general theme. Strauss, like some other critics, more logical than his author, is driven to harsh interpretations to bring him into harmony with himself. The betrayal of deep emotion at the grave, conveyed by the words, *ἐνεβριμήσατο, ἐτάραξεν, ἐμβριμώμενος* (John xi. 34, 38), he understands of the indignation of Jesus at the insensibility of the bystanders to the greatness and power of the present Logos. The whole context, however, shews that the writer meant something very different, and permitting his human traditions of Christ to overpower for the moment the hypothesis of his divinity, has described with uncommon beauty the struggle in the mind of Jesus with the strength of his natural affections. That this is the true rendering of the passage is evident from the subjoined *τῷ πνεύματι* and *ἐν ἑαυτῷ*, which qualify the original force of the verb *ἐμβριμάσθαι*, and from the single word *ἐδάκρυσεν* which furnishes a key to the whole.

As John has added some things not contained in the Synoptics, so he has strangely omitted others which are pre-eminently characteristic of them. There is no curative effect more constantly recorded in the three first Gospels than the expulsion of evil spirits, while no instance of it occurs in the fourth. Strauss's explanation of this peculiarity is at least plausible and entitled to consideration. Reported cases of this kind were common in that age all over the world. Josephus and the sophists make frequent mention of them. And something analogous is said to be

met with to this day in the East. Strauss thinks that the great moral power of Jesus, and the reverence which his presence inspired, might exercise a healing influence on persons liable to the affections that were popularly ascribed to demoniacal possession. This was in perfect harmony with the popular persuasion respecting him. We know there were then regular exorcists by profession both among the Jews and the heathens. But this class of persons had already fallen into disrepute at the commencement of the second century; and Strauss finds an indication of the later origin of John's Gospel in the exclusion from its pages of all cures of this kind, which it would have been no longer regarded as consistent with the dignity of the incarnate Word to ascribe to him.

After the foregoing exposition of his theory, it is hardly necessary to add that Strauss does not believe in the historical fact of the resurrection of the body on the third day, nor, we fear we must add, in individual immortality. Individuals, like all other phenomena, according to his view of things, are transient and perishable. Only the primal idea which evolves and develops itself in and through them, is eternal. He exposes with great acuteness the complexities and inconsistencies of the several evangelical narratives, and shews that they exhibit traces of two perfectly distinct traditions of the appearances of the risen Jesus—one dreamy and phantom-like, the other, and probably the later, hardened into the distincter outlines of corporeal manifestation. He thinks that the apostles and their associates fled on the event of the crucifixion into Galilee; and that hence arose the tradition that Christ first manifested himself to them amid the scenes of his early ministry, in fulfilment of his promise to meet them there. It took more time, in his opinion, than is allowed by our present Gospels, for the full growth of the conviction that he had risen from the dead, had appeared to his first disciples, and was still spiritually present with his church. The minuter specifications of time and place and particular appearance—three, eight and forty days, the Galilean mountain, the walk to Emmaus, the closed chamber at Jerusalem, the shore of the Sea of Tiberias—he considers to be altogether the product of a later tradition. All idea of resuscitation after an apparent death, which was a favourite resource of the old rationalists, and

which appears from his posthumous papers to have been entertained by Schleiermacher himself, is rejected by Strauss unconditionally, as inconsistent with the best attested facts of the case. What became of the mortal remains of Jesus there are no means, he thinks, of our ever knowing. The belief in the resurrection of Christ he regards with Ewald as a result of the intense hopes and longings of the disciples, tradition magnifying dim and uncertain rumours, and the words of Messianic promise working with a foregone conclusion on fervid and enthusiastic minds. But this explanation does not appear to us, any more than that of Ewald, sufficient to explain the extraordinary fact in the origin of the new religion which five words of Tacitus have impressed in indelible characters on the page of universal history—*repressa que in præsens—rursus erumpebat*. What was the cause of that wonderful change in the mind of Paul which made the spiritual world a reality to him? His own words imply (1 Cor. xv. 5—8) that the same appearances which convinced him that Jesus was risen from the dead, had convinced others before him. And what was the effect of that conviction? It transformed their whole mind and life. The disciples *before* and the disciples *after* the death of Jesus (an event which might have been expected wholly to crush the nascent faith, and in the first instance seemed actually to do so) were completely different men; *before*, doubting, timid and carnal; *after*, bold, confident and spiritual. Nor was the effect limited to them. Through them, a new light entered the world, a new hope brightened the horizon of our planet. Immortality, which had been the floating dream of a speculative few, became the steadfast trust of multitudes. The earliest literature and art of the Christians, their simple hymns and the rude frescoes which adorned their tombs, touchingly shew how the future beyond the grave, to which friends and kindred had already passed, was to them a nearer and more vivid reality than the troubled and persecuted present in which they lived on earth. And this has been the animating principle of Christianity throughout its subsequent diffusion over the earth, marking a new era in the spiritual development of our race,—the assurance of a wider and more glorious future for the immortal soul. The origin of this new conviction we can trace back to a definite period in past history associated

with the traditions of Christ. And can we account for it without the supposition of some fresh infusion from the spiritual into the phenomenal? Can that which renovated the world have grown out of the world? Could death develop life? We may never be able to give an objective precision to our conception of the cause. It is involved in deepest mystery. But we think Baur was nearer to the truth than either Ewald or Strauss with all their elaborate explanations, when of the impression—which transformed the mind of Paul and of all who with him were engaged in evangelizing the world,—which linked invisible by a living bond with visible things, and constituted the firm, immovable basis of the whole superstructure of the future church—he declared, as the result of a long life of profound and fearless inquiry, he did not believe that we should ever by any psychological analysis be able to give a satisfactory account. And the deep conviction produced in our mind by the contemplation of these historical phenomena is this—that as in relation to the present world the welcome reception of Christ's spirit and the experience of its happy effects are an evidence of the eternal truth which flowed in it,—so, by whatever means it may have been first infused into the tide of human thought, the firm hold which the doctrine of immortality has had on the mind of civilized men ever since the days of the apostles, the response that it has met with, the uneffaceable mark which it has left on literature, philosophy and art, and the way in which it has contributed to harmonize and round off into a consistent whole, our conceptions of God and providence and human life,—are proof conclusive that a doctrine which possesses such enduring vitality and draws its nourishment from the deepest sources of humanity, can be no other than the voice of God, and must have its certain counterpart in some invisible reality.

One satisfaction at least we can derive from this work of Strauss. It shews us the utmost that we have to fear from hostile criticism. We now know the worst. Never were the earliest records of our faith subjected to a more rigorous and searching scrutiny. Never were the possible elements of truth and falsehood sifted with a more suspicious and unsparing hand. The author has done his work with a cold-blooded courage and determination. No lingering affection

has blinded the clearness of his intellectual vision. No prejudice of the heart has hindered him from seeing the bare, simple fact involved in any dubious narrative. And now—bating his religious philosophy, which is something quite extraneous to his historical criticism—what, after all, is the result? What great principle of conduct, what consolatory trust of humanity, is weakened—that would have stood on a firmer basis and been surrounded with clearer evidence, had we still continued to take the whole mass of the gospel history as historical truth, and had no one ever thought of separating myth and fact? We have still authentic indication of the earliest workings of the greatest moral revolution that has taken place in the world; and we have glimpses, so original that they must be true, of the wonderful personality which introduced it, and the more stimulating, the more spiritually creative, for the very reason that they are glimpses. We can still trace the first swelling and shooting forth of the prolific seed which has impregnated the world with a new life. We feel to this day that we are possessors of the same deep consciousness and the same aspiring trust which originated those great changes, and unites us with them in one unbroken continuity of spiritual life. Now, as then, it is through the heart and conscience of believing man that God speaks to our world. As we trace back the great stream of human thought through the ages to its source, we observe how it is enriched at a particular point by a sudden accession of moral and spiritual strength; and that alone would prove the intervention of some great inspiring mind, were the result of modern criticism on ancient books more destructive than it really is—and would still have proved it, had those books never existed at all, or been entirely swept away in the persecution of Diocletian. We are thankful indeed for their preservation as they are; but their chief value to us is the witness which they bear to the regenerating influence of a spirit which could only have issued from some great and holy mind, and through that mind from God himself. For the grandest of human trusts is the presence of a Living God in history, suggesting the highest thoughts and noblest impulses that animate it, and guiding them to distant issues, which the very souls through which they worked, did not anticipate and could not conceive.

We have remarked in an earlier part of this paper, that Strauss does not do justice to the resources of his own theory. It is more conservative than he allows it to be. His philosophy has marred the applications of his criticism. He remarks (p. 624), with a cold desolateness of tone which sometimes chills the reader in his pages, that the dispersion of the mythic from a narrative does not restore the historical; and that we know less of the actual Jesus of Nazareth than of any great man of antiquity—less, for example, than we know of Socrates. Even if we confine ourselves to the intellectual and objective life, which is all that the criticism of Strauss here contemplates, this statement is certainly overdone. It is not more difficult to trace the characteristic features of the man Jesus through the different media by which it is transmitted to us in the three first Gospels and the fourth, than it is to form an idea of the peculiar idiosyncrasy of Socrates from the widely different representations of Xenophon and Plato. But if we descend into the deeper life of the soul, into the region of affection and sympathy, where the truest evidence of personality is to be found,—then we say the advantage is altogether on the side of Christ, and we have proofs of love and reverence and the transforming influence of a great and genial soul in the diversified conceptions of the apostolic tradition, such as the records of the Socratic school are unable to supply. Even the mythic may here be said to cumulate the evidence; for it could only spring from a depth of impression and an intensity of feeling, going down to the very sources of the moral life, which the cold admiration of Athenian intellect was impotent to produce.

Strauss remarks, that only one side of our humanity is fully exemplified in the person of Christ—that which connects us with God and the religious life; while the industrial, the political, the scientific and the artistic elements, which are so indispensable to the progress of our race, are all wanting. This is true, no doubt; but he should have added, that the spiritual element which is so perfectly revealed in Christ, is essential to the growth of all the rest, and in every human being of every class and in every age is the source of inward peace and the principle of a real sanctification of the life. When the soul is once placed, as it is by the spirit of Christ, in a right relation towards God, the great

conversion of humanity is effected ; it is put in the path of healthful self-development ; and the qualities which may yet be needed to complete the full proportions of our nature, may be left to arrange themselves organically around this central germ, through the free working of our collective faculties guided by the results of experience. In a fine passage (p. 625), which we have not left ourselves space to quote, Strauss does ample justice to Christianity, and places Jesus in the first rank of those who have contributed to develop the ideal of humanity.

We cannot close this volume, strongly as on some points we have expressed our dissent, and notwithstanding our painful sense of the serious deficiencies of its religious philosophy, without a strong feeling of respect for the author, not only for his learning and ability, which none will dispute, but also for his courage and truthfulness, his moral earnestness, and his general candour towards those who are opposed to him. With all its faults and extravagances, for no theory finds its true limits all at once, his book will leave its permanent mark on the theology of the future. It has fixed one or two points in advance, from which it will henceforth be impossible to go back. What we have most to complain of is a certain one-sidedness, which the author no doubt identifies with completeness and consequentiality. On all points he makes it too much an absolute question of Yes or No. He therefore shews on all occasions far more toleration for the old thorough-going orthodox than for those who, cautiously feeling their way towards a wider truth, stop short of the sweeping results at which he has himself arrived. Our own modification of his theory would doubtless bring us under the censure which he pronounces on all who seek their rest in a *juste milieu*. We can only say we have striven to imitate him, where he is most worthy of imitation—in his love of truth—by giving utterance simply and without reserve to the conviction that has been produced in us by the perusal of his book, and by some previous years of thought and study on the same subject. For the rest, we regard with no slight suspicion all violent disruption from the faith and hope which have guided and consoled the best and wisest of our race through long thousands of years ; and we have yet to learn that truth must always be sought in one of two contradictory extremes.

V.—ECCLESIASTICAL CHRONICLE.

THE events of the last two months have been far less interesting in themselves than as the natural results of the more important occurrences which had gone before. The stress of the storm is for the present passed, but the long swell still rolls in from the sea, and fragments of the wreck are being daily cast upon the sands. Lord Westbury's Bill for the endowment of the Greek Professorship at Oxford was thrown out in the House of Lords by 55 votes to 25 ; and Mr. Jowett is still "passing rich on forty pounds a-year." The great "Declaration" has been presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth. It bore, according to the Bishop of London, 10,906 English and Irish signatures, while by the same authority the number of English and Irish clergy is stated at 24,796. Surely, if this be true, the wonder is not that so many clergymen signed a paper which came to them with such high credentials, but that so many more were bold enough to refuse their signatures ! At the same time, we have not yet come to the end of declarations. The Archbishop of York has followed the example of his Grace of Canterbury, in issuing a Pastoral, in which he states his grounds of dissent from the judgment of the Privy Council ; and an address of thanks to the two Archbishops, and consequently of implied censure upon the Bishop of London, is now being circulated for signature among both clergymen and laymen. Nevertheless, lest the true faith, supported by so many thousand signatures, should still be in danger of failing from the minds of men, the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury has proceeded to a formal, synodical condemnation of "Essays and Reviews."

It was the old story over again. A Committee had sat for some weeks and had prepared a lengthy report full of evidence to prove what every one was convinced of before. The Bishop of Oxford was warmly in favour of condemnation, the Bishop of London sincerely anxious for peace. So, after brief debate, the volume was "synodically condemned as containing teaching contrary to the doctrine received by the United Church of England and Ireland, in common with the whole Catholic Church of Christ,"—the motion being passed with three dissentients, the Bishops of London, Lincoln

and Bangor. The Bishop of St. David's was not present. To make the condemnation complete, however, it needed the concurrence of the Lower House. Here a less unequal fight was well maintained, the Dean of Westminster coming manfully forward in defence of the Essayists. But after a double adjournment, the rejection of several amendments, and a stormy debate, the Lower concurred in the decision of the Upper House by a majority of 39 to 19 votes. The transparent absurdity of the whole proceeding needs no comment. Timid people were already sufficiently deterred by the weight of ecclesiastical authority from opening the forbidden pages. A thousand synodical judgments will not terrify speculative minds from their perusal. To the Privy Council, not to Convocation, belongs the right of defining what is the faith of the Church of England. All that the Bishops and Proctors have done is to make a last effort to force "Essays and Reviews" into fresh circulation, and to draw upon themselves the ridicule, not unmingled with anger, which attends the attempt to revive obsolete and arbitrary powers.

The Colenso controversy has passed into a fresh stage. On the one hand, sentence of deposition—the required retraction of error not being forthcoming—has been duly served upon the Bishop, who, on the other, has petitioned the Judicial Committee of Privy Council to declare the pretended trial and sentence void and of no effect. The case was ordered to stand over till Michaelmas Term, the Judges declining to make any order which might seem in the slightest way to prejudge the question of jurisdiction. The Bishop of Natal has also published a letter to the laity of his diocese, to which, as it appeared shortly after our last issue, we will only briefly refer, as a most clear and moderate statement of his case against his brethren of the South African Bench. At home, the cause of religious liberty has made an unwonted stride in the second reading by the House of Commons of Mr. Bouverie's "Uniformity Act Amendment Bill," which relieves all Fellows and Tutors of any college, hall or house of learning, from the necessity of subscribing a declaration of conformity to the Liturgy of the Church of England as by law established. On the other hand, Lord Gage has failed in his attempt to obtain liberty for clergymen to substitute other lessons for those taken

from the Apocrypha, and "Bel and the Dragon," which Sheldon so exulted in having forced upon the Church of 1662, still torments the taste, if not the consciences, of his successors. Such isolated efforts to amend the Prayer-book are a singular sign, of the times, although their success, in so far as it might stand in the way of a comprehensive revision, is hardly to be wished for.

In Scotland, the proposed union among the non-established Presbyterian Churches has given rise to animated debates in the United Presbyterian Synod and the General Assembly of the Free Church. It is a year since this union was first proposed, and although it has not yet been accomplished, and probably will never take place—certainly not according to the wishes of its promoters—there is at present a strong inclination for it in the two most important bodies concerned. The Free Church already outnumbers the Establishment, and the accession of power that would result to it from the absorption of a body more than half as large as itself, is a strong incentive to its ambition. It might seem that there would be little difficulty in the way of union between two sects which both hold the same form of faith, teach the same catechism, are subject to the same kind of church government, and are both dissenting. But it is in this last point that the difference consists. The members of the Free Church are Dissenters indeed; but only from necessity, not upon principle. They regard their Church as the Church of Scotland, and believe that it *ought* to be established; they hold that they have been driven out of their just rights by the encroachments of the civil power, and that when Cæsar—such is the orthodox phrase—has become subject to Christ, he will restore them to their former position. In short, they maintain that, if the principles of Christianity were carried into practice, the Church would be entirely independent of State control, but supported, at least partially, by State endowments. In the words of the report of the Free Church Committee on Union, "it is his duty (the civil magistrate's), when necessary or expedient, to employ the national resources in aid of the Church, provided always that in doing so, while reserving to himself full control over the temporalities, which are his own gift, he abstain from all authoritative interference in the government of the Church. And while

the Church must ever maintain the essential and perpetual obligation which Christ has laid on all his people to support and extend his Church by free-will offerings; yet, in entire consistency with said obligation, the Church may lawfully accept aid from the civil magistrate when her independence is preserved entire." The United Presbyterians, on the other hand, are voluntaries, and maintain accordingly that the Church should be independent of State aid, no less than of State control. Yet the Committee on Union has made considerable advances towards the Free Church position. They do not boldly declare that the civil magistrate, as such, has nothing to do with the religion, as such, of his subjects, but, on the contrary, maintain (or concede?) that "the civil magistrate ought to further the interests of the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ among his subjects in every way consistent with its spirit and enactments, and to be ruled by it in the making of laws, the administration of justice, the swearing of oaths, and other matters of civil jurisdiction," a principle which, while it reads innocently enough, might be made entirely subversive of religious liberty. On the point referring to State endowments, however, the Committee is firm, and it is possible that this is the rock on which the proposed union may fall to pieces. The Committee's report says, that it is not within the province of the civil magistrate "to prescribe a creed or form of worship to his subjects, or to endow the Church from national resources." In the United Presbyterian Synod the debate turned principally on the relation of the civil government to religion, and there were a few who courageously advocated the true voluntary principle of the entire independence of the provinces of Church and State. In the General Assembly of the Free Church, the speeches were for the most part highly conciliatory in their tone, and the most influential members, and among the rest Dr. Candlish, were strongly in favour of union. There was, however, no disposition in any quarter to overlook the differences between the two bodies. A strong feeling was manifested on behalf of the distinctive principle of the Free Church, and it became quite clear that upon that side there could be no compromise or concession. The result in both meetings was, that the respective Committees were re-appointed, but that of the Free Church on the special understanding that

there should be no departure from the principles of the Church.

In the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the most interesting discussion was that which arose on the report of the Committee on "Innovations." The report began with an historical sketch of the laws and usages of the Church in regard to public worship, from which it appeared that forms of prayer were in use for some time after the Reformation, which, however, were designed merely as models and aids for the use of the officiating minister, but not intended to supersede free prayer. The most important fact brought forward in this part of the report as bearing upon recent innovations, seems to be the statement that in 1707 an Act of Parliament was passed, which "ratifies the true Protestant religion, and the subsisting worship, discipline and government of the Church," and provides that the form and purity of worship presently in use within the Church shall remain and continue unalterable.

The second part of the report, which relates to "the present practice of the congregations in regard to the administration of public worship throughout the Church," begins by remarking upon the striking uniformity which generally prevails, but then goes on to enumerate various particulars of diversity.

In the third and last part of their report, the Committee state that they are of opinion that they would be wanting in their duty if they did not bring under the special notice of the Assembly the facts that, according to the returns to their queries, in one congregation the prayers are read from a printed book, and a harmonium is used; while in two other congregations manuscript forms of prayer seem to be employed for some portion of the public worship. Notwithstanding, they refrained from suggesting any legislative measures, on the part of the Church, in regard to the administration of public worship.

A warm and somewhat personal debate followed the reading of this report. Dr. Robert Lee, the minister of the Old Greyfriars' Church, and the originator of the most alarming of the innovations—the introduction of the harmonium and the use of printed prayers—was directly attacked by one of the speakers, and charged with having deliberately disobeyed the injunction of the Assembly of

1859, which had engaged him to discontinue the use of his liturgy and to conform in this respect to the custom of the Church. Dr. Lee defended himself with great spirit, and maintained the right of a minister to disobey an unconstitutional command of the General Assembly. Alluding to the proceedings of the Edinburgh Presbytery in 1858, in regard to the form of worship followed in his church, he shewed that many of the alleged innovations had been decided by the Assembly to be no innovations at all, and denied that there was any prohibition in the Directory against reading prayers. Dr. Lee said, he had felt there was a want in the Church, and he had set himself to supply that want. He had made a study of all the liturgies he could meet with, and as the fruit of this study had written prayers for his own use. It had been said that his prayers were fragmentary; but if they were, they had cost him a vast amount of trouble. The Assembly might forbid him to use his prayers, but all they could compel him to do was to leave them off, which would be a most ridiculous issue for the General Assembly to be brought to. Finally, he contended that it was far more natural to read a prayer than a sermon, and in concluding a speech characterized by all his accustomed sarcasm and argumentative power, expressed a hope that the General Assembly would come to a decision which would do it honour.

The Assembly shewed its wisdom by adopting the report of the Committee and rejecting an amendment upon the motion for its adoption, in which special notice was taken of the fact that Dr. Lee had disobeyed an injunction addressed to him by the Assembly of 1859, in which the Presbytery of Edinburgh was instructed to inquire into the facts of the case. This of course was a triumph for Dr. Lee, and for all who sympathize with him in believing the Presbyterian form of worship susceptible of improvement.

Yet even in the Established Church, where undoubtedly a far more moderate tone prevails than in its rival, a man like Dr. Robert Lee, who boasts his liberality and notoriously preaches a religion far removed from Calvinism, dares not say a word in disparagement of the Westminster Confession of Faith. In a discussion which arose upon an overture for obtaining information in regard to the number of elders in each parish, it was stated that one reason of the

difficulty of obtaining elders was the fact that many gentlemen, otherwise well inclined towards the Church of Scotland, had scruples about signing the Confession, which, it seems, every elder is required to do. Dr. Lee made a speech in favour of relieving elders to some extent of this burden. But upon one point he was very explicit. There was no desire to make any change in the standards of the Church, nor to relieve ministers of the necessity of signing. In the course of his speech, he dwelt much upon the difficulty of understanding the Confession of Faith and the amount of study that was required for the purpose, but threw out no hint that any of its propositions could be erroneous, or that it was in any way susceptible of improvement.

In this connection we may briefly mention a Bill introduced into the House of Lords by the Duke of Buccleugh, entitled the "Scottish Episcopal Clergy Disabilities Removal Bill." Most of our readers are no doubt aware of the existence of a Scotch Episcopal Church—once illustrated by Leighton's virtues as disgraced by the vices of Sharpe—which, could the Stuarts have had their will, would have stood to the English Establishment in the same relation as the Irish Church now does. But the Revolution, establishing Presbyterianism in Scotland, virtually reduced the Episcopal Church to the condition of a Dissenting sect. The case of Gilbert Burnet, who having been ordained in Scotland, afterwards became Bishop of Salisbury, is a proof that the two Churches were in his day considered as really one in doctrine and discipline; but in the 32nd of George III. an Act was passed providing that no clergyman of the Church of Scotland should be able to hold a benefice in England without undergoing re-ordination at the hands of an English Bishop. This is now felt to be hard measure, when clergymen ordained in the colonies, or even converted Roman Catholic priests, are not required to go through the process. Nevertheless, the Bill of the Duke of Buccleugh, which aims to take away this disability, and even provides that in every case the consent of the English Bishop in whose diocese the living is situated shall be obtained, has been fiercely opposed. The ostensible reasons of the opposition are many; the real motive but one. The Scotch Episcopal Church, urged, we suppose, by reaction against Calvinism, sympathizes in its views of doctrine and ritual with the

Anglo-Catholic party, and as a consequence is both feared and hated by the Evangelicals. The Duke of Buccleugh's Bill is, however, supported by all moderate and liberal Churchmen, and having passed through the ordeal of a Select Committee has been adopted by the House of Lords. What its fate will be in the stormier climate of the Lower House, it is impossible to predict.

In France some little excitement has been caused by the removal of M. Rénan from his Professorship of Hebrew and Syriac at the College of France. It will be remembered that M. Rénan's lectures were brought to an abrupt conclusion after the delivery of his introductory discourse; and that consequently he has for two years received the salary attached to his Professorship without performing any public functions. This anomalous state of things was brought to a close not long ago by M. Duruy, the Minister of Public Instruction, who recommended to the Emperor to apply the funds voted for M. Rénan's chair to the support of a new Professorship of Comparative Grammar and Philology, and to appoint M. Rénan himself Conservator of MSS. in the Imperial Library. The latter in a long and sharp letter to the Minister refused the compromise. Conservator he will not be; Professor, paid or unpaid, he is by the vote of his fellow-professors. The Minister is quite welcome to take the money, but at the same time he is resolved to keep his chair. It is, however, ill jesting with Emperors. Louis Napoleon seems to think that he has done quite enough for M. Rénan in providing for him a comfortable office under Government, and will not be defied as to the Professorship. So he is formally and, to all appearance, legally deprived of his chair, and retires for an indefinite period into privacy. In the mean time, the storm in the Protestant Church of France continues to rage, though without passing into any fresh phase. M. Colani, the celebrated preacher of Strasbourg,—by the admittance of whom to his pulpit M. Coquerel incurred the displeasure of the Presbyteral Council of Paris,—has been nominated by Imperial decree Professor of Sacred Eloquence in the Faculty of Theology of the city where he ministers. To this office M. Colani was nominated not only by the Faculty of Theology itself, but by the Directory or highest ecclesiastical authority of the Church of the Confession of Augsburg, of which, and not of

the Reformed Church, he is a member. On the other hand, M. Athanase Coquerel has gathered together his catechumens of the last twenty years on occasion of the annual meeting of a charitable organization into which they had constituted themselves, and in a most clear, temperate and judicious address, which he has since published under the title "Profession de Foi Chretienne," has re-asserted his doctrinal position. We were at first afraid that the peculiarity of his position might lead M. Coquerel on this occasion to some use of those ambiguous phrases in which able theologians so often hide while they seem to reveal their thought; and were disposed to doubt the advisability of making at the present juncture any "profession of faith" at all. But the noble courage, the straightforward honesty displayed in this address, has at once made us ashamed of our fears, and glad that the cause of religious liberty in France rests in hands so worthy of the trust. Of course the friends of orthodoxy in England have not lost the opportunity of shewing their sympathy with intolerance, and an address to the "Presbyteral Council of Paris" has been signed, and no doubt presented. On the other hand, as many of our readers are aware, an address to M. Coquerel was adopted at the last meeting of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. Some misapprehension as to the constitution of the French Reformed Church appears to have arisen at the meeting, although the facts were correctly stated in our last "*Ecclesiastical Chronicle*." The next number of the "*Theological Review*" will, however, contain the first of two valuable articles on Protestantism in France by a distinguished minister of the Reformed Church, in which any difference of opinion upon the actual freedom enjoyed in that communion will be authoritatively set at rest.

THE THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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I.—PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE: 1512—1559.

It is well known that, at the close of the middle ages, the religion of Jesus Christ was almost completely disfigured by every kind of abuse; that for more than five centuries all Europe had been repeating the formidable cry, Reform! reform in the Church, in its head and in its members! At the time appointed of God, who ever seeks to lead back His children into the way of truth, this reform burst forth everywhere at the same moment; and it is worthy of note that in every instance it was simply a return to the Bible, which barbarism and scholasticism had, so to speak, effaced from history. Luther, the monk of Erfurt,—Zwingli, the curé of Einsiedeln,—Calvin, the young curé, still a scholar at Paris,—Servetus, the student of law at Toulouse, and others,—reached reform only through the Bible. Nor is the reason of this difficult to understand. Indignation against the excesses of the priests and the monks, against the superstitions and the revolting practices of a degraded worship, engendered only a contempt and an unbelief, which had within them no power of origination. Religion, in the form which it had then assumed, was destroyed;* it had ceased to exist in men's hearts; nor could it be revived without being baptized afresh in its fountain-head, without being inspired anew by its original principle. The Reformers, therefore, had to abandon tradition in order to take their stand upon those written documents which have been bequeathed to us by the apostolic age.

The Reformation in France commenced at Paris. The

* Bellarmin himself says, "Religion hardly existed any longer."

first ray of holy liberty which beamed upon the 16th century broke from the dark cave of despotism itself, from the Sorbonne, whose iron yoke had so long oppressed the human mind.* From this light arose a mighty faith which created a new world.

An illustrious doctor of theology, Lefèvre, born at Etaples in 1455, and the "greatest singer of masses" that ever lived, began to read the Bible for the sole purpose of completing a collection of legends on which he was engaged—his *Agones Martyrum Januarii*, published in 1512. Struck by the fact that he did not find in it what he was looking for, he resolved to make a thorough investigation of the Holy Scriptures. In 1509, he gave to the world his *Psalterium quincuplex, Gallicum, Romanum, Hebraicum, vetus et conciliatum*, in the Preface to which he thus expresses himself: "For many years I have applied myself to human learning, and have scarcely tasted with the very edge of my lips, as the saying is, divine studies, which are august themes that may not be rashly approached. But now from afar off so brilliant a light has shone upon me, that in comparison all human doctrines appear but darkness. These divine pursuits have seemed to me to exhale a perfume whose sweetness nothing upon earth can equal." Before long, Lefèvre rejects the sacrifice of the mass, and attaches only a secondary importance to fasts and pilgrimages. He perceives the necessity of transforming religion from an external rite into an internal spirit; and proclaiming, with St. Paul, the doctrine of justification by faith, lays, in his Latin Commentary on the Epistles, the corner-stone of the Reformation. This was in the year 1512,† when Luther was visiting Rome on some business connected with his order. The date marks a new epoch in Europe.

The young Farel, a disciple and friend of Lefèvre's, in his turn takes up the study of the Bible. "I was greatly amazed," he says, "at seeing how everything (in religion)

* So the critical movement which produced the school of Strasburg—Scherer, Colani, Réville, etc.—originated from a school more backward than any other in its theology, the theopneustic school of Geneva.

† Zwingle did not commence the Reformation in Switzerland till 1516; Luther only published his 95 theses in 1517. A little later, Tyndale, Ridley and Latimer began the Reformation in England; Hamilton, Wishart and Knox, in Scotland; Beccaria and Brucioli in Italy; John d'Avila and Valdes in Spain; and Olaus Petri and Anderson in Sweden.

differed from the teaching of Holy Scripture." His prejudices, however, were not at once uprooted. The rebellious son of holy church humbled himself before her, and sank deeper still in her superstitions. "I might easily have been taken," he declares, "for a papal registrar, for a chronicler of martyrs, for an adept in everything belonging to papal idolatry and wickedness, in which I never knew any one who outdid me."* Nevertheless, this is the man destined to become the true founder of the French Reformation, of which Calvin, a more powerful but more despotic genius, will be only the organizer.

In the year 1514, Briçonnet, abbot of St. Germain des Prés, another disciple of Lefèvre's, attempted to restore in his convent the ancient and disused rules of the order. Being nominated two years later (1516) to the bishopric of Meaux, he set himself courageously to work to reform his diocese, imposing silence upon the "Cordeliers and other such beggars, whose only teaching was an antiquated donkeydom (*vieille ânerie*), with a view to the support and endowment of their convents."†

When the Sorbonne, always prompt in scenting out heresy, wanted to burn Lefèvre for his Dissertation on the three Mariæ,‡ he sought an asylum with the Bishop of Meaux (1521). The episcopal palace, whither at the same time other persecuted persons had fled,—Farel, Gérard Roussel and the Hebraist Vatable,—was converted into a school for the training of evangelical preachers. "Come pontiffs, come kings, come generous hearts," exclaimed Lefèvre; "...awake, ye nations, to the light of the gospel, and breathe eternal life. The Word of God is all-sufficient." The new doctrines, preached everywhere in the vicinity of Meaux, the reading of the New Testament, now for the first time rendered into the vulgar tongue by Lefèvre (1523), and gratuitously distributed at the expense of the Bishop, wrought a rapid change in the hearts of the people. "The Word of God," Crespin tells us, "was not only preached but practised in every part of the diocese; no work of charity or love was

* *Épître à tous seigneurs, &c.*

† Crespin, *His. des Martyrs*.

‡ In which he shewed that Mary Magdalene, Mary the sister of Lazarus, and Mary the "woman that was a sinner," were not the same person.

"Rien que la mort n'était capable
D'expier son forfait"!

neglected; manners improved from day to day; and superstition well-nigh disappeared." Throughout the country people talked of nothing but the *heretics of Meaux*.^{*} From this centre of piety and Christian life the Reformation was diffused through the whole of France.

It was now in vain that Lefèvre, enslaved by an enervating mysticism, desired reform without schism; clung to the *spiritual sense* of the Scriptures; endeavoured to reconstruct without overthrowing; and finally refused to separate from Rome;—in vain that Briçonnet weakly apostatized, became a persecutor, and dragged his own disciples, more conscientious and resolute than himself, to the stake. The French Reformation had commenced, and nothing could destroy it. Henceforth, the gospel, conscience and liberty, will pursue their course of conquest; nor have they yet, even in our own day, uttered their final message.

The persecution which raged against the heretics of Meaux, scattered, by dispersing them, the seeds of Christian truth and life far and wide. In 1523, the Queen Regent, Louisa of Savoy, mother of Francis the First, put this question to the theologians of the Sorbonne: "By what means can the accursed doctrine of Luther be crushed, uprooted and purged out of this kingdom?" The Sorbonne replied that heresy must be repressed with the utmost severity. Thus from the outset the contest is a war without truce, which will last from the reign of Francis the First to that of Louis the Sixteenth, a period of two centuries and a half. So much is this the case, that whole volumes are in existence which contain nothing but the records of sentences passed upon the Protestants.[†]

When the books of Luther, which had found their way to every part of France, were seized at the booksellers' and burnt,—when propositions extracted from Lefèvre's Commentary on the New Testament were condemned as heretical

^{*} At first they were named French Protestants; afterwards they were called "Christaudins, Luthériens, Reformés, Calvinistes, Huguenots, Prétendus Réformés."

[†] These persecutions began in 1523, and lasted till 1786. In 1773, Broca, a pastor of Meaux, closes the list of ministers imprisoned on account of their religion. Although Béarn was again delivered over to the dragoons in 1774, and the last Protestant galley-slaves were released only in 1775, it may be said, in general terms, that the persecution continued for 250 years, and ended at Meaux, where it had begun.

(1523).—Brignonnet took fright, and bent all his energy to the task of restoring his orthodox reputation. He forbade the reading of books brought from beyond the Rhine, ordered prayers for the dead, removed from their pulpits the preachers whom he had himself invited, and even caused Jean Leclerc of Meaux to be branded in the forehead for having affixed to the gate of the cathedral a placard aimed against indulgences, in which the Pope was treated as Antichrist. While the red-hot iron pierced the quivering flesh, a woman cried out, "Jesus and his defenders (*enseignes*, standard-bearers) for ever!" It was the mother of Leclerc. Thus was welcomed the first punishment inflicted upon the adherents of the Reformation. Might not the persecutors have perceived that they must finally be vanquished, that in the name of Jesus and his defenders the constancy of the martyr would triumph over the fury of the executioner?

In the following year, 1524, the wool-comber of Meaux, now a refugee at Metz, brought upon himself, by his iconoclastic zeal, a most horrible punishment, which he endured with antique heroism. While his hand was being cut off, while his nose, his arms, his breasts, were being torn with pincers, he recited in a loud voice the 115th Psalm: "Their idols are silver and gold, the work of men's hands." Last of all, he was cast into the flames. The same year, also, Pavannes, another disciple of Lefèvre's, was burnt for an Essay against the worship of the Virgin and Saints. From this time persecutions become innumerable, and are nowhere borne with such firmness as in France. The following verses, which were affixed at the corners of the streets in 1533, will give a just idea of the orthodox fury of the time, and of the terrible hatred which was felt towards the "accursed Lutherans:"

"Au feu, au feu, cette hérésie !

* * * *

Prions tous le roi de gloire
Qu'il confonde ces chiens maudits,
Afin qu'il n'en soit plus mémoire
Non plus que de vieux os pourris.
Au feu, au feu, cette hérésie,
Fais en justice, Dieu l'a permis."

Nevertheless, for a moment, the influence of the pious mystic, Marguerite of Navarre, was on the very point of

prevailing with the king her brother over the rage of the priests and monks. Francis the First invited Melancthon to his court, and if the Reformer had appeared there, French Catholicism would undoubtedly have received its death-blow. But an imprudence on the part of the Reformers threw back the king for ever into the ranks of the persecutors. In 1534, a placard, attributed to the impetuous Farel, was posted up everywhere, even on the chamber-door of the haughty monarch himself, an affront which he swore to wash out with blood. In this very intemperate publication, "the Pope and all his vermin the cardinals,—the monks and other hypocritical sayers of masses," were handled with a violence which in our day is not to be met with, except in the briefs and bulls of the Court of Rome. "O wretches !" exclaimed the placard, "were there no other evil in your infernal theology save what you say so irreverently of the precious body of Jesus, how well would you merit, blasphemers and heretics, the faggot and the flame ! Light then your fires, not for us, but to burn and roast yourselves ; for we will not believe in your idols, in your new Gods and new Christs, which may be eaten by the brutes as well as by yourselves, who are worse than brutes, in the jests which you make about your God of paste, with which you amuse yourselves, as a cat plays with a mouse."

The king at once commanded all the Lutherans to be arrested ; and in order to testify his own high respect for the mass thus treated as "idolatry," took part, bareheaded, with his children and his whole court, in a solemn public procession. After the dinner which followed, he delivered at the bishop's palace an exciting speech against the "crime" of the placards. His concluding words were : "As sure as I am your king, if I knew that one of my own limbs were contaminated and tainted with this detestable corruption (heresy), I would give it to be cut away. Nay, more, if one of my children were infected, I would not spare him, but would deliver him up myself and sacrifice him to God." On his way back to the Louvre, this second Abraham took a horrid delight in witnessing other sacrifices. Piles of faggots were erected in various places, and the executioners awaited the arrival of the pious monarch to exhibit to him the spectacle of a new species of torture, the *estrapade*.

The Lutherans, suspended at the extremity of a kind of swing, were repeatedly withdrawn from the fire, into which the moment afterwards they were again plunged.* Six times, it is said, was this atrocious drama played before the eyes of the king on that day, Jan. 21, 1535.† France was covered with the flames of martyrdom. The tribunals inflicted the penalty of death not only upon heretics, but upon those who gave them shelter. A fourth part of the victim's property was allotted to the informer. It is impossible to read without the profoundest horror the narrative of the massacre of the Vaudois in 1545, of the Protestants of Meaux in 1546. "These persecutions, however, only served," says Mézeray, "to disseminate the new doctrine." Henry the Second, even more sanguinary than Francis the First, signed an edict by which the Inquisition would have been introduced into France, had not the Parliament, by refusing to register it, saved the country, which but for their interference would have sunk long ago to the level of fanatical Spain. The death of the king in 1559 was looked upon as a real deliverance by the Reformers, whom he had sworn to exterminate.

"The year 1559 and the beginning of 1560 may reasonably be considered," says M. Crottet,‡ "as the period when the Reformation as a peaceful movement attained its highest point in France, for it then reckoned about two millions of adherents, a considerable number if we compare it with the total population of the country at the time." In 1561, the deputies to the conference of Poissy were able to present to Charles the Ninth a list of 2150 churches.

Here terminates a decisive period of our history, in which we may notice two facts which will exercise an immense influence over the future. 1. A considerable number of the nobility have embraced the new faith : Antoine de Bourbon, king of Navarre, his brother the prince de Condé, the three brothers Coligny, d'Andelot, and the cardinal of Chatillon.

* Father Daniel, a Jesuit, writes in his *History of France* (V. 564) that "Francis wished to give this proof of his piety and zeal in order to draw down upon his arms the blessing of Heaven."

† We cannot refrain from comparing this date with another, Jan. 21, 1793, when one of the descendants of Francis the First, Louis the Sixteenth, ascended the scaffold, the victim of the crimes of his ancestors.

‡ *Petite Chronique Protestante de France.*

These constitute the elements of the future Protestant party, by help of which massacres will make way for civil war. 2. The first national synod was held at Paris, on the 26th, 27th and 28th of May, 1559.

Hitherto the religious movement had been, as it were, left to itself: it had spread with the impetuosity of a river which overflows its banks and carries everything before it, and as yet nothing was finally organized. No individuality powerful enough to impress its seal upon the new ideas, or to mould them into its own image, had yet appeared. There existed neither an ecclesiastical nor a dogmatic formula. In France, the Reformation was not autocratic, as in most other countries, much less clerical, but remained popular and almost exclusively laic. For forty years it had, so to speak, no regular ministers: in the private meetings of the Reformers, the most pious and capable exhorted the brethren.* It was not till 1546 that the Protestants of Meaux chose the first French pastor, Peter Leclerc, the brother of the martyr; and only in 1555 that the faithful at Paris, on occasion of a baptism, elected Jean de Maçon. The various bodies of Reformers, separated by great distances, had no connection with one another; each stood alone and independent; and no one thought of imposing upon them a uniformity of belief.† The simple forms of worship of those times have been preserved to our own day: the reading and the exposition of the Bible, prayer, and the singing of Marot's Psalms. It was the Bible and the Psalms which produced and propagated the Reformation. The people sang and read everywhere, sang even amidst the flames at

* "At Saintes, there was an exceedingly poor and indigent artisan who had so great a desire for the advancement of the gospel as to expound it one day to another artisan as poor and as ignorant as himself; for neither of them knew much about it. Nevertheless the first told the other that if he would employ himself in exhortation he would be the occasion of great good. The latter, one Sunday morning, got together nine or ten persons and made them read some passages from the Old and New Testaments which he had put in writing. He expounded them, saying at the same time that every one, according to the means which he had received from God, ought to make them known to others. They agreed that six among them should preach each once in six weeks on the Sunday alone."—Bernard Palissy, *Recette Veritable*, &c.

† Farel, however, had published in 1533 a book which may be called the liturgy of the rising churches dissociated from "Roman idolatry"—*La manière et façon qu'on tient es lieux que Dieu de sa grâce a visités*. It contains the form of celebrating worship, baptism, the Lord's Supper, and of exhorting the sick.

the stake. Bishop Godeau said, in speaking of the Protestants, that "among them to know the Psalms by heart is a mark of their communion, while the Catholics are either dumb or sing indecent songs."* It was indeed its austerity, its puritanism, which at this period of corrupt and frivolous manners made the grandeur and the success of the Reformation. It created a nation within a nation, a race of heroes and martyrs in the midst of a people enervated by superstition and immorality. Here is a portrait of the Reformers, drawn by the hand of an opponent: "They declared themselves the enemies of luxury, of the public excesses and worldly follies which were too much in vogue among the Catholics. At their assemblies and feasts, instead of dances and hautboys, they had readings from Scripture and spiritual songs, especially the metrical version of the Psalms. The women, in their modest carriage and dress, appeared in public like sorrowful Eves or repentant Magdalenes. The men, truly mortified, seemed as if smitten by the Holy Spirit, and were like so many St. Johns preaching in the wilderness. They endeavoured to make their way, not by cruelty, but by patience, not by killing, but by dying."†

The Martyrology of Crespin, from one end to the other, shews that this is a faithful picture. We take from it only one touching page. Denis Peloquin, who was burnt at Villefranche on the 11th of September, 1553, wrote to his wife from prison: "Be steadfast, then; for if we would follow our Captain, Jesus Christ, we must bear our cross. Can we expect to fare better than he? Would we, if we could, travel by any other road than his? Would we have eternal life as well as our riches, our pomps, our pleasures, our honours, our repute, our worldly advantages, when we know that he reached it through poverty, contempt, neglect, opprobrium, calumny, slander—in one word, through the ignominious death of the cross? See, then, how you should comfort yourself in reading this, which I imagine you will not receive before I am with our good God, whose care for us is such, that without His will not a hair of our heads can fall. Let us then be mindful to obey Him; let us take

* *Paraphrase des Psaumes de David.*

† Flor. de Boemond, *Hist. de la Naissance de l'Hérésie*, p. 864.

heed not to murmur against His will. You see the great honour which He has vouchsafed to me, to bring me by the cross to a perfect conformity with the image of His Son." Again, we read in a last letter, also addressed to his wife: "If you have not comprehended the providence of this good heavenly Father, if you have not tasted the consolation and the joy which He gives to them that are His, it will indeed be very hard for you to rejoice now. But I praise the good God that He has caused you to experience, through faith, the joy and the peace to which in a little while I hope that He will take me away, and that He has brought you to feel that this is the greatest blessing which can happen to me. Wherefore it is not for nothing that you rejoice. Neither occasion nor reason is wanting not only that you should rejoice yourself, but that you should also invite those who would willingly weep to share in your rejoicings. Indeed, I cannot express to you, my sister and my friend, how great is the consolation which such things afford me. On my part, be assured I never felt so joyous, never had so great a quietness of spirit, as at the present moment." Any commentary would only weaken the impression which this passage produces. A desolate woman who has just lost her only child, whose husband is on the point of being led to the stake, asks her friends to rejoice with her! O sacred foolishness of faith!

Prior to the appearance of Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*,* which for generations fixed the dogmatic form of Protestantism, the Reformation concerned itself solely with morality and religion, and was in no sense theological except in its contest with Rome. It was an outburst of the soul, rejoicing in having found what it had so long sought for,—a spiritual religion transforming man into the image of Christ. It was the conscience finding and proclaiming its own law; conscience rising up in indignation and breaking its bonds, the authority of the priest and of the Church; conscience desiring to obtain immediate access to God, to nourish itself on the Scriptures, and to draw for itself from this wellspring of life. Is this the pure and simple autonomy of the religious consciousness? In practice and for the simple it is; in theory and for theolo-

* It appeared in 1536, but did not take its complete and final shape till 1559.

gians who appear at a later epoch it is not: *they* need an external authority to oppose to that of Rome. But in reality and at the bottom, the Reformers asserted a new principle, individualism, which still forms the basis of the theology of our own day. It was after having largely made use of this liberty of conscience, which we now acknowledge as a universal and permanent right, that Calvin overthrew it in the name of the principle of order. We, therefore, prefer to this subtle and scholastic theology the simpler belief of the first period of the Reformation, of which, with the exception of Zwingle, who does not come within the scope of our remarks, Farel was the most distinguished representative. The theology of Zwingle was above all exegetical, says M. Merle d'Aubigné,* while that of Calvin was for the most part dogmatic. Is it not evident that an exegetical theology is more than any other in harmony with the Protestant principle of the authority of Scripture, while a dogmatic theology, founded less upon apostolic doctrines than upon those of the Fathers and the Councils, departs from it at every turn? The genius of Calvin, which has rendered the most undoubted and brilliant services to our Church, has contributed not a little to introduce the period of pedantic dogmatism, of illogical Catholicism, from which our own generation finds it so difficult to emerge.

Farel, on the contrary, took his stand more and more on practical ground. The theses which he publicly maintained at Bâle in 1524, "turn on the perfection of the Scriptures, Christian liberty, the duties of pastors, justification by faith, and the preaching of the gospel. . . . Farel troubled himself little about doctrine; the main point in his view was the reform of manners. The sole object of his labours, as he himself tells us, was to plant a faith which should work by love. He did not treat of doctrine except from a moral point of view. For this reason his theology, at the outset, was most simple. In his first Confession of Faith, for example, he lays down the doctrine of one sole God and the depravity of human nature; but never thinks of defining either the Trinity or Predestination. The disputes on the real presence which divided the theologians of Switzerland and Germany were, in his opinion, but *vain controversies*.

* *Hist. de la Réformation au temps de Calvin*, III. 235. Paris, 1864.

At a later period, the genius of Calvin left its mark upon him; still Farel never had any taste for doctrinal disputes, and almost always shewed himself tolerant towards those of his colleagues who differed from him on these obscure questions.* Calvin's inferiority to Farel is most manifest in those doctrines in which we see too clearly the hand of the dry and exact legalist, the disciple of Duns Scotus and Bonaventura, who delighted above all things in Thomas Aquinas, who would have been a Thomist if he had not been a reformer, and to whom scholasticism appeared the queen of the sciences.† The position of Farel, who wished to teach only "what the good Saviour Jesus had appointed and commanded," was at once more radical and more liberal; he neither compromised the future nor closed the door to further progress. The petrification, by the genius of Calvin, of the still incomplete Reformation, is certainly one of the greatest misfortunes which French Protestantism has had to endure. Some noble hearts, some chosen spirits, comprehended even then the necessity for a wider dogmatic reform; Servetus, and nearly all the Italians,—Valdez, Ochino, Gentilis, Blandrata, Campanus, Alciati, Gribaldo, Hippolito de Carignan, Nicolo Gallo, Baptista Giustiniani, Fausto Zucchi. Socinus rejected the dogma of the Trinity; Castalio could find no edification in reading the Song of Songs, and was unable to believe in Christ's descent into hell. The despotism of Calvin restricted the Reformation within too narrow limits, and, while casting off the outward dogmas of Catholicism, gave currency for three centuries to metaphysical errors. We are about to meet with this influence of Calvin's in the first national synod.

As soon as the churches began to organize themselves and to appoint ministers (1555), it was quickly perceived that it would be impossible to resist the terrible tempest which assailed them unless they banded themselves together into one body. "Deputies from all the churches then established (organized)"‡ came together, in defiance of a thousand dangers, from Normandy, Poitou and Saintonge, and at Paris, surrounded by flames of martyrdom, compiled the Confession of Faith and the Discipline of the Reformed

* Haug, *France Protestante*.

† Merle d'Aubigné, lib. cit.

‡ Th. de Bèze, *Hist. ecclésiastique des églises réformées*.

Churches. It cannot be denied, in spite of the deadly and monstrous errors consecrated by these two documents, that they strongly bound together in defence of the Church its several members, and probably saved it by giving it force and cohesion.* Originally the "Discipline" comprised 40 articles, which were successively increased to 120. The following is an excellent résumé of this ecclesiastical constitution by M. de Félice:†

"Wherever there is a sufficient number of the faithful, it is their duty to form themselves into a church, i.e. to name a consistory, to appoint a minister, to establish the regular celebration of the sacraments, and the practice of discipline. All must depend upon this first step. The consistory is elected at the outset by the common voice of the people; afterwards it is filled up by the votes of its own members. The names of the newly-elected members, however, must always be submitted to the approval of the congregation, and if there be any opposition the dispute is to be settled either at the conference or at the provincial synod. The appointment of pastors is in like manner notified to the people after it has been made by the provincial synod or the conference. The newly-elected minister preaches for three consecutive Sundays. The silence of the people is held to express consent. If objections are made, they are laid before the bodies charged with the appointment of ministers. There is no appeal against the decision of the majority. A certain number of churches form the circuit of a conference. The conferences meet at least twice in the year; each church is represented by a minister and an elder. The office of these assemblies is to arrange any difficulties which may arise, and generally to provide for the well-being of the churches. Above the conferences are the provincial synods, which are also composed of a minister and an elder from each church. They meet at least once a year, and decide whatever questions may have been left undetermined by the conferences, as well as all other important matters connected with their province. The number of these synods has varied, but since the union of Béarn with France it has generally been reckoned at sixteen. Lastly, at the head of the hierarchy was placed the national synod, which ought as far as possible to be convoked annually, although on account of the misfortunes of the times this has hardly ever been done. The national synod, consisting of two ministers and two elders from

* Samuel Vincent, *Etudes sur le Protestantisme*.

† *Hist. des Protestants de France*, pp. 82, 83.

each local synod, passed judgment, as a final court of appeal, on all great ecclesiastical questions ; and all were bound to acquiesce in its decisions. Its deliberations commenced with reading the Confession of Faith and the Discipline ; the members were required to adhere to the former, but were at liberty to propose amendments in the latter. The presidency appertained of right to a minister. The length of the sessions was undetermined, and before the close of one meeting the synod fixed upon the province where the next should be held. This constitution was dictated by Calvin, and attests both the power and the breadth of his genius as an organizer. Everywhere we see the elective principle which guaranteed liberty ; everywhere the power which maintained authority ; everywhere, likewise, the order which results from the combination of these two elements. Moreover, a just equilibrium was preserved between the ministers and the laity ; both the provincial and the national synods were renewed at frequent and regular intervals ; and the churches were strongly united without a shadow of precedence given to one over another. It was in its essential principles the Presbyterian form of government. It must be added that all these elective bodies, from the consistory to the national synod, formed a kind of jury whose business it was to take cognizance of private faults, and to impose spiritual penalties. These penalties were private admonition, reproof before the consistory, suspension from the Lord's Supper, and finally, for great offences, excommunication and expulsion from the church. The highest as well as the lowest had to bow to this spiritual jurisdiction, and in certain cases to make public confession of their irregularities. Henry the Fourth, already king of Navarre, on more than one occasion submitted to it."

Quaintness and sumptuous superfluity of dress, indecent ornaments and pastimes, such as wanton curls, paint, uncovering of the bosom, dances, balls, masquerades, royal fêtes, carnivals, and all other unfruitful works of darkness, were prohibited, as well as plays and public shows. At Geneva, Calvin made use of the prison, banishment and the stake ; in France, these laws, which however soon became practically vexatious, were executed without any other sanction than moral penalties. The Reformers respected the law in a way that no Frenchman has since done.

The Confession of Faith* also contains 40 articles. We find in it—the unity of God (art. 1), who manifests Himself

* It is called the Rochelle Confession of Faith because it was revised by the synod held in that town in 1571.

to men in a special manner in the Holy Scriptures (art. 2); the testimony and inward persuasion of the Holy Spirit, enabling us to distinguish the canonical books, which are the most certain rule of our faith, and the test of all truth, from all other ecclesiastical writings (arts. 4 and 5); the dogma of the Trinity (art. 6); of guardian angels, and fallen angels who are the adversaries of the Church (art. 7); the fall of man and his total depravity, "without any qualification whatever," so that the little light which remains to him is turned into darkness when he attempts to find out God (arts. 8 and 9); original sin and hereditary wickedness, "which is sufficient to damn all mankind, even to the babe still unborn;" baptism removing not "the guilt," but only the condemnation (arts. 10 and 11); the twofold predestination to salvation and to damnation (art. 12); salvation (not defined) communicated to men through Jesus Christ (in a manner also not defined) (art. 13); the two natures and the divinity of Christ, his death and resurrection to obtain for us the heavenly life, our reconciliation with God through the sole sacrifice of Christ (arts. 14 to 17); our righteousness founded upon the remission of our sins, a free gift obtained through faith, which regenerates us with newness of life (arts. 18 to 22); the rejection of all "human inventions which impose a yoke upon the conscience," as purgatory, &c. (art. 24); the necessity of union among the churches, and of ecclesiastical order, which requires a ministry having charge of instruction (arts. 25 and 26); the definition of the true church, "which is the company of the faithful who agree to follow the word of God" (art. 27); the condemnation of the assemblies of popery, with its idolatries (art. 28); the duties of ministers, elders and deacons (art. 29); the equality of ministers (art. 30); the duty of each not "to take upon himself to rule in the Church on his own authority," but to wait for election (art. 31); the exclusion of "all human inventions and all laws which may hereafter be introduced under pretence of doing service to God, by which the conscience might be brought "into bondage," and, on the other hand, the necessity of excommunication "with all its appurtenances" (arts. 32 and 33); the sacraments, which are the outward signs of God's grace, deriving all their substance and truth from Jesus Christ (art. 34); the ministry of the Lord's Supper, by which, "through the secret and incomprehensible

virtue of his spirit, Jesus Christ nourishes and quickens us with his own body and blood" (art. 36); the inherent reality in the two sacraments of the graces therein symbolized (arts. 37 and 38); the duty of the magistrate to repress with the sword "offences committed not only against the second table of God's commandments, but also against the first" (art. 39); and, finally, the duty of all to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, "provided only that the sovereign sway of God remain intact" (art. 40).

It would occupy too much time were we to attempt to discuss, one after the other, these forty articles, which, thank God! have now long been obsolete and neglected. But it is important to remind or to inform those of our own day who see in a new dogmatic and obligatory formula the only safety of Protestantism, that the epoch in our history when faith, zeal, charity and devotion, shine with the greatest lustre, is precisely the period of our earliest martyrs, nearly forty years anterior to the meeting of the first national synod. It is, then, a great mistake to suppose that the Christian life cannot flourish except under the shadow of a confession of faith,—to fail to perceive that liberty is the very essence of faith. It is for the sake of this liberty that martyrs* have ever been immolated on the altar of dogmatism; and the one great reproach that may be justly directed against the synod of 1559 is, that it suppressed liberty. Was it to the advantage of truth? No; for truth is inseparable from liberty; but of confused abstractions, of obscure and indefinite dogmas, of old and deplorable errors. What, for example, is salvation? Is it a place assured to us in heaven? is it deliverance from sin, from guilt, from condemnation? or is it all these together? The dogmatic code is silent on this point. What, in this formulary, which claims to lay especial stress upon justification by faith, is the meaning of faith? It is impossible to say; and on this very account, faith, in the following century, became no more than belief, the knowledge of dogma, instead of being a free and perfect gift of the soul to God. What, again, is redemption? We see plainly that it does not consist in Christ's victory over the demon or the devil (Irenæus, Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, P. Lombard, &c.); in Judaical expiation; in satisfaction

* All martyrs are heretics; there is no such thing as an orthodox martyr.

rendered to the honour of an offended God (Anselm); or in the attraction that the death of Christ, which was intended to shew the Divine forgiveness, exercises over the soul (Abelard). We see plainly that it has to do with righteousness, justification, substitution; but all this is left so obscure that the Calvinistic redemption of the 17th century will become no more than an empty and absurd formula, the necessary and the mechanical imputation of the righteousness of Christ to the elect. Let us, however, be just. Our Confession of Faith aims to preserve a religious character,* to express the new state into which the Christian consciousness had just passed; and if it does not wholly succeed, it is because the scientific method of the times does not permit it.† In truth, the method under the guidance of which the forty articles were drawn up was not experimental but à-priori, not exegetical but speculative, not biblical but scholastic. The internal phenomena, or facts, of consciousness, the influence of Jesus upon the soul, had not been sufficiently observed, and lacked prominence in the system, which was, indeed, no more than a theory without any foundation in the reality of things. The idea of salvation, so simple in the Synoptical Gospels as well as in fact, has given way to we know not what Pauline or Augustinian notion. How greatly is the firm and practical declaration of Farel to be preferred to these pious obscurities: "Let us be the slaves of God and the gospel, but emancipated from everything which Jesus has not commanded, and which the gospel does not contain." This is the true ground which the Reformation ought never to have quitted, but which it abandoned for many long years when it first compiled confessions of faith.‡

* In the Introduction to his *Symbolik*, the Catholic historian Möhler acknowledges that the brilliant side of the Reformation is its religious aspect.

† The *Novum Organum* did not appear till 1620, the *Discours sur la Méthode* till 1637; while observation and criticism have hardly been applied to history and theology before our own time.

‡ The doctrinal system of Calvin is so completely defunct, that one of our distinguished and liberal theologians has not hesitated lately to rehabilitate it as being in the 16th century "the truest and most complete expression of the religious consciousness." According to M. Fontana, predestination is the exact formula of the religious sentiment of the epoch. It expresses the security of the soul which has beheld and experienced salvation; it brings "into prominence two sentiments which are essential to Christianity, the sentiment of sin and the sentiment of grace." If divine, is here exaggerated at the expense of human-action, it is the consequence of an inevitable rebound from the exces-

Let us advert to some of the contradictions which our own Confession contains. Article 33 rejects "human inventions which are designed to bind the conscience." The 24th expresses itself thus: "We discard purgatory, as an illusion derived from the source from which proceeded monastic vows, &c., which things we reject . . . because they are human inventions that impose a yoke upon the conscience." Elsewhere it is "the testimony and inward persuasion of the Holy Spirit," i.e. the conscience, which enables us to distinguish the canonical from the apocryphal books.* And yet it is the Scripture which is the rule of faith, the test of all truth, the supreme authority. There are here—not, as it has always been said, the *material* and the *formal* principles of the Reformation—but two contradictory principles: 1st, conscience, the judge of Scripture, the touchstone, an internal, moral, divine authority; and 2nd, the Bible, an external, doctrinal, divine authority, demanding of the conscience abdication and submission. Clearly these two authorities cannot co-exist, but ought to be fused into one,—the autonomy of conscience, awakened by the spirit of God speaking in certain passages of Scripture. This principle of religious individualism is not only true, but that which all the Reformers, although without any clear perception of its nature, practically obeyed. Unfortunately

sive Pelagianism of Rome. Unfortunately, M. Fontanès is not satisfied with apprehending in an admirable manner the religious reality contained in this dogmatic formula, but appears to us to attribute to the latter an exaggerated importance. "The dogma of predestination," he says, "has been professed by all who embraced the Reformation, whether learned or ignorant, men of science or doctors, untaught believers or theologians; it is the common patrimony of all." This seems to us altogether incorrect, at least as regards the first forty years. Elsewhere, M. Fontanès speaks as if the dogmatic system had produced the religious movement; while, in truth, the system is but the formula of a movement already in existence. In fine, the play of the plastic and æsthetic sense is perhaps too predominant in this remarkable estimate. Is it not possible that in our admiration for this grand and perfect monument, the *Institution Chrétienne*, which is unequalled in any nation, we may run the risk of forgetting that it is a prison-house in which more than one generation has perished, and in which our friends, the reactionary party of to-day, would again confine us!—Vide *Revue Germanique*, Paris, May, 1864.

* It is to be regretted that this excellent principle, that the conscience is the judge of what is divine in the Scriptures, has never received the least application in the decrees of the Reformed Church. What is there, in fact, that is religious in the Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Esther and Ruth, which are accepted as canonical? And, on the contrary, is there not a deep sentiment of piety in Tobit, in the addition to the book of Esther, and in the Prayer of Manasses?

an external and visible authority was still needed to satisfy factitious and morbid cravings. The qualities which were attributed to the word of God contained in the Bible were materialized, and became the divine inspiration of the canonical books in their entirety, the inspiration of the words, of the vowels and of the Hebrew accents. But, more than this, the confessions of faith which were at first only a vindication of new and misrepresented opinions, a résumé of doctrines believed to be contained in Scripture, became themselves an authority under whose yoke both conscience and Scripture itself are made to bend. Already we find a grave symptom of this disease of authority in the synod of Paris, which declares the Discipline capable of greater perfection (art. 40), but says nothing of the kind about the Confession of Faith, which it requires to be signed (art. 8) as if it had fallen from heaven.

The document contains other not less important contradictions, which we can only indicate. How can a dogmatic system which bases itself upon the authority of Scripture formulate the doctrines of the Trinity,* the two natures in Christ, original sin, the radical corruption of human nature, and the damnation of little children, "though yet unborn"? These doctrines are absolutely unscriptural, and are only the deplorable inventions of patristic metaphysics and mediæval scholasticism. Does not the last especially furnish a most striking contradiction to the word of Jesus itself, "Suffer little children to come unto me—for of such is the kingdom of heaven"? Is there the least trace in the New Testament of that *opus operatum*, in virtue of which baptism, though not removing the guilt, yet abolishes the condemnation? The Confession of Faith, then, is not scriptural, save in the article of predestination and on those points where it has reformed Catholicism; in every other respect it is in conformity with traditional errors. And in regard to faith, can it seriously be looked upon in any other light than as a supreme inconsistency from the moment that its form is seen to be determined by the belief in predesti-

* The contemporary orthodoxy makes the Trinity and other points which are not taught in the Bible the very foundation of Christianity; but rejects as superstitions the belief in guardian angels, the devil, demoniacal possessions and predestination,—things which are, however, written in the Bible. And yet it has the audacity to accuse us of trampling inspired doctrines under foot!

nation? We are at once in the midst of complete though softened and obscured Calvinism.

The 39th article, which has reference to the punishment of religious offences by the sword, simply fills us with horror. We cannot understand how men who brought back the gospel to the world could accept the barbarous paralogism of Augustine and of the middle ages, that, truth being self-evident, error is criminal, and that offences against the soul ought to be punished with greater severity than ordinary crimes. If, however, our fathers were unable to understand that religious liberty can exist only on condition of being fully accorded to all, to error no less than to truth, the fact furnishes no excuse for their solemn justification of the murder of Servetus; in a country where, twelve centuries before, St. Martin of Tours and St. Hilary of Poitiers had protested against the punishments inflicted upon heretics. For five years there had been an opportunity for the consideration of this matter. Four works on opposite sides of the question had appeared in 1554: 1, that of Calvin against Servetus, *Ubi ostenditur Hæreticos jure gladii coercendos esse* (where it is shewn that heretics ought to be coerced with the power of the sword); 2, that of Theodore Beza, *De Hæreticis a civili Magistratu puniendis* (On the Punishment of Heretics by the Civil Magistrate); 3, that of an unknown author (wrongly attributed to Castalio), *Contra Libellum Calvini, in quo ostendere conatur Hæreticos jure gladii coercendos esse, Tractatus sive Dialogus* (A Dialogue or Tract in reply to Calvin's Pamphlet, in which he undertakes to shew that Heretics ought to be coerced with the power of the sword); 4, that of Castalio, *De Hæreticis an sint persequendi et omnino quomodo sit cum eis agendum doctorum Virorum tum veterum, tum recentiorum, sententiæ* (The Opinions of learned Men of Ancient and Modern Times concerning Heretics, whether they ought to be persecuted, and generally in what way they ought to be treated). Castalio, who was called at Geneva "a chosen instrument of Satan," was doing God's work in refuting the horrible books of Calvin and Beza. The spirit of the age, which was again invoked but yesterday, under the roof of the Oratoire,* is no sufficient excuse

* The church at Paris in which the tercentenary of Calvin's death was celebrated.

either for Calvin or the editors of our Confession of Faith; for more protests than one had already made themselves heard. Twenty years before his death, Servetus had written to Ecolampadius, that it seemed to him hard "that men should be put to death because they erred in the interpretation of Scripture." Zwingle, too, wrote in 1523, "No one ought to be excommunicated unless he has been the occasion, by his crimes, of public scandal. Those who do not acknowledge and abandon their errors, ought to be left to the free judgment of God; nor ought force to be used against them, unless by sedition and rebellion they compel the magistrate to put them down in the interest of public order."* More than one theologian of Bâle pronounced against the homicidal doctrine of Geneva. Other pastors, as, for instance, Zebedeus of Nyon, protested against the trial of Servetus. Even at Geneva, the "Libertins" did all they could to save him; while many ministers sincerely attached to the Calvinistic theology felt a deep repugnance to the infliction of capital punishment upon heretics. "Many were deprived, excommunicated or banished, for having privately blamed the persecutions for opinions' sake. Their names have been preserved by M. Galiffe: MM. Henri de la Mar, the Dean of the Genevese pastors, Aymé Megret, Aymé Champereau, Claude Veyron, Mathieu Essautier."† Even before this time, the Christian pity of the women of Geneva had energetically protested against Calvin's persecution of Bolsec. Besides Castalio and the Italians Aconcio and Grimaldo, who had likewise raised their voices against the infliction of the penalty of death for heresy, both the Socinians and the Anabaptists denied to the temporal power the right of punishing error. A chancellor of Berne, Zerkinden, had written to Calvin: "I doubt whether the whip and the axe are the best means to employ in putting down the aberrations of the mind." Musculus had also written in the name of the pastors of Berne to the same effect, adding, "that the law of the spirit of Christ is brotherly love." In the preface to the *Manière et Façon*, Farel had condemned those who wish "by violence and torture to attract

* Barni, *Les Martyrs de la Libre Pensée*, Geneva, 1862, p. 137.

† Ibid. p. 143.

souls to Jesus and the faith."* Lastly, Luther had said: "I am willing to preach, I am willing to speak, I am willing to write, but I am not willing to constrain any one; for faith is a voluntary thing;" and in his *Appeal to the Emperor and the Nobility* (1520), he adds, "Heretics must be convinced by Scripture, *and not vanquished by fire, for this is contrary to the Holy Spirit.*" Reform of the stake, then, ought to have appeared to the martyrs no less needful than the reform of Popish superstitions. But this 39th article would of itself suffice to shew that reform ought to exist as a permanent principle of the Reformation, and that it is never permitted to man to say to it, as God said to the ocean, "Thus far shalt thou come, but no further."

If, then, the object of the Reformation is, not to bury the gospel under the sanguinary errors of past ages, but to spread it to the ends of the earth, our actual task may be summed up in this: to re-cast the metaphysics which the Reformers borrowed from the middle ages, as well as their method, which was neither exegetical nor critical; in a word, to return to the *historic Christ*, to his living preaching, and, above all, to his love, of which we see too few traces in the Confessions of Faith of the Reformed Churches.

UN PASTEUR DE L'ÉGLISE RÉFORMÉE DE PARIS.

II.—CHRISTIAN ETHICS AND THE ETHICS OF CHRIST.

THE fundamental truths of morality and religion can never be traced to individual original teachers. Intuitions of them dawn faintly in the mind of the savage, and become gradually brighter as civilization advances, till at last they shine out clearly in the words of power spoken by the foremost men of each successive age. Even in physical science we all know there is rarely any absolutely new and original discovery. Each truth has been for some time

* It was only later, and under the influence of Calvin, that he could write during the trial of Servetus: "For myself, I have always declared my readiness to die if I had taught anything whatsoever contrary to sound doctrine, and I add that I should deserve the most frightful punishment if I had turned any one away from faith in Christ. I cannot then apply a different rule to others."

vaguely apprehended or suspected before the hour arrive when some investigator, more fortunate or more gifted than his fellows, actually digs out the precious ore from the mountain-side, and calls aloud, "Behold, here is gold!"—and then thousands rush to share the treasure. But in each case of a new truth, moral or physical, it is to him that has so discovered, so uttered it, that all mankind may profit thereby, that our gratitude is due. It is not to Plato who dreamed the Atlantis, nor to the wild Vikings who first reached the western shore, but to Columbus who added a new world to the old, that we owe America.

And in like manner it is to the moral teachers who have given to the light of day and the common consciousness of mankind the principles vaguely believed or half remembered before, that we justly attribute their revelation; even though we may be able to trace out each of their precepts in the lessons of earlier prophets whose words have lain in the earth as seeds never germinating.

Among the truths which a great moral teacher brings to light, it is not impossible to distinguish two classes. The first class will consist of such as are *already current* in his age and country, of which he has merely made a selection, guided by his own moral taste. The second will consist of such as are *different* from those of his age, and which he has either caught from the sheen of some far-off traditions in the past, or else worked out altogether from his own inner life and experience. This second class of truths are in a peculiar sense his own. They are the intuitions of his deepest consciousness, his "original revelation." And when the teacher's moral lessons are so pure and divine that we rightly attribute them to the inspiration of God, it is peculiarly these intuitive truths to which we turn as the manifestations of such inspiration. What was common to his age and country we conclude him to have learned by the external teaching of his parents or masters. What was peculiar to himself, what he was enabled to see was true in spite of contending prejudices, *that* we conclude him to have learned from the Spirit of God enlightening his soul.

Thus if we could separate the precepts of any moral teacher into the two classes, and eliminating all which was common to his time and country, reserve only what was

peculiar to himself, we should arrive at conclusions interesting in a double point of view. We should have on the human side a transcript of the man himself, a portrait of his spiritual physiognomy—not indeed as he may have been in deed and word while “wrapped in this muddy vesture of decay” and obeying falteringly the law within, but as he *ought* to have been, as his own soul required him to be. We should have before us the photograph, not of the outer, but of the “inner man.” And on the divine side we should have the nearest approach attainable to a record of the inspiration granted to him. We should see brought together the sum of his share of the great lessons of the Divine Master whereby the human race has been training since creation. His rank in the hierarchy of prophets would be determined by the fulness and importance of such inspiration. Such a task as this is manifestly beyond our power in the case of most of the great moral teachers of antiquity. We can rarely obtain their genuine precepts with any completeness, and still less often can we form a just estimate of the current morals of their countrymen, so as to discriminate what in their teaching was common to their contemporaries, from what was peculiar to themselves. Half-shadowy prophets like Menu and Thoth and Zoroaster and Buddha, and even historical philosophers like Pythagoras and Confucius and Socrates and Zeno, are mostly too far beyond our reach to enable us to treat their recorded precepts by any such process as we have imagined; and in later times, when the teacher’s own doctrines might be better ascertained, the share of them truly to be called original would be still more impossible to discriminate. Ancient moralists were properly Prophets of Morals; but modern ones have had little else to do than to frame intellectual systems in which their precepts should be properly fitted in scientific order.

There is, however, one instance in which it would seem that we actually possess materials for forming a tolerably trustworthy estimate of the current morals of the age and country in which the greatest of moral teachers lived, and consequently of eliminating them from his recorded precepts, retaining a residue which shall truly represent his peculiar and proper morality. The Old-Testament prophets, the treatise of Philo on the Essenes, the histories of Josephus,

and the Jerusalem and Babylonish Talmuds (certainly preserving the precepts of ante-christian schools of rabbins), afford us a very large insight into the state of thought on moral subjects in Palestine in the first century. The careful study and collation of these books with the gospel parables and precepts, as partially accomplished by German scholars, at once reveals the identity between a large share of Christian doctrines and those which were taught habitually (although with many puerile additions) in the Rabbinical schools of the same period.*

But beyond these precepts common in his age—precepts which the Founder of Christianity no more despised *because* they were common than he despised the lilies which carpeted the hills of Galilee, and served to illustrate his lessons of truth and love—beyond these Jewish-Christian precepts, there is another series of moral doctrines to be found in the Gospels of a character quite *sui generis* and peculiar. These latter precepts we may justly consider to be essentially and in a special sense Christ's own peculiar lessons, the moral ideas which he gave to the world.

It would be superfluous to point out how valuable would

* For example, as quoted by Hennell :—Targum., Hierosol., Genes. xxxviii. 26 : Judah speaks thus—"It is better for me that I should be burned in this world with a little fire, than that I should be burned in the world to come with a devouring flame." Debarim Rabba, sect. 7 : Rabbi Simeon ben Chelpatha said—"He who hath learned the words of the law and doeth them not, is more guilty than he who has learned nothing. A certain king sent two gardeners into his garden. The one planted trees, but afterwards cut them down. The other planted nothing, and cut down nothing. With which of these was the king wrath ?" Mechilta, fol. 32, 1 : "He who created the day, created also the food thereof. Whosoever hath whereof to eat to-day, and saith, But shall I eat to-morrow ? he is of little faith." Schabbath (tract of the Mishna), fol. 181 : "Whosoever hath mercy on men, on him will God have mercy ; but he who sheweth no mercy to men, neither to him will God shew mercy." Schabbath, fol. 883 : Our rabbins deliver to us, "They who receive scorn but scorn no man, who bear reproaches and return them not, who shew love to men and rejoice in tribulations, of them the scripture saith, They shall love Him and be as the sun going forth in his might." Aboth R. Nathan, c. 23 : "He is a hero who maketh his enemy his friend." Sanhedrin, fol. 48 : "Suffer thyself to be cursed, but do not thou curse others." Synopsis, Sohar : "A man ought every night to forgive the fault of him that offendeth him." Sohar, fol. 4 : "Whosoever lendeth to any one in public, with him God dealeth according to justice ; but he who does it secretly, with him rests the blessing." Sanhedrin (Mishna), fol. 43 : Rabbi Jehuda ben Levi said, "Whilst the temple stood, if any man offered a holocaust, he obtained the reward of a holocaust ; if an oblation, the reward of an oblation. But if a man be of an humble spirit, the Scriptures consider him as having offered all sacrifices."

be the work which should adequately perform the task of thus collating the ethics of Christ with those of his contemporaries, and throwing into full relief for our study the residue of doctrines which belong peculiarly to himself. We should obtain by such a process a view of the character, or (as we may say) of the moral physiognomy and individuality of the great Teacher, hardly to be gained by any other method. And we should at the same time arrive at a system of morals differing, it is to be believed, very essentially in many particulars from such as are habitually foisted upon us by modern moralists under the name of "Christian," but which are in truth far more nearly related to the schools of Pharisees, Sadducees or Essenes, Stoics, Epicureans or Cyrenaics, than to that of the great Prophet of Nazareth. Hoping that some man of learning adequate to such a task, and of moral taste high and pure enough to treat it worthily, may at some future time undertake the work and carry it to full completion, we have thought it might be of interest to sketch (necessarily very briefly and imperfectly) some of the results which it appears that such a research might obtain. Whatever view our special theology may lead us to take of the degree of authority pertaining to the dicta of Christ—whether we consider him as laying down the law of the universe as a God, or revealing it as the most inspired of men, or even simply as uttering the fallible opinion of a Galilean peasant whom Christendom has adored for eighteen centuries—in any and every case, a transcendent interest must attach to the question, "What was the verdict of this great Teacher regarding the moral controversies which have divided the instructors of mankind?" Perhaps also in the answer to this question may we find the best defence of those who, rejecting altogether the claim of his divinity, yet hold Christ to have been the "man who best fulfilled the conditions under which God grants His inspiration." A merely popular acquaintance with contemporary morals (to which alone we can lay claim) may suffice to indicate generally whether in these controversies Christ agreed with the teachers of his age or diverged from them altogether. In the latter case, having obtained the peculiar and original Christian doctrines, it becomes a matter of vast practical interest to compare them with the teaching on moral subjects common in our own age, and

especially with such as professes to be pre-eminently Christian,—the teaching of men who are understood and believe themselves to be in a special sense the disciples of Christ. If it should appear that in numerous instances the morals ordinarily accepted among us are *not* those which Christ taught—nay, are even those which he diametrically contradicted and opposed,—it will surely be time to introduce a change in our method of treating these subjects. It will surely be time to rebuke the presumption wherewith the morals of Jews and Heathens are continually enforced upon us under the sanction of Christ's name and authority. It will be time to distinguish once for all the so-called "Christian ethics" of modern teachers from the genuine and altogether different "ethics of Christ."

1. One of the broadest distinctions between different schools of moralists is that which concerns the positive or negative character they attribute to duty. In nearly all cases the earliest teachers confine themselves to negative precepts, "Do no murder," "Do not steal," and the like. Virtue in their eyes consists in abstaining from unlawful actions and passions. The affirmative duties, if any such there be, in their systems, are mostly of a ceremonial nature, such as offering sacrifices and performing ablutions. Quite a new and different aspect is given to ethics when some teacher arises to declare that right is a positive thing, and wrong only its negation, *wrung from* the right. Virtue is then seen to consist in affirmative goodness, in love of God and service to man, not merely in abstaining from idolatry and injustice. It is the same advance in morals as it is in physical science to perceive that heat and light are positives, and cold and darkness merely their negations. We can no more attain to virtue by merely abstaining from offence, than we can construct a true theory of nature by treating caloric and light as the mere negations of cold and darkness.

But this step of progress is slowly reached. It is clear enough it was not attained by the Jews at the Christian era. The Decalogue (a series of negations*) and the Rabbinical

* The Buddhists have a Decalogue (strangely resembling the Mosaic second table) given in the *Mahawanse*: "1. Do not kill. 2. Do not steal. 3. Do not commit adultery. 4. Do not lie. 5. Do not slander. 6. Do not call ill names. 7. Do not speak words which are to no purpose but harm. 8. Do

law, so far as it is known to us, consisted in precepts all tending to forbid offence, but rarely enforcing positive duty except in matters of ceremony. The whole spirit of it was summed up (if we may believe a tradition in the Talmud) by the celebrated Rabbi Hillel, one of the princes of the Jews in Babylon. "A fellow went to the Rabbi and said, 'Can you teach me the whole law during the time I am able to stand on one foot?' 'Yes,' answered the Rabbi mildly; 'the whole law is contained in this one rule, *Whatever you would not wish your neighbour to do to you, do it not to him.* This is the law; the rest is only an exposition of it.'"

One of the most prominent features in the morality taught by Christ is the introduction of the idea of the *positive* character of duty. He transposes the golden rule just quoted from the rabbi's negative to the affirmative form (Matt. vi. 12): "Therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them, for this is the law and the prophets." He sums up the Decalogue's negatives in two positive commandments, expressed with every possible force of affirmation: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength; and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." And after laying down by precept and shewing by example a life of active beneficence as the life of virtue, he proceeds to the length of representing men as condemned hereafter for *faults*, for the mere neglect of positive duties, without any infraction of negative commandments. Dives is sent to "torment" (for all that we can see) only for neglecting to aid Lazarus and his compeers. The man who hides his talent in a napkin is cast into outer

not covet the property of others. 9. Do not envy. 10. Do not err in the faith or think it false." The Brahmins, on the contrary, seem at a very early age to have grasped the idea of *positive* law. In the Institutes of Menu (supposed to date about 1200 B.C.), chap. 6, v. 92, there is this singular arrangement of ten duties: Content, Returning good for evil, Resistance to sensual appetites, Abstinence from illicit gain, Purification, Chastity, Knowledge of Scripture, Knowledge of the Supreme Spirit, Veracity and Freedom from wrath.

* The same aphorism is used literally by Isocrates (in Nicoc.): "Do not do to others what you would not they should do to you;" and (what is most remarkable) in both its negative and positive form by Confucius: "Do to another what you would he should do to you, and do not unto another what you would not should be done unto you. Thou only needest this law alone; it is the foundation and principle all of the rest."—Confucius, *Maxim* 24, Yun Lu.

darkness merely for burying it. Finally, in the descriptions of the last judgment, it is said that those who have not fed the hungry or clothed the naked or visited the prisoner, shall "depart into everlasting fire." Whatever sense may be given to these words, it is clear that Christ meant to convey the idea that the greatest of all condemnations might be incurred by men who are accused of no positive crime, murder or adultery or theft or lying,—men whose creed was correct, for they called him "Lord, Lord!" and did wonderful works in his name, but who simply did *not* benefit their fellow-creatures.

Of the infinite value and importance of this transformation of a negative into a positive law, it is needless here to speak; the whole spirit of morality is altered thereby. The standard of right is fixed, and we are henceforth able to perceive that *all* divergence from it is wrong. Virtue is given a spirit and life it could never possess while contemplated as a mere innocence of harm. "Being good and doing good" are aims to place before the soul worthy to stir the ambition of an archangel, while the warning *not* to commit offence can hardly touch one of the nobler chords of the human heart. We have passed from death to life when we believe that human virtue is a reality, not a negation, and that there reigns on the eternal throne the Impersonator of Goodness Absolute, Affirmative, Divine. The universe has a Sun of light and warmth. It has no sun whose rays are darkness and frost. Goodness is positive, and therefore can be eternal. Evil is the mere negation thereof, and evanescent before it. Goodness is a rock, a mountain, strong, durable, immutable. "Evil," as saith the brave old Chaldean oracle, "is more frail than nonentity."

But of this glorious reformation, introduced by Christ into the morals of Judaism, what traces are to be found in modern Christian ethics? Have we all quite clearly understood that it is not enough to refrain from evil, and lead harmless lives, and hold correct views about the office of Christ? Does the preaching of our churches tend altogether to set forth this truth, that a mere timorous conscience, carefulness of wrong-doing, and devotion in words and feelings without corresponding deeds, is of no sort of avail? Surely, on the contrary, we are perpetually led to understand that scrupulousness of conscience and a correct faith go together to

make up the idea of a Christian, and that men and women may depart in "sure and certain hope" of immediate entrance into the kingdom of heaven, who have done no great offence, and who have said, "Lord, Lord," with unwavering confidence at the last.

Egyptian archæologists tell us that in the "Prayer-Book of the Dead" are fifty-two commandments of a negative character, in which the soul is supposed to be examined by Osiris in the nether world, and to which the advocate for the poor mummy must respond before the living tribunal on earth to secure the honours of interment. It does not seem, truly, as if we had passed altogether beyond the heathen stage of thought, and substituted for it the Christian one wherein the blessedness of the soul must be won, *not* by merely refraining from evil, but by the positive benefit of mankind,—*not* by abstaining from hurting Lazarus, but by striving to heal him,—*not* by refraining from mis-spending our talents, but by using them all in God's service,—*not* by covering up a life of selfishness under the skirts of his mantle whose life was all self-sacrifice, and saying eternally, "Lord, Lord," to Jesus Christ, but by doing the will of his Father and our Father in heaven.

2. All teachers of ethics necessarily reiterate the various canons of the immutable moral law. They differ, however, from one another in nothing more remarkably than in the relative value they assign to these principles of natural morality and to the precepts connected with the religious worship of their country. In the eyes of some moralists, *mala in se* and *mala prohibita* are almost of equal guilt. In those of others, they are altogether and utterly different. Herein will usually appear the result of the original distinction at the bottom of the minds of the two orders of teachers—those to whom morality is a part of religion, and those to whom religion is a part of morality. To the former class, as all moral laws appear simply as expressions of the will of God, it will frequently happen to confound together offences against the ceremonial and the natural law, both being believed by them to be equally divine commandments. Thus those moralists who are primarily religious instructors are continually led into a style of teaching which has its *reductio ad absurdum* in the Institutes of Menu, where reading the Vedas is alleged to purify alike "the crimes of

him who has eaten with unwashed hands, and of him who has killed the inhabitants of the three worlds."* On the other hand, the teachers who are primarily moralists, and who regard the moral law as the ultimate principle of right impersonated in the holiest Will whereby the universe is ruled, yet *not* (according to the heresy of Ockham) the mere arbitrary *result* of that divine Will,—by these teachers the gulf between *mala prohibita* and *mala in se* is felt to be wide as the poles. Their lessons will commonly be found to include depreciatory remarks and even invectives on ceremonial observances of all kinds, whereby they throw into higher relief the inherent sanctity of the eternal law. They say with the prophets, "Of what avail the multitude of your sacrifices? Your new moons and sabbaths are an abomination. Cease to do evil. Learn to do well."

Again: There is not only this great difference between two schools of moralists which it behoves us to recognize when we seek to ascertain the characteristic doctrines of Christ. There are also two classes to be remarked among all religious minds,—the class to whom ceremonies are naturally valuable, and the class to whom they are rather stumbling-blocks than assistances.† It would be most desirable for us to recognize more than we have hitherto done this constitutional difference, and, giving to each order our share of respect, cease to strive by argument or force to change the instincts of the one for those of the other.‡ By ignoring this second class of minds, with its need of extempore prayers and entire simplicity of cultus, the great Church of England, with all its liberality of feeling and breadth of doctrine, has never been able to include in its fold thousands of pious souls whose *theological* divergences from it are altogether trifling. Again, on the other hand, by neglecting the solemnities of worship and ignoring the

* Institutes of Menu, Book xi., v. 264.

† This distinction the writer has endeavoured to delineate more fully in "Broken Lights," chaps. iii. and iv.

‡ We have heard of endless cases where this has been done, and always to the injury of those whose benefit was desired. We have heard of clergymen of the English Church striving to induce their semi-Methodist parishioners to attend evening service in church and not at prayer-meetings, and receiving the astounding replies, "Why, sir, we would go to church to please your reverence, but you see we go to the chapel to *pray*!" or, "But, sir, if we were to go to church both times on Sundays, *what would become of our means of grace?*"

benefit which the first class of minds naturally receives from the accessions of art, Protestant churches generally (up to very late years) have abnegated much of the power possessed by the Church of Rome in virtue of its impressive cultus. And those among us who as individuals have stood aloof and

“Counted reason ripe
In resting on the law within,”

who have striven, “forsaking the landmark, to march by the star,” how often have they become experimentally aware how the neglect of stated periods and formal observances of worship entails with it dangers so formidable that, while rejecting external laws, they are driven “to be a law to themselves,” no less stringent and rigorous? In a large way these two orders of minds may be designated as those of the Priests and their disciples and the Prophets and their disciples. In all ages the priestly order has insisted on the value of ceremonial observances, and has looked with distrust and disfavour on all religious fervour displayed outside such regulations. And from the first of the prophets and apostles to the last, the same burden has been repeated. “Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams. What doth God desire of thee, oh man, but to do justice and love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God? Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this—to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.”* In all creeds probably, could we reach their inner history, the same opposition of orders of minds, and the same progress by the antagonism of the two, would be observed. The most formal and ceremonial religion in the world, the Hindoo, yet contains in its sacred writings such lessons as this: “A wise man should constantly perform all the moral duties, though he perform not constantly the ceremonies of reli-

* See 1 Sam. xv. 22; Ps. li. 16, and xl. 6—8; Hosea vi. 6; Amos v. 21—24; Micah vi. 6—8; Isa. i. 14—17, lviii. 6; Ezekiel xviii. 5, 9, 20, 28. This is to the prophets “as constant a topic as the most peculiar and favourite doctrine of any eccentric sect or party is in the mouths of the preachers of such a sect at the present day, and it is rendered more forcible by the form which it takes of a constant protest against the sacrificial system of the levitical ritual in comparison with the moral law.”—*Stanley's Jewish Church.*

gion.* "He who purifies himself in the river of a subdued spirit, the waters of which are truth, its waves compassion, and its shores holy temper, will be liberated from this world; but liberation cannot be obtained by any outward observance."

In England, in our time, the two orders are of course mainly represented, the priestly mind by the Anglican party, and the prophetic by the Evangelical. But, in one singular instance, the Low-churchmen exceed their High-church brethren in regard for a ceremonial observance. The sabbath stands alone in this respect, doubtless from causes traceable to an historic origin.† The sabbath alone of Church observances could be invested with scriptural authority, and it was to scriptural authority that the Reformers turned for anchorage when they had cast themselves adrift from the Church of Rome.

As the Reformation developed into Puritanism, the theocratic idea of Judaism served to supply the blank to which it was impossible for men at once to accustom themselves. Thus a ceremonial observance which could be enforced out of the Bible (however illogically dis severed from the rest of the abolished Mosaic law) became at once a rallying-point, magnified into importance by its very isolation. That terrible and almost unendurable sense of personal responsibility which weighs on all who let go the guiding hand which has directed and supported them and their fathers, was mitigated doubtless in no slight degree when it could be believed that, after leaving the Church of Rome or even the Anglican Church, men had still not only a divine in-

* Inst. Menu, 4, 204.

† Beside the many passages commonly quoted from the Fathers to prove that the sabbath was altogether suffered to lapse into abeyance in the primitive ages (the Sunday being a day of *prayer* but not of rest, as the Moslem Friday is now), there are two which, so far as we are aware, have hitherto failed to attract the attention they deserve. The greatest Fathers of the eastern and western churches have recorded their opinions in these words:

"For what purpose, then, I ask, did he add a reason respecting the sabbath and did not do so as regards murder? Because this commandment was not one of the leading ones (*τῶν προσηγουμένων*). It was not one of those which are accurately defined of our consciences, but a kind of partial and temporary one. And for this reason it was ABOLISHED AFTERWARDS (*κατελύθη μετὰ ταῦτα*)."

St. Chrysostom, Homil. 12.

"Of all the ten commandments, only that of the sabbath is enjoined to be observed figuratively, which figure we have received to be understood, not to be still celebrated by the rest of the body."—St. Augustine, Ep. 55, c. 22.

fallible guide to all true doctrine in their Bibles, but also a grand ceremonial observance ordained by God himself for their practice. Once more the sabbath became the "token of a covenant" between Jehovah and a new chosen people.

These remarks have been offered for the purpose of clearing the way to an understanding of the relation between the peculiar morals of Christ and those commonly entertained by the stricter members of Christian churches.

Modern Christians of extreme views either belong to the priestly order and attach infinite weight to ceremonial observances generally, or else to the prophetic order, when they disdain ceremonialism generally, making an unique exception in favour of the sabbath. The mistake of the priestly order lies *not* in valuing observances as important "means of grace" for such minds as they are fitted to help, but in setting them up as things sacred in themselves and obligatory on those to whom they are no "means of grace," but only hindrances. The mistake of the prophetic order lies in decrying absolutely what is of partial use, and, in their sole exception, attaching the guilt only due to such *mala in se* as theft or falsehood, to the *malum prohibitum* of sabbath-breaking. Let us observe the attitude which Christ's peculiar moral teaching bears to these two orders and their mistakes.

In the first place, if there be anything clear in the Gospels, it is that Christ did not attach any very great importance to the ceremonial observances of the Jewish Church. The lawyers and rabbins had laid down in the succession of ages a complete code, traceable more or less distinctly to the primitive church of Moses; but whenever these observances are mentioned by Christ, it is invariably in a depreciatory and never in a laudatory manner. Washing the hands before meat, making clean the cup and platter, giving tithes of mint, anise and cummin, making broad phylacteries, praying in the temple or on Gerizim,—all these matters are treated as of no importance or value whatever. Though he kept the great festivals of Judaism with the rest of his countrymen, there is never a word in his teaching to raise such observances to any high importance; and while he issued precepts for the uttermost religious devotion, for selling all and giving to the poor, and for leading a life of apostleship, it never once happens that he includes in his descriptions of

such consecrated lives the slightest reference to sabbath-keeping or temple worship, or ceremonial observance of any kind. In his representations of future judgment, all such matters are utterly ignored. And, above all, in his lessons and examples of worship, there is not one word to make it appear he thought men could better pray in synagogues and temples, or with the pomp of a liturgy, than without it. He says, "Enter thy closet and shut thy door," or "say" (apparently at any time or place), "Our Father which art in heaven." When he prays himself, it is on the mountain or beneath the olive-trees of Gethsemane. Thus it would seem that, without actually setting them at naught, he could hardly have shewn less reverence for the ordinances of the established church. If he had thought of them as things in themselves sacred, how often his lessons must have included precepts concerning attendance at the Passover and Feast of Weeks, purification, and going to the synagogue every sabbath, and uncovering the feet before prayer, and making the Levites (and the Levites only) offer due sacrifices of pigeons and lambs on all proper occasions! Had the Gospels been really designed to teach such ceremonialism, how different, how widely different, would those Gospels be! Or if we suppose that the approaching end of the Mosaic dispensation might have excluded the ratification of such observances, still the same principle (if entertained by Christ) must have shewn itself in providing for the ceremonial of the future Christian church. There would have been chapters devoted to the spiritual powers of priests and bishops, to sacraments which should replace sacrifices, and to holy days of Christmas and Easter which should command the same reverence as Purim and the Passover. And finally, in the representations of the Last Judgment, the observance of ceremonial ordinances would never have been omitted, but we should hear the admission to heaven granted not only to those who had fed the hungry and clothed the naked and visited the sick and imprisoned, but to those also who had kept all the ordinances of the church blamelessly, and had never failed to worship in the right time and place and attitude, to partake of sacraments and reverently obey all priestly guidance.

Surely we have a right to conclude from these facts that Christ gave no sanction to any system whereby such observances are placed on a level with moral obligations? Here,

as in so many other instances, we do not find him merely falling in with the morals of his age. He definitely opposed them. The current ethics of Judea in the first century were essentially ceremonial. As St. Pacian describes them—"With Moses and the ancients, those guilty of even the least sin were immersed in the same æstuary of misery, as well those who had broken the sabbath as those who had touched what was unclean, who had taken forbidden food, or who murmured, or who had entered the temple of the Most High King when their wall was leprous or their garment defiled, or when under this defilement had touched the altar with their hand or with their garment come in contact with it. So that it were easier to ascend into heaven or better to die than to have to keep the whole of the commandments."* In finding Christ treat as trifles all such matters, we are discovering his own *peculiar* morality—the Christian doctrine as opposed to the Judaic. Doubtless, if we might paraphrase his view of the subject, it would amount to this: "The Levitical law was good in its place, and has had its use in building up the Jewish nationality. I am not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil, by bringing a higher and more spiritual law. But all this cumbrous ritual of Rabbinism, instead of a help to men's souls, has become a hindrance. They give tithes of mint and anise and cummin, and neglect justice and mercy and truth. This is grievous error. On love to God and love to man hang all the law and the prophets."†

And, on the other hand, how stands Christ's teaching as regards the sabbath? Did he also, like the prophetic party of our day, make a grand exception in favour of that most ancient and venerable of all ceremonial laws? The teachers of his time, and even many of the elder prophets, laid immense stress on its observance. Did his special and peculiar morality leave the matter where he found it? The case is far otherwise. The question of the sabbath came before him

* Parenesis S. Pacian.

† Assuredly no teacher disposed to elevate the priestly office very highly would have given utterance to such a parable as the Good Samaritan, where a priest and Levite neglect the act of humanity which a heretic performs. Many teachers in our time would have described the philanthropist of the road to Jericho as running after the priest to obtain the "sanction of the church" before he poured oil and wine into the wounds of the poor victim who "fell among thieves."

many times, according to the history, but invariably he treated it with the same slight regard. The Pharisees condemned him for healing on the sabbath on three distinct occasions—the man with the withered hand, the woman with an infirmity, and the man with the dropsy (Luke vi. 9, xiii. 15, xiv. 3); and on each occasion he justified himself, calling them hypocrites for their remonstrance. And again, when they upbraided him with allowing his disciples to pluck the ears of corn on the sabbath, he defended them by the example of David (Luke vi. 3), and gave utterance to the noble aphorism, which may be understood to sum up his view of the whole subject, "The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath" (Mark ii. 23). This and all other ceremonial laws are *means*, not *ends*, of sanctification.

If we could divest ourselves of preconceived notions and judge simply what result such treatment of a moral question by such a Teacher *ought* to have on the minds of his disciples, we should be startled to find, after all, how little weight his words have possessed. Let us imagine our late Japanese visitors struck with the phenomenon of an English Sunday. The roaring streets stilled into silence, and the crowds of well-dressed persons hurrying to the churches, would doubtless impress them reverently. But when they proceeded further to observe that the lower working classes, who had toiled through the week like cattle, and were on that day alone free to cultivate their human intellectual powers, to expand their minds and hearts by the sight of the beauties of flowers and trees, of painting and sculpture, were on that day only strictly debarred from entering the public gardens, museums, palaces and galleries, wherein such culture might be obtained, it would be natural for the observant strangers to inquire by what precepts of the Christian religion were these people thus virtually excluded from such elevating influences. If we suppose the interpreter of the embassy to have sought to gratify their curiosity by reading to them the words of the Founder of Christianity, explaining to them at the same time that he was regarded by the whole nation as nothing less than a divine Buddha, whose authority was absolutely final, we must needs imagine the perplexity of the Japanese to be very considerable. Perhaps also this perplexity would not be removed by receiving the further information that the real authority for the sabbatical

observance lay in certain commands issued by much lesser teachers long before the time of Christ, to *another* nation than the English, to keep *another* day than Sunday as a peculiar covenant between that *other* nation and Jehovah.

Here again, as in the whole case of ceremonialism, the same mistake has been repeated. Ordinances good, wise and useful as *means*, have been transformed into *ends*, and upheld even when they not only ceased to be the means fit to produce their original end, but manifestly become hindrances thereto. The sabbath has not been enforced upon its real grounds,—because it is the most precious institution which has floated down to us upon the stream of time, the most suitable to the natural wants of humanity, the most venerable from the long sanctity of three thousand years. It is enforced as a law equal in authority to the eternal and immutable principles of morals, and which is to be blindly adhered to in all times and ages and under all states of society, whatever may be its results upon the condition of mankind. In a word, it is precisely taught that the Rabbins were right and Christ was wrong,—that “man was made for the sabbath, and *not* the sabbath for man.”

3. A third great difference between moralists may be traced in their varied treatment of the two orders of human offences, or what we may call the fiend-like and the brute-like sins. The one lead frequently to the other, and the most hideous of all conceivable horrors is that combination of the two in mingled cruelty and lust, of whose possibility many a page of history bears witness. But in their origin, and most commonly in their development, the two are widely apart. There are the sins which men commit under the influence of the animal passions—sins of unchastity, drunkenness, gluttony—and these rob them of their manhood's crown of moral self-control, and sink them for the time to the level of the brutes; and there are the sins which men commit under the influence of self-interest, hatred and all the anti-social passions—sins of cruelty, perfidy, envy—and these do more than sink men to the level of the unmoral brutes; they degrade them to the likeness of devils. As God is love, so is His antithesis hatred: and as man rises to the god-like through love, so he falls to the fiend-like by hatred. He is not merely losing his higher life, dormant to the joy and glory of his birthright, as when he lies sunk in the

slough of the passions which he shares with the dog and the swine ; he is placing himself in antagonism to God and goodness ; he is turning his back on heaven, and going further from it every step he treads.

Dividing, then, these two orders of sins, the brutal and the fiendish, we find Christ's treatment of the first to be in this wise. A woman was brought to him taken in adultery, and after bringing her accusers to the judgment of their own consciences, he set her free, saying, "Neither do I condemn thee ; go and sin no more" (John viii.). To another woman of sinful life whom he met by the well of Samaria, he entered into converse, spoke of her actions without scorn, and then went on to open to her simple mind the very highest doctrines of theology (John iv.). Again, another woman "who was a sinner," of the last, lowest order of woman's fallen state, came to him as he sat in the house of Simon and wept over his feet. How does he treat her ? He excuses her strong display of devotion with a tender reference to his own death, and assures her that her sins are forgiven, "for she hath loved much" (Mark xiv. and Matt. xxvi.). So far from shrinking from such offenders, he sits down to meat with "*many* publicans and sinners," and formally justifies himself in doing so. And perhaps the most remarkable fact of all is, that he had gone so far in this direction that it became possible for his enemies to give currency to the calumny that he was "a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners." Assuredly no one ever dreamed of calling him a cruel man or a vindictive, the friend of the malicious or the deceitful ! He deliberately contrasts on two occasions the spiritual condition of professed sinners with that of those who "devoured widows' houses and for a pretence made long prayers ;" and on each occasion gave an unquestionable verdict for the avowed sinner against the cruel hypocrite. The publican's prayer in the temple is accepted rather than that of the pharisee ; and the publicans and harlots are said to "go into the kingdom of heaven" before the pharisees, with all their ceremonial observances and (as we may presume) strictness of life. In a word, whenever sins of the brute-like order are in question, they are treated with almost startling leniency. Not one word implies any hopeless condemnation of them. They are grievous sins, needing forgiveness ; nay, their guilt

may be incurred by impure looks and wishes, and to escape them (as the passages are generally understood) a man should pluck out his right eye or cut off his right hand. But always, while recognizing their guilt, Christ treats them with a grave divine pity and compassion, which perhaps, more than all beside in his teaching, has invested him with the grateful love of the human heart. He *always* holds out the prospect of forgiveness. No offence of the whole class is threatened with the final condemnation denounced so frequently and freely against the uncharitable and the cruel.

And, on the other hand, in the treatment of the fiend-like order of sins, every case which comes up is judged with a severity quite inconsistent with the popular view of its relative guilt to that of the sins of the flesh. Whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, is in danger of the judgment; and he who calls opprobrious names, of the council and of hell-fire. Reconciliation with an enemy is a duty having precedence of divine worship. All injuries are to be forgiven till seventy times seven, and no retaliation made for blows or robbery. Men who do not forgive their debtors as God has forgiven their greater debts, will be cast into outer darkness. Those who neglect to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, or who see Lazarus in want and do not relieve him, will all be condemned to "everlasting fire." Whatever weight we may attach to such words, they can only bear the meaning that Christ considered such mere *omissions* of charity as more hopeless than the sins of the brute-like order, for which he always held out prospect of pardon. His whole teaching in the matter may be summed up in the two cases:—To the woman taken in adultery he says, "Neither will I condemn thee; go and sin no more." To the men who "devoured widows' houses," he says, "How shall ye escape the damnation of hell?"

The contrast is, to say the least of it, very remarkable, and it becomes all the more so when we observe that in this, as in so many other cases, Christ set himself in opposition to the current morality of his countrymen. The hard *lex talionis* has always been the favourite principle of Jewish ethics. "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," was the old Mosaic rule; and the rabbins had added doctrines such as these: "But for men who commit injuries and never return with benefits, it is nowise forbidden to be

avenged of them and to keep anger against them."* Rabbi Isaac said, "Shew not benevolence nor mercy to Gentiles."† Rabbi Samuel ben Isaac says, from the mouth of Raf, that "it is allowed to hate him in whom one observes a base action."‡ And, on the other hand, the brute-like order of sins was held in special condemnation. To the Jews, according to the best historians of ethics, the duty of chastity is indebted for the high place it holds in our modern conceptions of virtue,—a place quite unparalleled in the noblest ethical systems of Greece and Rome. The subject would lead us too far for present investigation, but a remarkable instance enables us to perceive how, in judging the character of their greatest hero, they recognized offences of *this* class as a sin, while ignoring the guilt of actions against which Christ would assuredly have pronounced a far deeper condemnation. David's adultery with Bathsheba, and *not* his perfidy to Achish, his inhuman tortures of the Ammonites, or his implacable resentment at the last against Joab and Shimei, was supposed to have been his great and sole transgression. "He sinned not, save in the matter of Uriah the Hittite" (1 Kings xv.).

If, then, the summary of the peculiar morals of Christ must be admitted to place the fiend-like class of sins in the lowest category of condemnation, and the brute-like sins in another and far less hopeless one, what shall we say to the position these two classes take in the estimation of the stricter Christians of modern days? Do we find among them the utmost horror, as of the worst of sins, of vindictiveness, malice and hatred—of calling our brother, "fool"—of slander—of a selfish, self-centred life? Do we find preachers condemning, as the most soul-destroying errors, evil words and unkind actions and bitter feelings, and pretences of being better and more strict than our neighbours? When they speak of the sins of the flesh and make appeals for Penitentiaries or give Temperance lectures, do they ever remind their hearers sitting complacently in their well-cushioned pews, that they may be in a much worse spiritual condition, for all their well-ordered lives, their correct creed,

* Rabbi Elijah in *addereth*, quoted by Triglandius, p. 167.

† *Midrasch Jehillim*, fol. 26.

‡ *Pesachim*, tract of the *Mishna* (all quoted by Hennell, p. 459).

their sacramental privileges, and right views about "justification by faith," than the poor "lost souls" for whom their charity is implored; and that Christ has assured us that "harlots" "go into the kingdom of heaven" before Pharisees? Do they in their invectives against intoxication put always forward the truth, that the madness of hate and spite is devil-like, and the madness of wine only bestial; and that Christ used and blessed the "fruit of the vine," while he bade his disciples "beware of the leaven of malice and uncharitableness"? We should need to reconstruct half the ethics of the churches if we should harmonize them in this great matter with the morals of Jesus, and in our estimate of the sanctity of various classes of society, the "first" would henceforth be "last, and the last first." How deep and far such a change would go, it is startling to contemplate. Fraternities binding themselves to speak or write no bitter words, societies for the reconciliation of enemies, and *agapæ* for the preservation of friendship among discordant sects, might then spring up beside Temperance Leagues and Refuge Unions and meetings of clergy and bishops to denounce heretical books and throw stones at heretics. And each of us, in the solemn courts of conscience,—

Each before the judgment throne
Of his own awful soul,—

would look back with shame indeed and regret upon the scenes wherein he had

Profaned his spirit, sunk his brow,
And revelled in gross joys of earth,

resolving, with God's help, to "go and sin no more." But he would shed more bitter tears over the memory of cruelty—of the careless or vindictive infliction of moral or physical pain—of slanderous words—of implacable feelings—of hardness of judgment—of refusal of help implored—of those cutting words and unkind looks which make up often the sum of a miserable life to husband, wife, parent or child, who is their object. The prudent, well-ordered life, with its sabbath-keepings and church-goings and prayers night and morning and avoidance of all "dissipation," would then be often stripped of its cloak of respectability and revealed to sight as a life of utter selfishness—mean, dull, morose

and envious—abominable to God and worse than useless to man. God *will* forgive us, in this life or the life to come, for repented sins of the flesh: shall we ever quite forgive ourselves through our immortality for the anguish we have caused to good and patient hearts, or for the neglect of means once in our power to produce the happiness of those around us, now passed away from our reach for ever?

We must pass more rapidly over some of the minor points of peculiarity in Christ's doctrine, and the strange fatality by which *they* have been neglected, while the lessons of Moses and Paul have been remembered.

4. Christ insists peculiarly on reserve and secrecy in the matters of the soul. "If we pray, we are to enter into our closet and shut the door—if we fast, to anoint the head and wash the face, that we appear not unto men to fast—if we give alms, to take heed that the left hand should not know what the right hand doeth." A strange comment on this would be the immense importance attached in Christendom generally to public over private worship, and the pomp and clang of bells and pretentiousness of dress wherewith our public worship is heralded—the admiration in so many sects for a "mortified" aspect and solemn demeanour, in preference to a happy face and cheerful manner*—and, lastly, the principle, of which we have heard so much of late, that if women desire to devote themselves to works of charity, they ought to relinquish the usual costume of their class, and adopt a "modest garb and veil" of black or grey which shall announce, not only to their left hand, but all down the street, what their right hand is going to do!

5. Christ rebukes as heathenish making long prayers and thinking a man will be heard for his much speaking. Yet nearly all the churches stretch their prayers to the most inordinate length, and the very Prayer which Christ taught us for the purpose of avoiding "vain repetitions," is itself three times repeated in the English service, in consequence of the lumping together of the three services in one, and the obstinate refusal of the "religious world" to allow them to be separated again.

* The writer once heard a pious young woman remark that a certain clergyman must have been such a good man—nobody could laugh in the room where his picture was hung!

6. Again, one of the most remarkable histories in the life of Christ is that beautiful one to which we have already alluded, his treatment of the woman taken in adultery. The sentence he passed was, "Let him that is without sin among you first cast a stone at her." What new principle of morality was this? Because a *man* has sinned in some way or other against the strict law of chastity, is he therefore to throw no stones at a *woman* taken in adultery? Who ever heard anything like this before—or since?*

Would to God that this Christ-like doctrine might ever become the received Christian doctrine—that the sin of the man does *not* differ from that of the woman—that all pretences of such differences vanish before the solemn appeal of conscience!

7. The last great characteristic of Christ's peculiar morality to which we shall draw attention was his conception of a *perfect life*. Among his contemporaries there were extant apparently three typical ideas on the subject. There were the Sadducees, who occupied themselves with practical affairs, guided by the noble principle of Antigonus of Socho (the disciple of their founder Sadok), that "right must be done for its own sake and not for sake of reward,"—a sect which seems to have lacked spiritual aspiration and future hope, and to have thought of no higher perfection than an honest worldly life. There were also the Pharisees, who aimed at what they esteemed perfection through minute observances, wearing phylacteries of texts and prayers on their garments and door-posts, washing their persons and cups and platters with scrupulous care, and giving tithes of even the smallest of their possessions. There were, lastly, the Essenes, who wholly devoted themselves to the attainment of a high degree of sanctity by living apart from the world in monastic seclusion and the practice of self-austerities.

To none of these types can we assimilate in any shape the ideal of perfection set forth by Christ. As for his example, it is needless to repeat what has been so often shewn by Christian divines, that he was the reverse of an ascetic Essene, no less than of a Sadducean worldling or Pharisaic formalist. Had there been anything in his personal habits

* The internal evidence of this beautiful story may, I think, suffice for the present argument, albeit the external evidence be against its authenticity.

resembling those so common among religious teachers, of contempt and disregard of the body and its wants, we should inevitably have found his disciples recording tales like those of Romish saints, of garments worn unchanged for years,* of the unkempt beard and hair of the Nazarite, and of penances and macerations without end. But, except the long wandering in the wilderness with which he commenced his prophet's life, we read of nothing of the kind. Such traditions as have reached us all point the other way, to dignity and beauty of person and demeanour, and we are bound to believe that he gave the example as well as the precept "to anoint the head and wash the face," to conceal any vestige of self-discipline.

Further, he was not only far removed from the Stylites or Dervish type of sanctity, he was eminently social in his habits of life. He seems to have accepted the hospitalities of every class of persons—pharisees, rulers of synagogues, publicans, and private friends like the family of Bethany—in fact, so far as we know, of every one who invited him. To the house of Zaccheus he invited himself frankly. He objected nothing when "many publicans and sinners sat at meat with him." At the marriage feast of Cana he aided the conviviality of the banquet by fresh supplies of wine when men "had already well drunk," and both on that occasion and again at his own last supper may be said not only to have sanctioned, but to have consecrated, the use of the fruit of the vine. He excused Mary Magdalene for expending her "exceeding precious ointment of spikenard" on his feet, speaking with infinite tenderness of her demonstrations of grief and gratitude. He reproached his entertainer on the same occasion for neglecting to give him the kiss of welcome and the offer of water to wash his feet; and this latter gentle courtesy he himself afterwards practised towards all his own disciples. Such was his example; and his teaching is in full accordance therewith. He always assumed that social pleasures are right and fit. Throughout his parables there is perpetual reference to feasts and guests;

* One of the seven ways in which wisdom is manifested (according to the Eastern mind) is "the habit of wearing worn-out clothes" ! (Solwan, by Ibn Zaffer.) It is remarkable that the histories both of Zoroaster and of Gautama Buddha represent them as wandering and fasting in the desert and the forest before commencing their ministries. Ahrimanes appeared to Zoroaster to tempt him astray, and Gautama, after a night of prayer, suddenly "attained the wisdom by which he became Buddha."

nor does he hesitate to do what would amount to blasphemy were such things less than perfectly right and good,—he continually represents God himself as the Giver of the feast. For the returning prodigal He “slays the fatted calf;” and at another time “gives a great supper and bids many;” and again He gives a marriage feast, where wedding garments must be worn. Finally, Christ represents such pleasures as having their archetypes in heaven: “I shall no more drink of the fruit of the vine *till I drink it new with you in my Father’s kingdom.*” He tells his disciples, “when they are bidden to a feast” (not by any means to stay away, but) “to take the lowest room.” And when they give a feast (which he assumes they are sure to do), to invite the poor, the halt and the blind. There is never one word to the purpose that it is holier to dine alone on herbs and water than in a large company on meat and wine.

Again, in his precepts concerning the perfection of virtue there is nothing resembling the inculcation of seclusion or a contemplative or ascetic life. Though the forms in which he described a life of beneficence were of an Eastern type, belonging to an era of convulsion, and different from those our modern political economy would point out as most suitable to the end in view, yet they were always forms of *social*, never of ascetic, self-sacrifice. He who prayed so often never told men that prayer was enough by itself, or that they might shut themselves up and fulfil all duty to their neighbours by imploring God to favour them. Those who said, “Be ye warmed and fed, and gave not those things that were needed,” were simply hypocrites in his eyes. To the young man who asked what he lacked of perfection, he said, “Go and sell all thou hast, and give to the poor, and come and follow me.” To his disciples he prescribed a life of self-abnegation, that they should journey perpetually preaching the “good tidings of the kingdom.” And, lastly, in the most remarkable passage of all, he describes “being perfect as our Father in heaven,” as being, like Him, kind to the evil and the unthankful. It is always the same, even in the picture of the final judgment. Nobody is represented as saved by any ascetic privations or religious practices. The prayers he had counselled as “means of grace” in this life, are “counted as righteousness” to nobody in the life to come. Fasting and watching are not taken into the

account, and saying, Lord! Lord! is of no sort of avail. The accepted souls are those who have actually served the poor and miserable, and the condemned ones are those who have neglected to do so.* Everything is in keeping—example, parables, precepts, and representations of the principles which shall determine future trial. Asceticism and solitary virtue has no merit and is a delusion. Goodness consists in active love to God and man.

Having gained this insight into Christ's idea of perfection—Christ's *peculiar* idea, be it noted, differing from that of all his contemporaries—must we not pause and ask, how far the moral systems of modern Christians have embodied this idea? Are there no supposed disciples of Christ who are in fact aiming at Essene asceticism, or Sadducean worldly uprightness, or Pharisaic formalism, as in each case their goal of perfection? It needs, alas! a very small acquaintance with either what is called the religious world or religious literature, to be aware that in this matter Christ's lessons and example are the rarest of all to be followed. How do "truly pious" people regard those who, like Christ, accept invitations to social pleasures freely, and "sit at meat" and drink wine with men of all characters, including "publicans and sinners"? How do other pious people of a different persuasion regard those who neglect such small ceremonies of the modern church as are equivalent to the washing of pots and tithing of herbs of the Pharisees of old? Place together the three elements of Christ's lesson—the acceptance of social pleasures, the disregard of ceremonies, and the devotion of life to purposes of true human love and beneficence—and how few do we find who even recognize that such was the perfection he would have enjoined!

And, last of all, it would seem that Christ conceived there was one point in which human virtue could rise above the level of mortal perfection, and actually imitate and share the infinite perfectness of God. It was, **THE LOVE OF THE UNLOVELY**. To love those who love us and who are pleas-

* It is noticeable as another instance how Christian morals differ from the morals of Christ, that we continually hear, as if of a specially meritorious thing, of "seeing Christ" in the poor. But Christ himself represents the blessed as being extremely surprised when he identifies himself with the poor. "Lord, when saw we *thee* an hungry?" &c. These "blessed of the Father" had manifestly helped the poor for the poor's sake, not for any other's sake.

ing to us, *that* is a small thing. To pass over all moral and physical deformities, and wrongs and insults against ourselves, and to see in every soul which God has made, what His eye also beholds; the germ of that immortal goodness which must bloom at last in His paradise, perchance millenniums hence—*that* is the great and beautiful thing—that is the culmination of human virtue, where it meets and blends with the infinite holiness of God. To see this germ of goodness under all the clay beneath which it may lie—to have faith in it—to love it—to bear all things, forgive all things, hope all things, for its sake—is the highest perfection of humanity. The one only thing in the universe which the creature can do even as the Creator is, to “love his enemies, to bless them that curse him, and do good to those who hate him.” *Thus* man becomes the child of Him who “makes His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and unjust.”* *Thus* he becomes “perfect even as his Father who is in heaven is perfect.”

How far the Rabbins or the Stoics of old ever grasped this idea, is a matter of speculative interest. How far modern Christians who perpetually extol it in theory ever work it out practically to its logical conclusions, is a very different matter. Let us suppose for a moment what the world would be if in daily life as well as in the pulpit it was the received belief that we should despise no one, dislike no one, despair of no one,—if meanness and depravity and (what is more to the purpose) vulgarity were to give us no excuses for reprobating anybody,—if shrinking from contact with those below us, morally or socially, were recognized

* The rabbins had perceived how divine was this sending of rain on the just and unjust. “Rabbi Afhu said, ‘The day on which rain is sent is greater than the resurrection of the dead, for this pertains to the just alone, but rain to the just and unjust.’”—*Jaarith. fol. 71. Mishna.*

“The highest of all characters, in my estimation, is his who is as ready to pardon the errors of mankind as if he were every day guilty of some himself, and at the same time as cautious of committing a fault as if he never forgave one.” (Pliny, Ep. 22.) “It does not divert the Almighty from being still gracious, though we proceed daily in the abuse of his bounties..... What then should we do but that very thing which is done by God himself—that is to say, give to the ignorant and persevere to the wicked?” (Seneca, c. 14.) “Oh blessed Ormuzd, pardon my offences against thee, even as I pardon those committed against myself.” (*Vendidad Sade, Zend Avesta.*) “By forgiveness of injuries the wise are purified.” (*Institutes of Menu, 107.*)

as being *not* a proof of higher taste and more exalted feeling, but of altogether a wrong and imperfect moral condition,—if conquering fastidiousness and forgetting insults and overlooking slights were characteristics honoured instead of despised by the Christian world at large,—how different, how widely different, would that Christian world become from that which we behold it! Let us at least gather thus much from this brief glance at the peculiar morals of Christ. When men speak as if Christian virtue consisted in doing no harm and believing correctly—when men insist upon ceremonial observances and sabbath-keepings as things in themselves holy and imperative, whether useful or the reverse—when men treat sins of passion as unpardonable, and sins of malice and hatred as venial—when men proclaim the advantages of ostentatious example-setting in church-going and charity, and of conventual dress for philanthropic work—when men rank long and reiterated prayers and services as duties peculiarly pleasing to God—when men treat female unchastity as altogether a different offence from that of a man—and, finally, when men set up as their model of perfection formalists, or worldlings, or ascetics, or persons whose virtue consists in care for their own souls, not in love and faith and tenderness for their fellow-creatures,—when men do this, let us at least take courage to reply, Your doctrines and views may be true or they may be false, but you have no right to claim for them the sanction of that Prophet who taught precisely the reverse,—your “Christian ethics” are *not* the “ethics of Christ”!

III.—THE WEAKNESS AND STRENGTH OF THE PULPIT.

SERMONS have become proverbially the dullest of all dull productions of the human understanding. “As good as a novel,” is an expression of the highest praise; but “as bad as a sermon,” sums up in brief all that can be said against the dryness and barrenness of any piece of literature. Many would rejoice to hear that sermons were to be no more; while others, of more antiquarian taste, who prize

them as venerable, though useless, relics of the past, chafe in their seats if the discourse exceeds by a few minutes the tolerated half-hour. In many churches sermons are listened to, not even from an antiquarian interest in them, but because it is considered *proper* to bear patiently such periodical inflictions; and if they possess no other value, they are considered desirable as a penance. Good people believe that they *ought* to be interested in them, but sorrowfully confess to themselves that their thoughts wander in pursuit of more exciting topics. And men of original and cultured minds, men of the world too, with a rough, but sound, morality and abundance of common sense, openly deride or secretly despise the feebleness of the pulpit. In many circles a man with ability at all above the average is described as "throwing himself away" when he devotes himself to the Christian ministry; and the seductions of the law or of commerce are pressed upon him as not only more lucrative, but as affording a more worthy field for the exercise of his talents. And to come a step lower, there are not a few whose leading idea of "a parson" is that of a half-developed man, whose profession it is to ape a goodness which he does not possess, whose mind is narrow and whose reason small, and who attains the height of his ambition when his flowery discourses are treated as though they were not absolutely insipid, and when he is flattered and petted in a way which no manly nature would brook. Clergymen and women are frequently included in the same category; and this, with no complimentary reference to the fair sex. The unhappy minister is a sort of amphibious creature, and like that vain and weak-minded animal, which, assuming to unite in itself the properties of the inhabitants of air and land and water, had the excellence of none, has the ungainliness of a man, the feebleness of a woman, and the virtues of neither. The preacher, imitating the fabled lion of artistic aspirations, who determined, as soon as his paw could hold a chisel, to make a statue of himself triumphant over a man, can only console himself by feeling in his consciousness, and intending, as soon as he has sufficient eloquence, to prove, that he has the gracefulness of woman, the strength of man, and the virtues of both. But enough of this strain of remark, which some, it is to be hoped (ministers especially), will consider greatly exaggerated, and in which others, it is to be feared, will see

but too faithful a reflection of their own thought. It is sufficient to say that the prevailing conception of the ministerial office in this Christian land is in startling contrast to the importance attached to preaching in the first age of Christianity. Preaching was then the very soul of Christian work. It was the one vehicle without which the Gospel could not spread. It stirred up unknown depths in the hearts of men, and became the channel of a new life. The Apostles were required to *speak* the word in face of every opposition. A necessity was laid upon them; woe was to them if they did not preach. And through the power of preaching multitudes were brought from darkness to light. Yet now it is a by-word for feebleness and deadness, an employment for fourth-rate men, whose prospect of success in any other profession would be worse than doubtful.

To what is this change to be ascribed? There are some who suppose it fully accounted for by the prevalence of printing. It is often said that current literature, chiefly in the form of newspapers, has filled the sphere once occupied by preaching, and deprived the minister of religion of his noblest office. But on the same principle the orator and the actor ought to have lost their influence; for we can *read* the finest productions of dramatic genius, and speeches of the richest eloquence. The immortal pages of Shakspeare are in every library; and Demosthenes and Cicero are at hand to charm every admirer of fervent or ornate language. And yet when a true orator appears, he holds men spell-bound still; and an actor of real power sways the passions as in days gone by. And surely, though leading articles were to be found in every reading-room, raising men (far more than, as a matter of fact, leading articles are apt to do) above the passion of the moment, and inducing them to substitute principle for worldly policy, yet a preacher of exalted gifts, whose soul was filled with prophetic fire, would penetrate the conscience as no dumb letter can ever do, and extort from his hearers the acknowledgment, "We have heard strange things to-day."

Another mode of explaining the declining power of the pulpit is by supposing, with some philosophers, that the spiritual nature of man is outgrown, that religion was merely the childish wonder of an untutored age, and that now men

have something more solid and enduring to attend to. Physical science has demonstrated the non-existence of the soul. Sin is finally proved to be a peculiar form of dyspepsia. And political economy has superseded the Sermon on the Mount. Without entering into controversy with these profound speculators, we take the liberty of dissenting from their view. We are persuaded that the complaints against the pulpit have a deeper origin, and that its ministrations give so little satisfaction, not because they are too religious, but because they do not appeal to the truest religion in the human heart. It would be an insult to most congregations to say that they would prefer a treatise on dietetics, or an analysis of the cost of production, even to such sermons as they receive. The highest principle of human nature is not yet dethroned. The capacity for worship is not dead. Remorse is as real as in the days of Paul. Temptation is no less formidable; death and eternity no less solemn. And the secret wish of men is, not that the pulpit would be forever mute, but that it would speak to the living wants of the hour. May not their earnest longing to be translated, as in a fiery chariot, to a higher region of thought and feeling, be one cause of their dissatisfaction, as human power is seldom equal to the task? Why do such multitudes flock continually to the latest exhibition of pulpit eccentricity? Is it from a mere empty-minded curiosity? Or is it that people are pleased to see Religion burlesqued? In some cases perhaps it may. But is it not also that they are craving for something more vital, something less conventional, than can be found in the ordinary churches, and that they believe that he who affronts the common usage has at least the merit of being natural and sincere? And if we may venture into the region of more private experience, are there not many earnest men and women ready to exclaim that, if preaching has lost its efficacy, it is from no alteration in the needs of the human soul? How often have they gone to their place of worship longing for the word of power which would lift them above their accustomed level, which would make them nobler servants of God, and send them forth to conquer their temptations, and to march triumphantly on the narrow road of duty! But they have been called upon to admire an essay coldly beautiful, which perhaps was true as far as it went, or possibly

explained away some of the most vivid facts in their souls' history, or denied the reality of wants the most poignant that men can feel. Or they may have been treated to a dreary or an excited exposition of certain fossil dogmas, which increase the sum neither of wisdom nor of charity, but tend rather to foster spiritual pride, and lull with a false peace the guilty heart. What wonder that they are dissatisfied? They have asked for bread, and received a stone. They have desired, but failed to find, the tongue of fire, the baptism in the Holy Spirit.

Perhaps our inquiry may be assisted by glancing at two of the most remarkable nations of antiquity, each widely scattered, at the time when Christianity appeared, through that great empire which is most closely associated in our minds with heathen civilization, and each unable or unwilling to turn back the corruptions of the age, and lead men to a higher order of excellence. These nations, the Jews and the Greeks, to whom Christianity in the first instance chiefly addressed itself, and amongst whom it encountered peculiar obstacles, may be regarded as representatives of two principles, which, wherever they reappear, impair the vitality of religion and enfeeble its ministrations. The presence of these principles in society may help to explain the weakness for which the pulpit has acquired such an unenviable reputation.

The first of these principles is formalism, of which the Jews may be considered representatives. The Jewish religion had, prior to the appearance of Christianity, shaped for itself a definite and unalterable form. It expressed itself through the medium of certain laws which could not be violated with impunity, of various ceremonies which had to be rigidly observed. The peculiar customs, however, of the Jews; their solemn meetings and sacrifices; their sabbaths, the sanctity of which no labour might disturb; their body of doctrine, which, resting, as they thought, on divine authority, no one might dispute;—these were not religion, but only the signs, the outward and visible symbols, of the fervour which was supposed to burn within the heart. It is evident that the fervour might grow cold, and the symbol remain. The soul might be corrupt and the "hands full of blood," while clouds of incense rose and sacrificial pomp dazzled as before. Profane language might be used and the

foul tongue of calumny ply its trade unrebuked, while none dared to breathe a word against the sanctity of the temple. Practical atheism was quite compatible with a bigoted certainty that "God spake by Moses." Thus men can substitute the dead sign for the living spirit, and persuade themselves that they are truly religious, that they alone are entitled to have "holiness" written on their forehead, while all the time they are insulting the imperishable principles of religion, and paying honour to a corpse. The Jews were so enslaved to the venerable usages of their ancestors, that they could not discern the present inspiration which was independent of those usages, and in the sublime utterances of Christ could discover nothing but blasphemy.

When Religion has sunk into this condition ; when it has become the slave of those symbols which were its own spontaneous creation, and which ought to pass away, as they rose, at its bidding ; when it is compelled to express itself through stereotyped forms, whether of ceremony or of doctrine, from which there can be no deviation without a presumed impiety ; it is vain to ask it to speak with power, and expect from it the quickening glow and animation of health when it lies a bleeding and manacled victim upon its own altar. Can men expect the caged and wounded lion to appal them by his roar, or the eagle pining in captivity to display the might of his pinions, the dauntless glance of his eye ? And yet this is precisely what the sects of Christendom have done. They have placed their ministers in the pulpit, not to utter the burning faith of the moment, not to speak forth with a prophet's earnestness, though with human frailty, the word of "the eternal Spirit," not to insist on stripping off every disguise of hypocrisy and warn men that goodness of heart alone will avail them in presence of the Most High, but to repeat the same hackneyed phraseology, to eulogize the same dogmas, to exalt the forms of religion till it can be easily forgotten that the forms ever had a soul, and without that soul are only corrupt and corrupting. Dishonesty may be tolerated. The profligate may be fit for the society of Christian gentlemen. But he who breathes a word against the received forms of religion must be crushed with a strong hand. The holiest principles of the Gospel may be grossly violated, and the offence hardly observed ; but to doubt the

authenticity of a canonical book is little short of the unpardonable sin. Worldly Felix may sit without trembling on his comfortable cushion, but faithful and God-fearing Paul must bear the chain of the world's scorn. Every minister of religion whose mind is more searching or more truthful than the average must be jealously watched. As soon as he utters the deepest convictions of his heart, a world called religious must rise in arms, a literature called religious must give vent to its petty sneers, pamper its vanity by vilifying its neighbour, and wound and sadden all who value the truth of Christ. What wonder that men compelled to preach like Scribes and Pharisees, that men whose greatest crime is to reverence the truth, should fail to move the conscience or the heart! What wonder that their word is without power to human souls hungering for the bread of life!

That the evil here depicted is no imaginary one, is but too apparent at the present day. Many who would fain preach a freer gospel are chafing against the iron bars of prescription. Who can tell how many pangs are secretly endured by those who are unable satisfactorily to reconcile their conscience and their worldly prospects? And not a few young men of promising talent and character shrink from enrolling themselves in holy orders because they cannot pronounce the required shibboleth. Almost everywhere men of the highest scholarship and most original thought are eyed with suspicion; and where it is possible they are excommunicated. The securest plan for the preacher is neither to think nor feel; for such a dangerous exercise of self-indulgence may carry him beyond the articles of his Church. The pulpit has been called "the coward's castle;" it might be more appropriately described as "the brave man's dungeon." There is, however, one small denomination which has sought to secure itself against the sad inversion of the relative importance of the spirit and the sign by leaving its ministers in freedom. The Church commonly known as Unitarian expects its preachers to utter their own deepest faith. It is persuaded that the living energy of Christian truth will from generation to generation shape for itself a body as it will. It desires its religious instructors to be earnest and devoted MEN, with eyes open to behold the universe of light, not priestly functionaries to act a dead routine.

When a minister is elected, no test of orthodoxy is presented, no bond is signed. And if it be alleged that instances of intolerance occasionally arise, it must be remembered that for these individuals alone are responsible. Absolute freedom is, at least in England, the principle of the denomination; violations of this principle must be laid to the account solely of the men who violate it. In some other churches absolute submission to authority is the principle; freedom beyond a certain narrow area is due only to the courage of those who dare to brave the consequences. In the one case, every one has a right to freedom; in the other, a few may venture beyond the appointed limits in hopes that the uncertain meshes of the law will fail to entangle them. And practically this principle of freedom has in this country been duly regarded. While among other bodies depositions have taken place, the Unitarian denomination has in any cases of difficulty pronounced decisively in favour of liberty; and wherever separations have occurred owing to a change of opinion, they have taken place by mutual consent, and caused no diminution of love.

We are, however, fully aware that this freedom is not without its dangers. The perversions of self-will or the conceit of originality may occasionally deform the services of the pulpit. But practically these evils are incomparably less than those of a rigid and unmoving system. And indeed the possibility of their occurrence possesses an advantage. It leads congregations to pay strict attention to the character and mental qualities of their ministers, and to seek their security from pernicious error in a sober judgment and a devout spirit; and thus, in the election of a minister, he is estimated, not by a conventional standard of orthodoxy, but by his real worth as a man, while in regard to his opinions nothing is required but that vague and general agreement with the opinions of the congregation electing him, which is essential to his practical usefulness. In comparatively few cases is this generous confidence abused, and the liberty which is accorded to the minister converted into "a cloak for licentiousness." But whatever be the dangers of freedom, the Word of God must not be bound. Preachers must be allowed to speak out of the fulness of their hearts, or they had better seal their lips for ever. Men would injure the true preacher of Christ far

less by hanging chains upon his arms and fixing his feet in the stocks, than by imposing articles of religion upon his conscience, and saying to him, "Thus shalt thou speak." What! are they to obey men rather than God? No; let the body perish, but the soul be free. If men would hear the living word, if they would be addressed by preachers who will utter only the thought that fills them, they must shield the rights of liberty with the same jealous care with which they now rivet the chains of bondage, and not basely claim for the laity a freedom for which clergymen groan in vain. Better were it, instead of writing "vassal" on the brow of the minister of religion, to stir him up to a sense of his solemn duties as a freedman of God; and if he himself were ever inclined to bow the knee, and escape the burden of his responsibility by uttering cold truisms, to rebuke his weakness, and remind him that his office as a preacher of the Gospel is not to be the puppet of a system, but to proclaim with fervid lips the truth on which his own soul has lived. Thus there might be error, there might be many mistakes; but there would be honest thought and manly piety, and men would learn to reverence the spirit of Christ himself infinitely more than any one of the varied forms through which it has been expressed. But if preachers be bound to the outward sign, and can proclaim only a kingdom of God which cometh with observation, the kindling word will cease to glow, and sin will arise upon the ruins of heresy. Where liberty is not, the spirit of the Lord is fled. And a nation which constrains its clergy to be vassals of routine must lament a cold and lifeless pulpit.

In contradistinction from the Jews, the Greeks represented a principle, or mental tendency, which we may be permitted to call intellectualism.* In the terse and expressive language of the apostle Paul, the Greeks sought after wisdom. They were fond of reasoning and speculating, and were more pleased with a logical subtlety or a high-flown dream than with the new spirit of life in Christ. That appealed to something deeper than the understanding; and

* The accepted word "rationalism" might appear to be the proper one to use in this connection; but as it has come to be popularly received, not as expressive of a mental tendency, but as indicative of certain negative results of thought, we have considered the word intellectualism better adapted to express our meaning.

the cultured philosopher, who could utter fine-sounding words about virtue and the supreme good, considered it foolishness, and unworthy the attention of a thinker. It would not, however, be fair to judge of the tendency and power of Greek philosophy by its condition in the time of the first Christians. The days of its glory were past, and its great original thinkers had long ceased to utter their majestic musings. But in the time of its brightest splendour, when those men lived whose names will be handed down to the latest generation, it had wonderfully little influence upon the real life of men. It left idolatry and vice where it found them. In the minds of very few did it create what might be called a faith. Even the noble death of Socrates hardly disturbed the frivolity of Athens; and those who are fondest of comparing that greatest of the Greeks with Jesus might be startled by the contrast between the results of the two lives. The higher Socrates is exalted, the more palpable does it become that there was some radical defect in philosophy as compared with Christianity. Scepticism appears to have been its general fruit. Educated men despised and conformed to the religion of the people, derided and pretended to worship the popular gods. They had a contempt for the multitude, whose profane feet might not soil the temple of philosophy, and who were only fit to be nourished on superstition and absurdity. It is no injustice to the sublime thought of Plato, or the acute intellect of Aristotle, to say that the Greek philosophy was not a redeeming power. It too often inflated the learned with sounding words, and left the ignorant masses to perish in their sins.

All this furnishes an instructive lesson. There is here presented to us the spectacle of a people, the most intellectual the world has ever known, whose speculative genius employed itself upon the deepest problems, human and divine, unable to arrive at any worthy faith, and, in spite of their philosophic light, plunging into darker and darker abysses of superstition, and addicted to vices which can be here described only as unnatural and revolting. We call this an instructive lesson, because the same tendency to subordinate everything to the intellect reappears from time to time; and wherever it manifests itself, a corresponding spiritual weakness will surely follow. May not this help

to explain whatever feebleness characterizes the Unitarian pulpit? Have not Unitarian preachers erred in this direction? And will not this radical error enable us to understand how it is that with so many distinguishing merits, the noblest of all, **RELIGIOUS POWER**, is possessed by them in such insignificant proportions? Have they yet to accept as an immovable faith the conviction that great intellect is a mere phosphorescence compared with the light of great goodness, and that the chair of the philosopher or the rostra of the rhetorician can never compete as a soul-subduing power with the cross of the Son of God? They have become so accustomed to subject everything to the test of reason, they have such a horror of accepting anything which they cannot readily support on a logical basis, that they are in danger of unduly exalting the inquisitive faculties, and under-estimating certain qualities which are more valuable. They find it difficult to appreciate goodness which adopts a dogma stigmatized in the denominational vocabulary as absurd, and sometimes allow their devotion to freeze lest it should become extravagant. Christianity itself descends into a system of rational doctrines, "divinely authenticated," it is true, but the authentication addressing itself chiefly to the understanding. And then in reaction against this there is what appears to us a more correct theory of the grounds of faith, a more comprehensive survey and truer estimate of human faculties. But this movement too may stop short as a mere philosophy. To explore the grounds of faith, and know why men *ought* to believe, is not the same thing as believing. To have a well-conceived hypothesis of inspiration is not to feel the prophet's glow. To extol the beauty of devotion is not to worship in spirit and in truth. The elaborations of the intellect, whether they assume the form of dogmatic clearness or of speculative mysticism, are not the saviours of the world. Sin will hold its revels and destroy its victims, though fine taste may pronounce it an ugly thing. Atheism will not hide its head, though it may be proved that in accordance with the principles of human reason there ought to be a God. Men have a strange power of imagining a faith which they do not possess, of comprehending and describing feelings which are long since dead, of discerning spiritual relations among objects which only hypothetically exist. And it becomes a solemn question how far the religious language of "modern thought" denotes a profound

reality, and springs from the new-born life of the soul, or how far it is the cold result of an eclectic philosophy. If it be the latter, alas for "advanced schools"! Their boast that they are the vanguard of religious progress, their proud claim to hold a rational religion, their sneers at creed-bound churches, will save neither themselves nor others. They will only make Christian hearts sad, and vividly awaken the recollection that "the poor in spirit" stand foremost in the ranks of the blessed. The truth is, "knowledge," if left alone, "puffeth up," but does not edify or quicken the soul. Ideas, however beautiful, if felt only as *ideas*, will not send a man to bear his cross. Sentimentalism, couched in figurative language, and appealing to the literary taste, will not fill the guilty heart with shame, or make it beat in answer to a call from on high. These things are all outside the springs of human activity. They arouse no new emotions. They startle into life no dead convictions. They stir not the sluggish will. They seek for a critical approval, and having received it are content. And wherever these predominate in the pulpit, where the principal aim is to communicate instruction, and convince people that they are very foolish and ignorant if they do not adopt the preacher's theology, nothing can be expected but weakness, weakness at least in regard to the true end of the Christian ministry. Many may be attracted by the talent of the preacher. Many may esteem him highly as a man, and be benefited by his example. But the multitude will keep aloof from his services, and briefly characterize them as cold; and the intellectualism of the present day will be found to have as little power in ennobling a nation as in apostolic times.

We must not, however, be understood to imply that it would be desirable to discard reason, to rely upon some imaginary authority, and attempt to credit the incredible; but only this, that the Christian Life is something deeper than the intellectual powers, that the spirit of Christ within the soul is of infinitely more importance than sound logic, and that the carefully-constructed treatise ought to be regarded only as a vehicle to convey that spirit. Let the reasoning be glorified by a pervading life, let the arguments come burning from a central faith, and all will be well. Certainly the preacher ought to exercise his reason; knowledge and skill should marshal his facts and arguments; his logic should be invincible; his imagination should wing

its loftiest flight ; the whole man should be absorbed in the mighty work, and every noble power pressed into the high service ; and yet all this should be as nothing in presence of that everlasting Spirit, that eternal Life, which he attempts to reveal ; and, if it be possible for human lips, he should so speak that that Life will remain within the hearts of his hearers, to be their joy and strength when the form in which it first came is forgotten, and his mere personal opinions have made way for sublimer doctrines. But if the intellectual process be allowed to usurp the highest place, if criticism be allowed to become the Lord of devotion, the pulpit, having forfeited its sacred privilege, will become a theme for scornful pity.

Such appear to be the leading forms of error which have produced the present feebleness of the pulpit. Under the deadening influence of formalism, or from a preponderance of the critical understanding, which, if not irreverent, at least seldom loses itself in adoration, men have lapsed into the sterile vehemence of bigotry or the inflated weakness of indifference. Where, then, are we to look for a remedy ? Is it in a return to the early faith of Christians, a simple acceptance of Jesus of Nazareth as the true Light of the world, the human embodiment of the everlasting Word of God, the Son, and therefore the image and revealer of the invisible Father, the representative of that ideal life which is the consummation of man's perfections ?* His spirit is more solemn and majestic than all forms, higher

* It will be seen that we are not of the number of those whose "self-reliance" induces them to "shove Jesus and Judas equally aside." When we speak of Jesus as the Truth, our language is more than a metaphor. Dogmas we may doubt ; forms we may distrust ; the eccentricities of our own minds we may dread ; but that his Spirit of Life is the completion of our humanity, that it is only in that Spirit that we see things truly, and that to be gathered up, as it were, into that Spirit, is the true end of our being, we cannot doubt. It may be said that this statement is itself a dogma. Perhaps so ; but we readily admit that it falls far short of the truth, and, like other dogmas, only symbolizes a truth which is too deep for the words of the understanding. Our reliance is not in the statement, but in him who has "opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers." If any one objects to the statement, we care not, if only he accepts the fact, and walks in the Spirit. Some, far more from an error of intellect than of heart, appear to think that Christ can touch the soul only to spoil it, by detaching it from its own native characteristics ; to us it seems that his touch glorifies the soul into a son of God, divine, yet still human, and leads it on to heights which few without him would have trodden. But this subject is too great to be discussed within the limits of a note ; and these are merely hints towards a full view of our position.

and clearer than all knowledge. As he was the end of the law to believing Jews, so he is still the end both of ritual and of intellect ; for these are but shadows of the awfulness and glory of a soul surrendered to God. If he be restored to his rightful position as Head of the Church, to be honoured, not by theological noise or arguments tinged with malevolence, but by souls in subjection to his spotless holiness ; if his spirit be enthroned "far above all principality and power and every name that is named" in the hot contentions of opposing sects ; if the pattern of his heavenly goodness be assumed as the form of godliness, his self-denying love recognized as the highest wisdom ;—there will then be no more complaints of a dead and feeble ministry, but sermons will once more become an important agency in accomplishing the regeneration of mankind. Whatever may be the faults, in other respects, of these much-abused compositions, they will at least be full of soul, large-hearted, elevated above the passions of the hour, appealing to what is best and noblest in every man, and insisting that a higher than human wisdom shall be consulted upon every question affecting man's weal or woe. And the preacher will be characterized by that living earnestness which thrills the heart, and calls down high and holy influences upon those who hear ; not the mimic earnestness of uplifted voice and rhetorical gesticulation, but the earnestness of a man subdued by the truth and persuaded of its infinite importance, of one who loves all souls before him, and would deny himself and take up his cross to bless them. This is the secret of true power—self-abandonment to a Higher than self. For this there can be no substitute. The most entrancing eloquence, the most exquisite language, the most persuasive reasoning, cannot without this pierce the conscience, or carry the soul aloft in an ecstasy of new-born faith. Only he who lives by the Father can become the bread of life to famished hearts. Only he in whom Christ dwells by faith, he who has such a complete communion with the Son that in him the Son is already delivering up the kingdom to the Father, can utter Christian truth in all the depth of its meaning, with all the power of love. Will the time ever come when baptism in this Spirit shall be recognized as the one paramount qualification of Christian preachers, and it may be said of them, as was said of one whom we seldom

think of as either a scholar or an orator, that their word is with power?

It would hardly be fair to the ministry to conclude this article without a few words upon the duties of the laity. The latter are most intimately concerned in the practical solution of the question. Men are bound to one another by innumerable ties, and an unseen influence passes from each to each, so that no one pursuit in life is independent of every other. As a rule, the ministry will represent more or less the characteristics of the body to which it belongs, its faults as well as its virtues. Only in the rarest instances will a prophet arise, who will carve out for himself an original course, and derive so full an inspiration from above as to be wholly untainted by the associations beneath. This is not given to the mass of men. Generally speaking, there is a certain denominational atmosphere which must invigorate or depress the minds of those who breathe it. The formalism of the congregation is but too likely to be exaggerated in the pulpit; its rationalism, to create sermons displaying the spirit of the Greek sophist rather than of Christ. And, on the other hand, a community which has gathered up into itself all the elements of the Christian life will see its own light reflected in the preacher's face. It is not just, then, in this matter to throw the entire responsibility on the ministry. If any layman be inclined to grumble at the inefficiency of his minister, it will be wise in him to consider whether he is himself doing his duty, whether the spirit of his life tends to elevate or depress the tone of the body to which he belongs. It is not impossible that his coldness may have chilled other hearts besides his own. And should it appear that the ministry ought to be buried as dead, perhaps none but the dead could be found to bury it. A living church will create for itself a living ministry; and when the egotism of sectarian zeal is nailed to the cross, when sectarian peculiarities are forced into submission to the eternal laws of the Christian life, when professed believers really have faith that to spread that life is nobler than to multiply material wealth, the ministry will rise from its grave clothed with an immortal power, will utter once more the voice of the universal heart and conscience, and compel men to bow down before the Word of the living God, whose echoes will be awakened in their souls.

IV.—A MISSIONARY BISHOP.

Memoir of Bishop Mackenzie. By Harvey Goodwin, D.D.,
Dean of Ely. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co. 1864.

THE record of modern missionary operations is for the most part woefully uninteresting. There must, it is true, be a large class of persons from whose pockets are drawn the magnificent incomes of the great Societies, who find congenial mental aliment in annual "Reports," and are lashed into periodical excitement when a returned missionary tells his tale upon the platform or in the pulpit. But missionary work is an interest to the religious public only, not to the nation at large. For many reasons—some of which no doubt redound to their own credit—missionaries are neither liked nor trusted by Englishmen in India or in the colonies. If they appear in any favourable light to the general public at home, it is in consequence of some secular work which they have done—some new and difficult language reduced to paper, some brilliant achievement of geographical discovery. Else they do not emerge into the columns of the Times, unless perchance they have committed some astounding folly, or have been overwhelmed by some tragical disaster. Taking any possible drawback into the account, they must make many sacrifices, they must do much hard work for the sake of what they believe to be the gospel; but, except in their own peculiar society, they get little credit for it. The enthusiasm with which Englishmen are wont to greet all heroic bravery and patience seems to die away here, or is reserved for the settlers who are covering the hills of Assam with the tea-plant, or the farmers who are converting the Canadian forests into wheat-fields. Is it that we really appreciate tea and corn as tangible advantages, but are indifferent to the widened kingdom of God?—that the one can be weighed and valued in our custom-houses at home, while the other defies all material scrutiny? Or does there exist among thoughtful men a real distrust both of the wisdom of missionary methods and the reality of missionary success?

There are, of course, those who set a far higher value on a hundred chests of tea than upon as many human souls, simply because their habits of thought and life are such as to impress upon them the worth of one, to conceal from

them the worth of the other. Yet even the simplest and nakedest greed of gain is made, by the alchemy of Providence, to issue in something higher than itself; and Christianity follows in the track of trade. But the majority of those who take no share in missionary operations stand on a higher level of thought and feeling than this. They see that in all ages the work of christianizing barbarous peoples has for the most part been effected by unconscious means and influences: although, admitting this, and willing to wait God's time, they would still be ready to add the impetus of conscious effort, did they discern how to apply it with effect. But they cannot help seeing that up to the present time foreign missions are a stupendous failure; that there never was so lavish an expenditure of means to produce so poor a result. Some races seem to learn of white men only their vices, and, like the Indians of North America, the Bushmen of Australia, vanish at the sound of an European footstep. In others, the inertia of an old civilization successfully resists all the efforts of an ignorant English Protestantism: China stands upon the old paths; and if Brahminism shews signs of change, it is not in the direction prescribed by Exeter Hall. Wherever some solid success has been apparently achieved, it is in the case of a docile people like the Tahitians, whose imitative faculty is stronger than their force of will, and who accept the missionaries in the double character of teachers and temporal benefactors. Then, also, it must be confessed that certain probable reasons for this failure are plain upon the surface of things. The churches too often send out, not their best men, but their worst, committing a work which would tax all the resources of the noblest Christian ingenuity, to workmen too ignorant and inapt for home labour, and whose sole qualification is a blind confidence in the omnipotence of their doctrinal system, and the phrases which are its wonder-working shibboleths. Recollect that the two literatures contained in the Bible are not only the growth of ages, but the product of a very peculiar national individuality, and then imagine the perplexity into which they would throw the mind of a Zulu or a Maori, the moment he begins to reflect upon them and try to understand them for himself. If the doctrine of the Trinity have, as is admitted by friend and foe alike, its root in the Platonic philosophy,

what long process of education (extending through more generations than one) would be needed to give the Tahitian convert some insight into the Athanasian Creed, which, nevertheless, he is asked to comprehend and to receive at once! It is because the whole system of missionary work ignores these facts,—because half-educated missionaries persist in working athwart the laws according to which alone Christian influence can be exerted,—because they endeavour to compress into a few months what would be an adequate reward for the labour of many years, and so are driven to feign or imagine a success which they have not attained,—that sober-minded men stand aloof, not with indifference or contempt, but only in sad distrust.*

The work, the title of which stands at the head of this article, is not an ordinary missionary biography. It is the life of a distinguished mathematician, a high wrangler, a characteristic product of Cambridge education, who, acting under the impulse of a singularly high and pure sense of duty, first went out with Bishop Colenso to Natal as his Archdeacon, and then, at the head of what was known as the Oxford and Cambridge Mission, attempted to plant a Christian colony in the wilds of Central Africa. The story is simply and touchingly told by the Dean of Ely, who, remaining at home to reap the more substantial ecclesiastical honours which Mackenzie renounced, is not without a noble consciousness that, measured by a truer than an earthly standard, his friend has chosen the better part. We too will try to tell it, with as little comment as may be. In regard to the difficulties of missionary work, it perhaps raises more questions than it settles. But it produces upon the mind that feeling of peace and secure trust which is sometimes awakened by looking into the face of a man who is capable, without knowing that he was doing anything wonderful, of laying down his life for love or duty.

Charles Frederic Mackenzie—the youngest of twelve children—was born at Portmore, in Peebleshire, on the 10th

* A confirmation of these statements may be found in the fact that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the oldest Missionary Society in England, and certainly that which counts among its supporters the largest number of educated men, performs much of what would be called not so much missionary as colonial church work; and aims, by its large establishment of colonial bishoprics, to bring the Christian influence of English communities abroad to bear upon the heathen populations by which they are surrounded.

of April, 1825. Of the position of his parents we only know what may be inferred from the fact that his eldest brother was that William Forbes Mackenzie, M.P., who was Secretary to the Treasury under Lord Derby, and whose name is perpetuated by his Act for restraining the sale of spirits in Scotland on Sunday. Charles Mackenzie lost his father when he was only five years of age ; and though his mother is mentioned in the Memoir in terms of the utmost affection and respect, his education seems to have fallen very much into the hands of his elder sisters. His aptitude for figures shewed itself at an early age ; but this was the only sign of future eminence. In 1830, the family removed to Edinburgh, where for the next ten years the boy was taught, first at a private school and then at the Academy. In 1840, he was removed to the Grange School, near Sunderland, whence, as the bent of his ability was decidedly towards mathematics, he was sent to Cambridge. During the whole of these years he is represented as a boy upon whose moral rather than upon whose intellectual qualities his friends would build their hopes for the future. Simple-minded, gentle, upright, not neglecting though not excelling in manly exercises, failing to impress himself upon the general mind of his schoolfellows, but exercising over the few who understood him the highest influence,—he was throughout faithful to the traditions and affections of his fatherless home.

It was in 1844 that Mackenzie became a Pensioner of St. John's College, Cambridge. Here, however, he did not long remain. He found that as a Scotchman he would not only labour under great disadvantages at St. John's, but be absolutely ineligible to a fellowship ; and so resolved to transfer himself to the neighbouring foundation of Caius College. There he pursued his mathematical studies with such success as to graduate in 1848 as second Wrangler ; Todhunter, of St. John's, being the first. An object of ambition to Cambridge men almost as desirable as the highest places on the Tripos is one of Dr. Smith's prizes. Although the competitors for these must go through a separate examination, which is often regarded as likely to eliminate any element of chance which may have influenced the decision in the Senate-house, these prizes as a matter of fact almost always fall to the first and second Wranglers. But

in Mackenzie's year, Barry, of Trinity, who had come out fourth Wrangler, was declared to be equal with him in the competition for the second of Dr. Smith's prizes; and, in accordance with a provision of the founder's will, the coveted reward was adjudged to Trinity in preference to Caius College. The severe disappointment was admirably borne by Mackenzie, who "wrote a most friendly letter to his successful rival," and remarked to one of his sisters that "he felt it was much better for him that it should be so; one was so apt to be elated and hurt by too much success." Caius College celebrated in 1848 the 500th anniversary of its foundation, and had the satisfaction of numbering from its own pupils no fewer than nine, out of a list of thirty-eight wranglers, among whom Mackenzie occupied the first place.

He soon fell into the way of life naturally and easily open to a man who has taken a distinguished degree. He became Fellow and Tutor of his College, and in addition to the work thus laid upon him took private pupils. But nothing could be further from his intention than a life of merely intellectual activity. As an undergraduate he had, at the instigation of his sister, applied to Mr. Hopkins, a Fellow of his College, who also held a curacy in Cambridge, for an opportunity of assisting in parochial work; and at his request had made a great effort to conquer his shyness, and to become religious visitor to an asylum where several aged people lived at an inconvenient distance from their parish church. Now, when his studies were entirely under his own direction, he threw himself ardently into benevolent work, "undertook the management of a Sunday-school, took an active part in the working of a Mendicity Society, served as Secretary to the Cambridge Board of Education, and helped to carry on the Cambridge Industrial School." He was ready to bear a share in any good work that was offered to him, often without inquiring whether it were consistent with previous engagements; and, though not distinguished by methodical habits of business, generally managed to accomplish all that he had promised. His life at this time was of the kind which, offering little for the biographer to record, is most fruitful in practical effect. His mathematical fame recommended him to the undergraduates, who did not like him the less that he was an

excellent oarsman, and brought singular bodily strength and an unwearied flow of spirits to all manly exercises. He was a muscular Christian in the strict sense of the words, without belonging to that or any other pragmatistical party; a strong man who put forth and enjoyed his strength in the unconsciousness peculiar to unfailling health. But with all this, his moral influence was very deep and quiet. He made his way into the hearts of the young almost without conscious effort; he lived with them, and they could not help loving him. So extensive and so admirable was his influence of this kind, that Dean Goodwin hazards a doubt whether any vocation could have been better fitted for him than that of a Christian teacher in such an University as Cambridge; a man who would hold his own in the special studies of the place, and at the same time be a spring of moral strength to successive generations of students at the most critical period of their life. A boy from the Industrial School, who had known him but slightly, was asked by the master if he would accompany him to Africa. "O," was the answer, "I would go anywhere with Mr. Mackenzie." And when the news of his death came, and it was said to one of the men who as an undergraduate had at this time come under his influence, "You must feel as if you had lost a brother;" the reply was, "No brother was ever to me what Mackenzie was."

He had always looked forward to holy orders as the natural result of his University life, and so was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Ely, on Trinity Sunday, 1851. Upon this he undertook a curacy at Haslingfield, about five miles from Cambridge, intending to combine parochial with academical work. Here he spent some two years (in the course of which he took priest's orders), mingling the quiet routine of his parish with duties as an Examiner, imposed upon him by the authorities of the University. In this double sphere of activity he might have remained until ecclesiastical preferment or a college election had won him wholly for the Church, or wholly for the University, had not a new direction been given to his thoughts and wishes by events which we must now narrate.

At the beginning of 1853, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel resolved to establish a mission at Delhi, and appointed as its head the Rev. J. S. Jackson, a man of

Mackenzie's college, and three years his junior in standing. The rest of the story is told by Mackenzie to his sister, in a letter of charming straightforwardness and simplicity ; the whole of which we would gladly transfer to our pages, if we could. After describing the opportunities for good afforded by a residence in Cambridge, he proceeds :

"I say all this to shew that I still think I have been right in my theory that this is a place particularly adapted for a good man to do good : and if nothing now presented itself except a curacy in some part of England I should not, I think, hesitate to remain here. But there is another field open, for which it is very difficult to find labourers. A great friend of mine, called Jackson, my junior by three years, has been induced to undertake the position of chief of a new mission at Delhi, and has been for some time anxious to find a companion to go with him.

"I remember when — used to speak to us about going out as Missionaries, he used sometimes to say, he had been asked why *he* did not go himself, and though he said he was too old, and that he had duties in England, I used to think his defence not very strong. I remember too, when some years ago the subject of medical missions excited interest — saying to me, 'Why should not *you* go ? they want *men* very much,' and my answer was, 'I am not going.' I would not admit the idea into serious contemplation.

"And when Jackson came to Cambridge a month or two ago, to try and find a colleague, I thought once or twice, why should not *I* go, but said nothing to him, as I thought that would be unfair before I was more definite myself. I spoke of my feelings to one or two Cambridge friends, in a general way, saying that I could not see any reason why one of us should not go, and I was afraid it was because we could not make up our minds to the self-denial, and that there was no good reason, but ended by saying, 'Don't be alarmed, I'm not going ;' and so it passed off.

"But on Thursday Jackson came again and we chatted quietly about his prospects, and the opening there was, and how he wished he could find some one ; and after he left me I read a bit of Henry Martyn's life before *he* left England ; and I determined for the first time, and prayed God to help me, to think what was best to be done, and *to do it*. I thought chiefly of the command, 'Go and baptize all nations,' and how some one ought to go : and I thought how in another world one would look back and rejoice at having seized this opportunity of taking the good news of the Gospel to those who had never heard it, but for whom as well as for us Christ died. I thought of the Saviour sitting in

Heaven and looking down upon this world, and seeing us who have heard the news, selfishly keeping it to ourselves, and only one or two, or eight or ten, going out in the year to preach to His other sheep, who must be brought, that there may be 'one fold and one shepherd : ' and I thought if other men would go abroad, then I might stay at home ; but as no one, or so few, would go out, then it was the duty of every one that could go to go. You see I thought of the pleasure and the duty, and I think they were both cogent reasons. So I determined to sleep upon it ; and in the morning, when I thought about it, the more I thought the more clear I got. I thought of my duties here, and how I had been in the habit of considering them superior in importance to anything else ; but then that was in comparison with posts for which there was no lack of persons to be found ; whereas this was a thing which it seemed no one could be found to do. I thought too of what I have considered the qualifications for usefulness in Cambridge, namely, my good degree, and the way people don't dislike me, and my pretty large acquaintance : but then I thought, these things will not be lost, for though it would be no argument if there were no other arguments, yet it removes the objection to my leaving Cambridge to say that the better I am known the more interest will be raised in the missionary cause. Then I thought too of Jackson, and how disheartening it was for him, his first friend leaving him, and every one else saying, ' I wish I could find some one to go with you,' but no one thinking of going ; and I thought, what right have I to say to young men here, ' you had better go out to India,' when I am hugging myself in my comfortable place at home.

" So I determined to tell Jackson what I was thinking of, and found he would like me to go with him, and his only difficulty was that he thought I was useful here."—Pp. 66—68.

And again in a second letter, of two days' later date :

" My chief feeling about it all is that Christ needs servants in various places : some in this country, and some elsewhere : and that the greatest want is abroad. It seems to me that England is bound to do all she can for her subjects abroad ; and as others will not go, I will. The only thing, I think, which has prevented my doing so once and again, has been a tacit resolution not to put the case to myself as possible : for as soon as I did that, the case seemed clear."—P. 72.

But with all this, the Delhi scheme was abandoned. Mackenzie's friends, and especially the writer of this Memoir, were both unwilling to lose him from Cambridge, and felt

that his moderate aptitude for languages and very simplicity of heart but ill-fitted him for dealing with Brahminical subtleties. So, with characteristic humility, he took the unpalatable advice, and went quietly back to his work at Haslingfield; not, we may be sure, without an emotion of thankfulness when in the Indian mutiny the Delhi mission was swept away, and the man who took the place which he was desirous of filling was murdered. But feelings and convictions such as Mackenzie expressed in the letter which we have quoted are not lightly laid aside, and he did not turn away from a second opening for missionary work which presented itself in 1854. In November, 1853, Dr. Colenso had been consecrated Bishop of Natal; had then immediately proceeded to his diocese; and having made a rapid estimate of its position and needs, returned to England in the spring of 1854, to choose competent assistants in his work. Just at the same time, Bishop Selwyn, of New Zealand, who after twelve years' absence had revisited England, set himself to advocate the claims of missions, with an eloquence which the knowledge of his signal earnestness and self-devotion drove home to his hearers' hearts. He preached, among other places, in the pulpit of his own University, and all the four sermons—afterwards published at the request of the Vice-Chancellor—were heard by Mackenzie, who walked over from Haslingfield for the purpose. Just before that time, Dr. Colenso had offered to take him out to Natal as Archdeacon and second in command. Some of his friends objected; others reluctantly gave way; and he was still uncertain, when Bishop Selwyn's appeal turned the scale. Dr. Goodwin explains in the following passage the reasons which induced him to advise his friend to accept Bishop Colenso's offer:

“In explanation of the advice which I thought it right to give to my dear friend, I have only to say this. It seemed to me quite clear, and I think the tone of his letters will prove, that Mackenzie's mind was fixed upon missionary work. The Delhi scheme had been abandoned in deference to the opinion of his friends, and here was the same desire breaking out again. Might not his friends, if they still insisted upon keeping him, be fighting against God? I confess that when he mentioned the subject to me a second time, I thought that I had no right to oppose upon the general principle, but only upon the conviction that the parti-

cular sphere of missionary work to which he was looking was unsuited for him. Now it seemed to me, that if go he must, the Natal opening was a very suitable one. I thought that his fine temper and irresistible loveableness would tend to smooth the difficulties to which an infant Church in a colony must inevitably be subject; and so far as Heathen work was concerned, I knew that he could condescend to the simplest of his fellow-creatures, and I thought that he would be happier in planning missions amongst the untaught Kafirs, than in dealing with the objections of acute Hindus. It will have been seen that in the first instance, rightly or wrongly, I did my best to keep him for what seemed to me to be peculiarly his sphere of work; I did not dare to act in the same manner a second time. How much it cost me to think of losing him I will not say."—Pp. 88, 89.

The preparations for the voyage need not be narrated here. Accompanied by an invalid sister, whose health it was thought might be improved by a residence in a warmer climate, he set sail from Liverpool in the *Jane Morice* on the 7th of March, 1855.

The first letter from ship-board is too characteristic to be omitted: all the natural kindness and helpfulness of the man are in it.

"This is the eighth day of our voyage, and it has seemed both long and short. I was frequently sick during the first two days, and hardly touched a thing: but I am thankful to say that I had no headache, and was able to run about as much as ever: this was lucky: for with the assistance of a lady, Miss —, (or rather she with my help,) waited on the steerage passengers, nearly all of whom were ill, and all very downhearted. It was hard work, but has ended in making a very friendly feeling between the two parts of the ship. You would have laughed if you had seen me, in a little cabin with four berths, quite dark; I making the bed for some person, man or woman, who sits upon a box talking Suffolk: or standing outside the ship-kitchen begging the black cook for some 'fresh water boil' to make arrow-root, (I can make it famously now): or going from one part of the ship to another, helping Miss — to walk on the slippery decks, each carrying two cups of arrow-root, I with a pocket filled with a brandy-flask, a tumbler, a bottle of raspberry-vinegar, and two eggs. Then we had great confusion about the luggage. And besides, I have been down in the hold seeing the stores weighed out to the steerage passengers; and in the morning I am either running for the breakfast for the children, or holding one while the nurse dresses another; and we are together keeping the other two quiet.

"I write these particulars, that you may see how fortunate it is that I had not mounted my official coat before leaving England. On the whole I have selfishly enjoyed the voyage very much. There has been plenty to do, and I have had strength to do it."—P. 99.

We cannot find room for any detailed account of Arch-deacon Mackenzie's life in Natal. For the first year or two he was settled as parish priest in D'Urban, one of the chief towns of the colony. This was a severe disappointment to him: if he were to minister to a small European congregation, he need not have come all the way to South Africa to seek it: but he thought it right to obey his Bishop without murmuring, and to do his best with the unwelcome task. But it was in connection with this cure that he had to encounter one of the few serious troubles of his life. Although a Fellow of Caius College, well known then, as now, as a focus of Evangelical orthodoxy in Cambridge, Mackenzie appears to have inclined to High-Church practices, and deemed it his duty to preach in the surplice, to introduce the offertory, and to make other changes, which to the common apprehension of Churchmen savoured of Popery. Dean Goodwin wisely refrains from entering upon these petty squabbles: we are only told, and can well believe, that they were a severe trial to one who had abandoned much to enter upon a path of missionary labour, which nevertheless seemed closed to him. But even while at D'Urban he recreated his spirit by frequent visits to the genuine missionary stations up the country, and was at last rejoiced to be appointed to the charge of a station himself. But if we abstain from entering upon the particulars of this period of Mackenzie's life, we ought not to conceal the impression of himself which, in spite of dissensions, he left upon all who came in contact with him. He was not a man of any great activity or reach of intellect. There is no trace of reading in his letters. His mathematical attainments were undeniable, but his friendly biographer claims for him no other kind of scholarship. All questions of speculative theology passed by him: he does not seem even to have attached himself consciously and heartily to any party in the Church. He was not qualified to take an active part in the government of the diocese, and seceded from the only synod to which he was summoned, when over-ruled on a matter on which he had set his heart.

But in simple-mindedness, in stern dutifulness, in humility, in helpfulness, in genuine, unconscious goodness, but few could come up to him. For his work he could live, and give his life if need be; a faculty which is among the highest, if not the rarest, of Christian graces.

In June, 1859, Mackenzie returned to England. The Bishop of Capetown had a scheme for sending into the Zulu country a Bishop, with a staff of clergy, who should work from the base, so to speak, of the existing Christian dioceses of South Africa, and it was thought that the Arch-deacon of Natal might be a fit person to head the new expedition. But when he arrived in England, with no very definite plans, and expecting, more than anything else, to return to his old place and work, he found that the enthusiasm created by Dr. Livingstone's discoveries had given a fresh direction to missionary schemes. A plan was on foot for sending a clerical expedition of the kind devised by Bishop Grey into the country watered by that river Zambesi of which Livingstone had given so exciting an account. The work had been taken up by the combined Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; the Bishop of Capetown had frankly consented to the change of plan; the Bishop of Oxford, Mr. Gladstone, Sir George Grey, even Lord Brougham, helped to excite and direct the growing enthusiasm; when suddenly Mackenzie, still remembered and beloved at Cambridge, appeared upon the scene. With little delay he was designated as the fit man for the new and arduous Bishopric. Nor, although warned by a medical friend that in case of his accepting the post no insurance office would look upon his life as worth more than two years' purchase, did he for a moment hesitate. He had dedicated himself to the service of the heathen when he first went out to Natal, and only welcomed the opportunity of a more complete devotion to the missionary's work. Still, another and a distasteful task had to be performed before he could leave England. The mission required a capital of £20,000 and a guaranteed income of £2000 for five years, and the Bishop-designate had to play an important part in raising it. For nearly a year he was perpetually travelling, preaching, speaking, writing for this purpose,—an unwelcome labour to one who had little command of language, almost no power of imagination, and who owed whatever eloquence he possessed to

the charm of simple and genuine earnestness. But even this came to an end, and after a farewell meeting at Canterbury—his consecration was to take place at Capetown—he sailed in the beginning of October, 1860. That he knew what risks he ran may be inferred from words spoken to his secretary and friend—his last recorded words in England—“Well, I wish to place myself altogether in God’s hands: He knows what is best for me; and I trust that what we call *the worst* will be but a summons to our lasting home.”*

The river Zambesi—well known to the readers of Dr. Livingstone’s travels—after flowing in a serpentine course more than half across Africa, falls into the Mozambique channel about the 18th parallel of South latitude. At no great distance from its mouth, at a point where its course is due east and west, it is joined by the Shiré, a stream descending from the northern highlands which surround Lakes Nyassa and Shirwa. It was upon the elevated tableland lying between the Shiré and the last-named lake that it was decided to fix the mission. As originally planned, the expedition was constituted as follows: “Six clergymen with a Bishop at their head a physician, surgeon or medical practitioner, and a number of artificers, English and native, capable of conducting the various works of building, husbandry, and especially of the cultivation of the cotton plant.”† The party, however, which sailed with Bishop Mackenzie consisted only of his sister, two clergymen, a lay superintendent, a carpenter and an agricultural labourer. Valuable recruits were added at Capetown in the persons of several negro Christians, men taken from slave ships by British cruisers, and set free at the Cape, where they had been successfully brought under religious influences. At Capetown some delay took place owing to the difficulty of assembling three bishops to take part in Mackenzie’s consecration. This being at last accomplished, the party embarked with the Bishop of Natal, who was returning to his diocese, in H. M. S. *Lyra*, and so—after a brief visit to old friends and scenes of work at D’Urban and its neighbourhood—were conveyed to the mouth of the Zambesi, where Dr. Livingstone with his river steamer the *Pioneer* was to meet them. Here a change of plan was, for a moment,

* P. 251.

† P. 218.

adopted. Dr. Livingstone, whose ample experience of African travel gave his opinion the greatest weight, alleged many reasons against attempting to ascend the Zambesi, at least until the party had endeavoured to reach the highlands round Lake Nyassa by way of the Rovuma, a river which, taking a northerly course, finds the sea some 8 deg. N. of the Zambesi. To avoid unnecessary details, we may briefly say that the attempt to ascend the Rovuma—an almost unknown river—failed, and that the missionaries were compelled to submit to the delay of retracing their course, and grappling after all with the difficulties of the Zambesi and the Shiré. These were successfully surmounted, after many toils and hardships, of which the stalwart Bishop took his full share; and on the 8th of July, 1861, “the *Pioneer* cast anchor at a point of the river Shiré, marked in the map as *Chibisa’s*.”

Chibisa’s is nearly in the same latitude as the most southerly point of Lake Shirwa, from which, judging from the map, it is some 70 miles distant. Somewhere in the intervening hilly country, and if possible under the protection of a friendly chief, it was intended to place the new settlement. The inhabitants of the immediate neighbourhood, the Mang-anja, were less fierce than the contemninous tribe to the north, called the Ajawa; but the whole country “was a slave-hunting, slave-dealing district,” in which the superior mildness and innocence of this or that people often means no more than their inability to inflict the wrongs of which they complain. A letter of Mackenzie’s, dated July 20th, gives a lively description of the march in search of a site for the settlement:

“I am now writing on a Saturday morning. Last Monday we left the vessel, and took to our feet. It is a beautiful country this, as fine as Natal.

“You would like to see our picturesque appearance on march. From 50 to 100 we have been at different times this week. Livingstone in his jacket and trousers of blue serge and his blue cloth cap. His brother, a taller man, in something of the same dress. I with trousers of Oxford grey and a coat like a shooting-coat, a broad-brimmed wide-awake with white cover, which Livingstone laughs at, but which, all the same, keeps the sun off. *He* is a Salamander. Then some thirty natives carrying bundles. My large red carpet bag, loosely packed, contains my kit, including

two blankets and a rug for bedding: (I sleep on a cork bed, weighing 7 lbs., an excellent invention). A sack contains the pots and pans, betrayed by a handle sticking out through some hole. Livingstone's black people, many of them with guns; Mobila, who acts as lieutenant, and Charlie, who is interpreter. All these winding along the narrow path, sometimes admiring the glorious hills, Chiradzula which we left behind yesterday, Zomba with its flat top, or the distant peaks and precipices of the Milanje mountains on our right, beyond Shirwa. We have not seen its blue waters yet: we are about 1000 feet above it, on a plateau, but there must be many rising grounds on this plateau from which the lake will be visible."—Pp. 316, 317.

And again:

"We were a strange party. Livingstone tramping along with a steady heavy tread, which kept one in mind that he had walked across Africa. * * * We were all loaded. I had myself in my left-hand a loaded gun, in my right the crozier which they gave me at Capetown, in front a can of oil, and behind a bag of seeds, (together weighing about twenty-five pounds,) which I carried the greater part of the day. I thought of the contrast between my weapon and my staff, the one like Jacob, the other like Abraham, who armed his trained servants to rescue Lot. I thought also of the seed which we must sow in the hearts of the people, and of the oil of the Spirit that must strengthen us in all we do." P. 323.

The position of the mission party, in the midst of a region devastated by the slave-trade, was likely to be a perplexing one. Although provided with arms, they had already made up their minds that it would be better to lose life than to take it, should they be attacked by the tribe among whom they were to settle. But what were they to do if called upon to assist that tribe against slave-hunters? Was it, under any circumstances, a wrong and an unseemly thing to intervene in arms? Dean Goodwin, while not expressing any definite opinion upon this point, very sensibly remarks, "that such a course of conduct to be effective and impressive must be severely consistent; it must begin with non-intervention and end with non-intervention; as soon as the first blow has been struck for the purpose of regenerating the country by physical force, the pacific policy can hardly fail to be mistaken for indifference or cowardice."*

* P. 321.

But an event which occurred on their first march involved them in a course of policy, the results of which were difficult to be foreseen. Mackenzie shall tell the story in his own words :

"But now comes the important part of my story. Livingstone being not quite well, and this village being large, and the head man, Mambame, friendly, it was decided to stay for the day. I went down to the stream with Procter and Scudamore to bathe. We heard a sound of penny trumpets, and thought Livingstone had been giving away presents ; when shortly Dr. Kirk came and told us that a party of six men with muskets had come flourishing into the village with a train of eighty-four slaves ; that the men had run away and the slaves were free ; that our guns had all been out, though the conscience-stricken wretches had needed no firing to hasten their flight. There had been five or ten minutes' notice of their approach, so that Livingstone had time deliberately to take his course,—a course which no one can blame ; but surely all will join in blessing God that we have such a fellow-countryman.

"When I came up from the stream I found the whole party that had been freed sitting in groups round fires, which they had lighted and were feeding with the sticks which had been fastened round the necks of some to reduce them to obedience. There was a preponderance of children ; not many men. In answer to Livingstone's inquiries, they said they had been brought from Zomba, that is, near the place where we thought of settling ourselves. One little boy looked up at Livingstone and said, 'They starved us : and you tell us to cook food for ourselves : where do you come from ?'—Pp. 324, 325.

Accompanied by these liberated captives, who had no longer a country of their own, but were willing to remain with and to obey their deliverers, the Bishop and his party settled at Magomero, a point about 60 miles from the river. A recommendation of the site was, that, being enclosed by the elbow of a stream, it was easily fortified ; a disadvantage, that, lying comparatively low, it was less healthy than many other points of the hill country. Here a village was soon built, and the work of education and civilization commenced. Not many English bishops of modern times have had such a day's work to go through as Mackenzie describes thus graphically :

"Aug. 29. I have not said much to others of our domestic

life. At 6 A.M. we are all called by the cook. The summons arouses us to varied scenes. I wake to the consciousness of lying in a round hut, 9 feet in diameter and 10 feet high in the middle, with the cheerful light of the breaking day twinkling through innumerable openings in its straw roof and walls. I am full length on a cork bed, which avoids all fear of damp, and weighs only seven pounds, with (don't be shocked) my clothes on, and a blanket over my legs, another round my shoulders and head. The upper end of my bed resting on my carpet-bag makes my pillow.

"On the other side of the hut is Waller, nearly a facsimile of myself in his circumstances. The floor is strewn with dry grass (grass here is about five feet long), and in the strip between our beds is a stick, about two feet high, on the top of which is the oil-lamp which has been in use the night before. Between me and the round side of the hut is a deal-box, containing a few rockets and spare ammunition; above my head my double-barrelled gun loaded; a revolver also loaded. Above all, a shelf, made by thrusting the ends of bamboos through the roof at both ends, on which are my Bible, *Christian Year*, *Thomas à Kempis*, Wordsworth's New Testament, Trench, and one or two others.

"After taking advantage of the quiet for my prayer, I get up, put on my shoes and cap, fold up my blankets, roll up my bed, take my towel, and go to bathe and wash in the river. By the time I come back, Charles has tidied the hut, and is probably sweeping the carpet, that is, stroking the grass smooth with a stick. I have now about twenty minutes or half-an-hour to read quietly before our morning prayers, the full Church service, at seven: every one attends once a day: most of us twice. Then there is a quarter of an hour before breakfast: perhaps I look up some one of our party who is ill: for it is unusual for all our thirteen to be well at once, so far as our present experience goes. Breakfast consists of meat, (fowls or goat,) vegetables, (yam or sweet potatoes, beans or peas,) and porridge of ground Indian corn. Once or twice a week we have a loaf. We drink coffee or tea, and have one goat in milk. Our plates and cups belong to a canteen for six persons, bought in London. They are iron, enamelled inside, and don't break. During our breakfast Charles has been gathering the men and boys together. The list is called over as they stand in a ring, and answer to their names 'Kuno,' (*here*). Then I tell them what work they have to do, and make any address through William which may be required. By this time the men have finished breakfast, and we get to work about 9.30. I have 75 men and boys on my list, of whom about 30 or 35 may be employed, the rest being too small, or there being

no tools for them. These latter then have their breakfast. Two women have been appointed to receive every night the next day's food for two lots of little ones, and to give them their breakfast about 10, and their supper about 5. It consists of porridge, and sometimes a few beans to give it a taste. We have no plates or spoons for them; we shall acquire that luxury, I hope, soon. They sit down in a row, and a fat motherly woman, with an infant on her back (which she adopted, because it had no mother), gives to each a handful. They sit and eat well pleased, and when each has had some, she gives the remainder among them as extra mouthfuls. This is more orderly than at first, when there was always a scramble for every meal, like one for nuts at a school-feast.

"Then the work of the day proceeds till one. One doctors the sick and sore. One buys the food which comes in daily, baskets of meal, or bunches of corn-cobs, or nuts, or beans, or huge yam-roots, some weighing fifty pounds: or goats are led in, or fowls hung upon sticks or in the hand: and for these we usually give white calico, sometimes coloured, or beads. One drills the boys; part of their drilling consisting in being marched into the river. The order, 'Off clouts,' being by most obeyed in laughter, by one or two with slow hand and mournful face. Some work at our new house, which is within ten days of completion.

"We dine at 1, and amuse ourselves till 3. Dinner is a facsimile of breakfast, only that out of the same cups we drink native beer, here called 'moa,' instead of tea or coffee. From 3 to 5 we go to work again. The sun sets near 6, just now: in the longest days it will never be quite so late as half-past six. We have tea with porridge, and nuts or eggs; and at about half-past seven prayers. Soon after that we part for the night.

"Saturdays and Saints' days are half-holidays."—Pp. 347—350.

But the character and position of the tribe among whom the missionaries had placed themselves soon became a fruitful source of difficulty. They were a comparatively weak people, pressed upon from the north by the Ajawa, who waged with them an unceasing guerilla warfare, aggravated by all the horrors of the slave-trade. To Mackenzie the Mang-anja, telling a doleful tale, applied for aid. What was to be done? Was he to see the people whom he had adopted as his own flock stolen into slavery before his eyes? Was it not probable that a timely display of vigour, perhaps even unaccompanied by any actual appeal to arms, would at once abate the evil? Could there ever be a more

righteous quarrel than that with the slave-hunter; and if this were so, was his clerical and episcopal character a reason why he should not strike in on the right side? Was it not, further, possible to make this the occasion for the abolition of slavery among the Mang-anja, and so to found a free state, a city of refuge in a distracted country? Moved by such considerations as these, Mackenzie on two occasions assisted his allies and neighbours to repel hostile incursions of the Ajawa. The immediate result was twofold—the abolition, at least for the time, of slave-hunting and slave-selling among the Mang-anja, and the addition of a considerable population of liberated captives to the settlement at Magomero. Many of our readers will recollect the storm of reprobation which this transaction drew down upon Mackenzie's head—a storm which ceased to rage only when the news of his death hushed all blame. Nor need we repeat the items of hostile comment; those who scoffed at all preaching of the gospel to the heathen, and those who with eager but narrow minds supported it, alike held up hands of horror at a fighting missionary, a Bishop who directed military operations. We do not intend to discuss the question; what we have already said may suffice to shew that Mackenzie was not a man to find any pleasure in war and bloodshed, and that there were reasons enough to recommend, if not to justify, the cause which he conscientiously took. There is no need for English rectors and curates to fight; they help to maintain a fighting class for that very purpose; even in case of an invasion they would be able to find more appropriate duties than an actual participation in the conflict. But when a missionary party of half-a-dozen white men is sent out to Central Africa, the principle of division of labour cannot be pushed quite so far. Every man must be prepared to take his share both of the rough and the smooth work of life. And we are deliberately of opinion that, granting that it was politic and right to resist the Ajawa, Mackenzie was not only justified in heading the expedition, but that hostilities would be most fitly entrusted to one who had every reason to hold them in the greatest horror, and to bring them to an end at the earliest possible moment. The policy of the struggle must always be doubtful; although it is fair to say that Dr. Livingstone (than whom there could be no more com-

petent judge) decidedly takes the Bishop's part. He writes from the Shiré, in January, 1863 :

"I have just been visiting Bishop Mackenzie's grave. At first I thought him wrong in fighting, but don't think so now. He defended his 140 orphan children when there was no human arm besides to invoke. To fight even in self-defence must always be but a sad necessity ; but to sit still, and let bloodthirsty slave-hunters tear away those orphans who cleave to us for protection, must be suffering martyrdom for our own folly. In coming up the Shiré we have met fifteen dead bodies floating down. The whole country on the east of the river is devastated by a half-caste Portuguese, called Marianno, with about 1000 armed slaves. You would not credit the enormities of which this fellow has been guilty ; the poor people have fled to the reedy banks of the river, and having left all their grain behind, famine and death (of which we are every now and then compelled to see sickening evidence) have followed as a matter of course."—P. 362.

But the end was almost come : Mackenzie did not live to hear the censures so freely pronounced in England, or to utter a word of self-defence. About the end of 1861, Mr. Burrup, the clerical head of the second detachment of the mission, arrived at Magomero. He had made a wonderfully successful journey from the mouth of the Zambesi,—a circumstance which, coupled with the slight hold hitherto taken by the African fever upon the robust frame of the Bishop, led to an unfortunate disregard of the emphatic warnings and instructions upon the matter of health given by Dr. Livingstone. Mrs. Burrup and Miss Mackenzie had been left at the Cape, until it was reported that the mission, where female aid was by this time sorely needed, was fit to receive them. On Mr. Burrup's arrival it was arranged that Dr. Livingstone should meet the ladies, with the *Pioneer*, at the mouth of the Zambesi, and bring them to the confluence of the Shiré and the Ruo, where they were to be given into the charge of the Bishop and Mr. Burrup. An attempt was first made to explore a route by land to the place of rendezvous less circuitous than that by Chibisa's and the river ; but the pioneers, Messrs. Procter and Scudamore, were attacked, and hardly escaped to Magomero with their lives. The Bishop and Mr. Burrup fared little better in a second attempt ; and the result was, that when at last they reached the mouth of the Ruo by the old road, they found

that Dr. Livingstone, after long waiting, had been compelled to descend the river. A worse thing than this was, that their boat had been upset and their packet of medicines lost. At this juncture the Bishop's excellent judgment seems to have failed him. Instead of again ascending to Chibisa's in search of a fresh supply of quinine, or making a vigorous effort to overtake the *Pioneer*, he established himself on an island in mid stream to wait for Livingstone's return. The natural, the almost inevitable result followed. The severe wetting from the capsizing of the boat, the compulsory inactivity following upon a long and fatiguing journey on foot, and the want of medicine, soon did their work. Both were attacked by fever, and the Bishop died. Mr. Burrup survived to bury his friend in a solitary jungle on the river bank, and to take the mournful news to Magomero; but then, this work done, soon followed him. When the wife and sister once more ascended the river, it was but to find the graves of those whom they had come so far to greet.

To this brief record of a dutiful life we have very little to add. Of Mackenzie's singular loveableness of character, those who, like Dean Goodwin, felt the charm of his personal influence, are best qualified to speak. Of his power of conscientious self-sacrifice, and of the engaging simplicity which he brought to the performance of great and small duties alike, there is sufficient proof in the foregoing pages. But there was something typical, as it seems to us, in Mackenzie's virtues: in more than one respect they were the characteristic product of his Anglican religiousness. It is curious to remark how the subtle influences of churches and sect shew themselves in practical results of character, which an observant eye at once discerns and recognizes, when it is impossible to discern and separate the forces that have produced them. What is it that makes an Unitarian, for the most part, quite a different man from any other Nonconformist? What separates a Methodist from an Independent, or moulds his character into some strange affinity with that of the Roman Catholic? So there are men who are Churchmen, and nothing more—neither Evangelicals nor Puseyites nor Broad Churchmen; but devout sons of their spiritual mother, who draw from her ample breasts the nourishment which she is so abundantly able to afford. They accept her creeds and articles as the natural expression of their eccle-

siastical position and belief, but do not care to speculate upon them. They delight in the daily use of her liturgy, without a thought of questioning its doctrinal assumptions. They devote themselves heartily to her work, but never seek to investigate the reality of her commission. They are men of a hearty, manful religiousness, whose life and words are tenfold more natural than their creed would logically allow. Fortunately, they are more attracted to the solution of moral dilemmas than of logical contradictions; are quick to see a divergence between life and right; slow to discern a discrepancy between thought and creed. So in squalid alleys of Spitalfields and Bethnal Green; in homely village school-house and clay-floored cottage; where the coral reefs slowly rise upon Polynesian shores, or the African river rolls its waters through marsh and jungle,—they bravely do their duty, and are a light of honour and of healing to the Church of their birth. Such a Churchman, if we read his life aright, was Charles Frederic Mackenzie.

We have said that in the circumstances in which Bishop Mackenzie was placed at Magomero, his conduct in heading the expedition against the Ajawa is at least susceptible of defence. But whether it were wise or right that he should be placed in such circumstances is quite another question. A Christian settlement, in the midst of a heathen country, from which should radiate a mingled light of religion and civilization, is, no doubt, a noble conception: many missionary mistakes and failures might be avoided if their managers would recollect that to civilize men up to the level of Christianity may be at least as needful a process as to christianize them into civilization. Nor can we, from the point of view of the Church of England, find fault with the desire to transplant the hierarchical system on to mission ground: if we have once persuaded ourselves that Episcopacy is a divine institution, it must be in its rightful place by the banks of the Shiré as by those of the Thames. But there is no reason why the functions of Church and State should be confounded, or duties be forced upon a clergyman which *are* duties only in the absence of lay assistance, and the performance of which is sure to expose him to the most painful misconstruction. Why, except in deference to foolish English theories, need the Bishop have been placed at the head of the mission at all? No one can

suppose that, if the experiment had been successful, such an arrangement could have been permanent: the Prince Bishops of Germany have disappeared; the secular power of the Pope is condemned; and the highest of English High-Churchmen can hardly wish to revive in Africa a form of government which has so conspicuously failed in Europe. The conduct blamed in Bishop Mackenzie would have been extolled in Rajah Brooke; a successful raid against the Ajawa, headed by the military governor of a frontier settlement, would have brought fresh settlers and larger funds from England. Perhaps, after all, our missionary stations will do more religious work when their object ceases to be so prominently and exclusively religious. A chosen party of Englishmen settled in some healthy and propitious spot; displaying in actual exercise the arts of civilization; creating and fostering honourable trade; refraining from violence themselves, but not tolerating it in others; realizing in their own village the idea of a Christian church, and anxious to diffuse around them, as occasion served, the blessings of education and religion, would, we believe, although the clerical element of the party might be the weakest, and preaching the least of all their gifts,—do more for the permanent civilization and conversion of a barbarous tribe, than the efforts of a whole college of missionaries devoted to a religious end alone.

V.—NONCONFORMITY IN CHESHIRE

Historical Sketches of Nonconformity in the County Palatine of Chester. By various Ministers and Laymen in the County. With a Map. 8vo. Pp. 504. London: Kent and Co. 1864.

THE volume, of which we give the title above, though marked by some defects, is a not inconsiderable addition to existing Nonconformist histories. It is one of the not unacceptable results of the attempt made two years ago to signalize by a suitable celebration the two-hundredth anniversary of the retirement of the Bartholomean TWO THOU-

SAND from the National Church. The volume is for the most part the work of Independent ministers residing in the county, and its conception is traced to a gathering of Independent churches of Cheshire assembled in 1862 to celebrate the Bicentenary year. The history of the work accounts for its peculiarity of construction, and for the one great fault by which it is defaced. The leading object of the writers by whom it has been compiled has been to magnify and honour Independency. Whatever tends to this is dwelt upon with no little fondness, while other and not less essential portions of the history of Cheshire Nonconformity are either omitted or passed over with unsympathizing and careless haste. It would have been better had Mr. Urwick and his coadjutors in the preparation of the volume professed simply to write the history of the Independent churches of their county. But then they would have lost many of the most interesting links by which the Dissenters of the present day are connected with the noble Fathers of English Nonconformity. Perhaps the time is not yet come for any one to write the history of our common Nonconformity in a spirit of strict and impartial justice, and all that can be done is for each party to gather and preserve the materials of its denominational history. To a later period and to some future writer must be left the nobler task of fusing together the several narratives in the impartial spirit of history, giving in true catholicity of heart to each branch of the Nonconformist church its rightful place and any praise to which it may have entitled itself. Too many Dissenting histories are tinged with sectarian bitterness. Calamy and Neal were alike intolerant of the peculiarities of their Baptist brethren. Ivimey, in his History of the English Baptist Churches, has repaid the debt with compound interest, and exhibited nearly every fault which a History can have. The Presbyterians in their day of power did scant justice to the opinions and motives of the "Dissenting brethren" (as the leading Independents in the Commonwealth time were called); and Bogue and Bennett, and after them a host of local writers of Nonconformist history, have treated their English Presbyterian and Unitarian brethren with an audacity of contumely and injustice which ill became men whose plea was the right of private judgment, and who professed the warmest attach-

ment to religious liberty. The painstaking Walter Wilson disfigured his *History of the Dissenting Churches of London* by an exclusive zeal for "orthodoxy," which before he closed his life he saw reason to regret. Two of the best specimens of history of this kind we have, were exhibited in Crosby's *History of the Baptists* (now a rather scarce book), and Dr. Toulmin's *Historical View of Protestant Dissenters*. The latter book, however, only treats of the period comprised in the reign of William the Third.

Although we concede to the editor and writers of the "Sketches" now before us commendation for treating the subject locally, and confining their view to a district of which, without a life's toil, full knowledge may be obtained, we must remark, that the boundaries of their subject should have been a little wider. Cheshire is only the lesser half of a great Nonconformist province. The bordering county of Lancaster should have been joined with it in these *Historical Sketches*, because the early Nonconformists of both counties were closely associated in personal intimacy as well as in ecclesiastical discipline. While Cheshire and Lancashire had each its Classes, all of them were included in a common annual Provincial Assembly. The name is still fondly preserved by the English Presbyterians of the two counties, and their ministers and laymen meet once a year in Assembly, though now disclaiming all Presbyterian authority over the churches forming the union. To large portions of Cheshire, Manchester and Liverpool are by position the natural centres of attraction. In addition to this, the *Biographies* and *Diaries* from which the historian will draw his best materials for either county, relate to persons and events in both districts. Any one familiar with the lives of Philip and Matthew Henry, of Adam Martindale, of Henry Newcome, and of John Angier of Denton, will remember how much this is the case.

The seeds of English Nonconformity were very early planted, and found a congenial soil in the rugged independence of the national character. No one can intelligently read the annals of our early history without noticing the impatience of the people under unreasonable control, whether attempted by ruler or priest. Mr. Urwick thinks "the keynote of Puritanism in England was struck by Bishop Hooper," and that our "Nonconformity began with his objections to

the Anglican articles and ceremonies." Puritanism is dear to our Independent brethren, because they find in it the doctrines, or something like them, to which they cling. But surely the spirit of Puritanism was something far better and nobler than the doctrinal system with which it was accidentally united. It looked on man as God's servant, and not the servant of the priest. It upheld the spiritual, in opposition to the mere ecclesiastical, elements of religion. It was always the friend of education, and especially of religious education. These and other elements of Puritanism may be traced to the Lollards. If we look into the writings attributed to Wickliffe, we find, united with some questionable matters of doctrine, a spiritual conception of religion and a jealous distrust of all ecclesiastical organizations and ecclesiastical persons, except so far as they help men to know and serve God. In the writings of Chaucer we find an embodiment of the popular antipathy to monks and friars; while at the same time there are not wanting tokens of the reverence felt towards true-hearted men of God.

Cheshire had its complement of religious houses during the reign of the Papal system. Chester had first its nunnery, dedicated to St. Werburga; then its convent of canons secular; and then a Benedictine monastery. It also had a Benedictine nunnery. Combermere had its abbey of Cistercian monks; Norton was the site of an Augustine priory; Pulton and Dernhale had each a Cistercian abbey; Mobberley had its priory of black canons; Vale Royal had a stately monastery; Birkenhead had a Benedictine priory; Hilbree, its cell of black monks; Bunbury, a college in the church of St. Boniface; and Macclesfield possessed for a short time a college of secular canons. Many of these places, or the districts in which they lie, afterwards became well known as the sites of Puritan and Nonconformist influence and activity. This was a natural reaction. The middle class of English society for the most part rejoiced to see the monasteries and nunneries put down. They regarded them as *Strype* describes them, "swarms not only of useless men, but the great pillars of superstition and popery." The monks had indeed their friends in the lowest and most helpless class of people, who swarmed around the doors of the abbeys and monasteries to receive their daily dole from the inmates. Nor were they without partizans among the higher

classes. Thus when the abbot of Norton refused to surrender his house, and met force by strenuous resistance, he was aided by the common people. A serious riot ensued, the commissioners were obliged to seek refuge in the tower of the Priory church, the sheriff raised the posse comitatus, and eventually the abbot was hung. In a contemporary letter of the sheriff we learn that among the insurgents taken prisoners were Randal Brereton, Baron of the Royal Exchequer at Chester, and John Hale, a merchant of the same city. But to the yeomen who lived nigh to religious houses the characters of their inmates were most odious, and they rejoiced to see these nests of idleness and crime razed to the ground. Dr. Thomas Legh, one of the commissioners for suppressing the monasteries, gives in a letter to Cromwell a hideous picture of the morals which he found prevailing in Cheshire and some of the neighbouring counties amongst the knights and gentlemen, and intimated as the great need of the times, "good and godly instruction of the rude and poore people," and also a reformation in the morals and manners of the aristocracy. Little care was taken in the ecclesiastical appointments that followed the destruction of the monasteries to reconcile the minds of thoughtful and religious persons to the religion of the State. Stephen Vaughan, writing to Thomas Cromwell, thus rebukes him for giving his influence in the appointment of Roland Lee to the Bishopric of Lichfield and Chester: "You have lately holpen an erthely beste, a molle, and an enemy to all godly lernyng, into the offyce of his dampnacon, a papiste, an idolater, and a fleshely preste, unto a Busshop of Chester. You cannot undo that you have done. Such oppresse innocents when they be lyfte upp into the dignyties of the worlde, and sytt therein as tyrants to destroy realmes, people and kyngdomes. Who knoweth more of the Busshop's iniquytie than you?" This Roland Lee had performed the marriage service between Henry and the ill-fated Anne Boleyn. His elevation to the episcopal bench soon followed; and his life and character afford no special defence against the charges of Stephen Vaughan.

To the early Bishops of Chester few thanks are due for anything they did to promote the religious welfare of the people in their diocese. Bird was a friend of the Reformation only when it seemed to be the pathway to royal favour.

Eventually he was a tool and sycophant of Bonner. Cotes, consecrated 1554, is praised in some of the local histories "as a learned divine and a good man, only possessed with an over-warm zeal and bigotry for his religion." But, if Bale is to be trusted, the less said of this man's goodness the better, as his life was infamously impure, and of his treatment of Marsh, the Chester martyr, we shall speak presently. Cuthbert Scott, the next Bishop, was an able and uncompromising opponent of the Reformation. His memory is stained by the part he took in burning the bones of Bucer at Cambridge. Downham, who was one of Elizabeth's chaplains and supplanted Scot, was a stern upholder of conformity, and during his episcopacy the Puritan clergy of the diocese were severely harassed. This treatment was the more painful, as one of the Bishop's sons was known to lean towards the opinions of Cartwright, the Puritan. Of Charderton, appointed to the see of Chester in 1579, a more respectful mention will be made.

Great was the effect on the popular mind in the counties of Lancaster and Chester of the sufferings and constancy of the Marian martyrs, Bradford and Marsh: the former suffered at Smithfield in the summer of 1555, and the latter a few weeks earlier at Chester. All the incidents of their trials and death were deeply impressed on the minds of the common people, who mingled with their pity for the sufferers indignation against their persecutors, especially the higher clergy. Of the harshness of Bishop Cotes against George Marsh, many stories were and are to this day current. The last days of Marsh were spent in a noisome dungeon in the North-gate of the city of Chester. It is still a tradition that the citizens who sympathized with the poor gospeller hung around the gate in the evening, and through a hole in the wall of this miserable prison comforted the martyr and gave him money to provide for his necessities. His constancy and courage at the stake won the homage of the people of the city. To put down the popular feeling, the Bishop preached a violent sermon in the cathedral, affirming that Marsh was a heretic, "burnt like a heretic, and was now a firebrand in hell." Persecutors seldom understand human nature. Little would the people heed the Bishop's invectives, or allow them to interfere with their admiration of one who died bravely for his religious con-

victions. The letters of Marsh, as well as those of Bradford, written from prison and with the sure prospect of death, deepened and perpetuated the impression which their martyrdom had made. Mr. Hunter has, in his *Life of Oliver Heywood*, spoken of the influence which these letters exercised,—“full of affectionate entreaty to constancy in the profession which they had made, and breathing on their own part the spirit of the most heroic self-devotion.” “These letters,” he adds, “shew us what their preaching must have been; and there can be no doubt that the effects of their labours would live long after them, that the places in which they had preached would long retain a tincture of the piety first infused by them, and that to them may be traced as its origin that devotional spirit which has always prevailed in the parts of the county of which we are speaking.”

To Bishop Chaderton (consecrated 1679) the diocese of Chester was indebted for the most earnest efforts to diffuse the principles of the Reformation. He gained by his conduct in the administration of the diocese the reputation of being a Puritan, a circumstance the more remarkable, as during his residence in Cambridge, where he had been President of Queen's College and Regius Professor of Divinity, he had the character of an opponent of that party. But surrounded as he was in his diocese by Roman Catholics (more than a fourth part of the whole number of recusants then in England were within the diocese of Chester), he was forced into an active Protestant policy. One of the most effectual means of opposing Popery was the prophesyings or meetings of the clergy for the exposition of Scripture which had been begun under the authority of Archbishop Grindal, but which were subsequently stopped by order of the Queen. In Chaderton's time these were resumed in the diocese of Chester under the name of “Exercises.” The attendance of the clergy was compulsory, fines being levied on the absentees. The diocese was divided into districts, in each of which four places were chosen, and in one of them a service was held every Thursday. Moderators were appointed from the more eminent clergymen; every clergyman and schoolmaster present was expected to take part in the prescribed exposition of Scripture. The service lasted five hours, three hours before and two after dinner. The

expositions were sent each quarter of the year to the Bishop. The delivery of them was made the means of improving the clergy in public speaking. After satisfactory proofs of facility and correctness in composition, the clergymen were called upon to address the assembly without notes. In theory, these exercises were for the clergy and schoolmasters only, but the laity who might desire to attend were probably not excluded. In a very curious little volume, giving an account of the life and character of Mr. John Bruen, of Bruen Stapleford, in the county of Chester, we learn that these exercises were established in Cheshire as well as in Lancashire, and were kept constantly every month. His biographer tells us that Mr. Bruen "took many long and sore journies, with much toyle and travele of his body, and no small cost and charge of his purse, riding early and late, in heate and cold, short dayes and foule waies, sometimes 20 and sometimes 30 miles, as the distance of the place and season of the year required." Some of the places where the exercise was held were Manchester, Bury, Tarvin, Mottram, Prescott and Padiham. When it is remembered that good John Bruen would have to travel over moors and other desolate districts where no turnpike roads had ever been made, his zeal will be appreciated. The spiritual digestion of the nineteenth century is filled to satiety with a service of an hour and a half. What would our modern dyspeptics have thought of the Cheshire exercises, beginning at eight o'clock in the morning and extending to two or three in the afternoon? Fuller, in his *Worthies*, tells the story of a good divine (Lawrence Chadderton) who, having preached before some friends in Lancashire two hours, paused and said, "I will no longer trespass upon your patience." But the flock cried out, "Go on, go on!" The preacher obeyed, and went on for a still longer time, as Fuller tells us, "to their great satisfaction and admiration." The firm grasp which Puritanism had taken on the mind of the middle classes of England, is one of the most remarkable things in our history. In Cheshire it had in many cases ascended still higher, and had many of the gentry among its friends.

When, in 1616, Dr. Moreton became Bishop of the diocese, he found a large portion of his clergy Nonconformists in respect to the surplice and the Book of Common Prayer. His zeal in reducing his clergy to conformity won for him

the commendation of King James, and was one of the motives for his preferment to Durham. One of the Nonconformist divines with whom he argued in the parsonage-house at Stockport, and who afterwards was compelled to seek an asylum in Holland, was Rev. Thomas Paget. He lived, however, to return to England, and as rector inhabited the parsonage at Stockport, where forty years previously he had argued the question of conformity with his Bishop.

There are two portions of the 17th century during which two very diverse ecclesiastical systems were in operation, both making open war on spiritual freedom, and both tarnished with total failure: we scarcely know to which of them to give the palm of injuriousness. The first was that period in which the Church of England was given over, bound hand and foot, to the harsh, foolish and wicked policy of Laud—a policy which was fatal to religious liberty, and while countenancing a formal and mechanical system of worship, shackled and irritated men of ardent spiritual aspirations. The other period was that in which episcopal power was nominally abolished, but was virtually revived under synodical action.

Never was there a finer field for the exercise of a wise and liberal ecclesiastical policy than that which England presented in the earlier portions of the 17th century. The battle between Protestantism and Popery had been fought, and the victory won by the former. There was in the heart of the mass of Englishmen a religiousness of spirit never before equalled, and there was also no inconsiderable intellectual cultivation, much of it the direct and healthful growth of the popular Protestantism. The statesman fitted for the time, looking with an impartial eye on Church and State, and wishing to make each the means of promoting the spiritual and temporal welfare of all classes of Englishmen, might regret the harsh and dogmatic character of the Puritan theology, and wish to see it give place to a system more benignant in spirit and less ascetic in manners. Still, appreciating its earnest religiousness, he would do nothing to destroy it. Giving a wise toleration to a theology he could not altogether approve, he would trust to time and the slow but sure influence of liberal institutions and the example of good men to soften its harshness without diminishing its earnestness.

Nothing could be more puerile than the policy which, in that crisis of the religious history of England, High-churchmen under the direction of Laud adopted. Instead of ministering to the religious sense and spiritual aspirations of a noble race of men, they tried by all kinds of annoyances and restrictions to make the religion of the people's choice an impossibility, and to force them to accept in its stead a cold and mechanical system, with nothing more poetical in it than the decorations of churches and the vestments and genuflections of the priests, obviously borrowed from the Church of Rome, a Church which the mass of people looked upon with passionate dislike. Driven to church by compulsory enactments, Englishmen had to listen to recommendations of the practice of confession and absolution, of the use of images and the sign of the cross, mingled with assertions of the right divine of kings. Thus in the house of God their religious and their political sensibility was equally wounded. As the struggle continued, the patriotic and the Puritan parties were fused together.

How pernicious the influence of Laud was, and to what mean and cruel arts it seduced men of high position to condescend, is very strikingly shewn in an incident in the life of the noted William Prynne. Sentenced by the Star Chamber to imprisonment in Carnarvon Castle, after undergoing some personal indignities and tortures which it makes one blush to think an Englishman could inflict upon a fellow-countryman, Prynne passed through and rested at Chester. His conductors and himself were overtaken within a mile or two of the city by Mr. Calvin Bruen (a son of the John Bruen of Stapleford already mentioned). Learning who the prisoner was, Mr. Bruen sought and obtained permission to visit him at his inn, a request which was granted. Other civilities were paid to Mr. Prynne and his party by Mr. Bruen and some of his friends, who accompanied them a few miles on their journey, wishing to give them safe conduct over a part of the road washed by the tide of the Dee, and sometimes dangerous. These facts were communicated by Bishop Bridgman to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, having heard the story previously from another quarter, rebukes the Bishop of Chester for negligence in not being the first to report it. To reinstate himself in the eyes of the Primate, Dr. Bridgman issues an order to the clergy

of the city, commanding them to give public expression from the pulpit of their detestation of the crime of Prynne and his companions. Next the names of Mr. Bruen and of the other visitors of Mr. Prynne were sent to York. Pursuivants presently came from that city to arrest the offenders, broke open and ransacked their houses, to the great terror of their families, and then carried them prisoners to York. From this imprisonment they were only released after a degrading confession and paying heavy fines. When Prynne got possession of the papers of Laud, he found three letters addressed to him on the subject of these transactions by Bishop Bridgman. Any compositions more discreditable to a gentleman and a clergyman it would not be easy to conceive. Prynne, in his comments published in his book entitled "*The Prelate's Tyranny*," did not spare the Bishop, charging him with being "a common accuser of and informer against the brethren, even for an act of charity, the visiting of a prisoner, one chief part of a Bishop's office in former times." It need not excite our surprise that, when the times changed, Bridgman was driven from his bishopric, and that Laud, the instigator of all this base cruelty, was hunted to his death.

In Cheshire and in Lancashire, a large majority of the people that were earnestly religious sided in the great struggle with the Parliament. Many of them did so not so much from any predilection for democratic principles as from the determination to exercise religious freedom. The more prominent religious men were not politicians, and grievous were the blunders into which they fell. Presbyterians and Independents, after the fall of their common enemy, became alienated and presently hostile, each seeking to rise to power by the fall and destruction of its rival. This rivalry shortened the second period to which allusion has been made. The inevitable failure of Presbyterian government was soon apparent. It needed a united people. It had to be worked amidst the bitterest animosities. It was created at a time when the country was reeling to and fro with the convulsions of civil war. There had been no time of preparation. The system required for its safe working the nicest discrimination between spiritual and civil affairs. Few men in those days of political and religious passion—except here and there a philosophical states-

man like Selden, or a high-minded patriot like Vane, or a solitary thinker like Milton—comprehended the difference. Many stood aloof from the attempt to establish the government and discipline of the Presbytery. It was only in Lancashire and London that the machinery was constructed. It worked with incessant friction, and embarrassed only those that had its management. In Cheshire there was a strong Presbyterian party headed by Mr. Ley, of Astbury. They had their regular meetings for a time, and were in no respect behind their brethren in London in zeal for the Covenant and in detestation of toleration. This sad fact is manifested in the "Attestation" which fifty-nine of them agreed to and signed in 1648. But government by means of the Presbytery was not carried out in the county beyond the formation of a voluntary association of ministers and congregations desirous to advise and assist one another. The association professed to have no power to convene any before them, nor to interfere with those ministers that differed from them in practice. This association continued in existence till the time of the Restoration. This portion of our history remains to be written. There are scattered in public and private libraries, State-paper offices, and other depositories, some valuable documents which illustrate it. But they have to be collected and published, and the writer that can draw from them the just conclusions must approach the subject in no partizan spirit.

The "League and Covenant" of the Presbyterians, and the "Engagement" of the Independent party, were alike mischievous documents, traps to catch the conscience of some, or fetters to tie the hands of parties suspected or disliked.

The jealousies and contests of the two parties were industriously fomented by royalist agents, ready to make any promises to secure a temporary ally. The Presbyterians, embittered by the ascendancy of their rivals, swallowed the bait profusely thrown on the water by the friends of the King. They assisted in bringing about an unconditional Restoration, and in less than two years they reaped the fruits of their folly in the Act of Uniformity.

Upwards of sixty of the Cheshire clergy declined conformity on the terms prescribed by the law. Of these seven subsequently conformed. During the episcopacy of Dr. John

Wilkins, the terms of conformity were in various ways eased, and every available inducement offered to the ejected clergy to re-enter the Church. Considering the dark prospect before the Nonconformist party in the reign of Charles II., it should be matter of admiration that so small a number were tempted to return to the Church of which they had been for the most part highly-valued ministers. Not many of the ejected clergy of Cheshire were authors. The only names amongst them with which we are able to associate any published books or tracts now known, are Dr. Thomas Harrison, Mr. John Machin, Mr. John Wilson, Mr. Edward Bursal, Mr. Sabbath Clark, Mr. Adam Martindale, Mr. William Cooke, Mr. Samuel Fisher and Mr. Samuel Eaton. With one or two exceptions, their books are of little value, except to the collectors of curiosities and of the materials for local history. But the humble and unpretending character of the majority of those who witnessed on St. Bartholomew's-day, 1662, their good confession, ought in reality to enhance our estimate of the sacrifice they made to conscience. Men of learning or genius might hope, though silenced in the pulpit, to speak to the world through the press. But the worthy men whose one talent was the performance of pastoral duty, were deprived of all means of distinction when silenced in their pulpits, and of usefulness when driven from their parishes and the people who loved them. When to the other motives that attach a clergyman to parochial duty we add the enthusiastic desire of the Puritan clergy to fulfil their vows as authorized ministers of Christ,—when the thought constantly gnawing at their hearts was, "Woe is mine if I do not preach the gospel,"—we may realize the mental and moral struggle through which the Nonconformists of 1662 had to pass, and the brokenness of heart with which they reached the conclusion that they must not conform.

True it is that many of these good men were very narrow and intolerant. You may pick from their writings and their lives anecdotes which shew their partial and distorted views of Providence, and their petulant reproaches of their opponents, whom they were always willing to regard when in trouble as labouring under God's righteous judgments. Like other ill-informed theologians, they were too willing to look upon the Almighty as a partizan, to believe that His blessings were reserved for themselves and His curse for their enemies.

It is not for these things we value and honour them ; but for their fidelity to conscience, for their willingness to do anything and endure any loss rather than deliberately sin against the higher law to which they aimed to conform their lives, we hold them to be worthy of the admiration of all upright and religious men.

The history of the early Cheshire Nonconformity is but imperfectly told, if the story is limited to the men who held and resigned benefices in the county. Many who exercised a weighty and wholesome influence over the Nonconformists of Cheshire were in 1662 beneficed in other counties. Henry Newcome was ejected from the cathedral of Manchester ; Philip Henry from Worthenbury, in Flintshire ; Mr. Richard Steel from Hanmer ; Mr. John Angier (not ejected, though to the last a Nonconformist) dwelt at Denton, on the Cheshire border of Lancashire. All these men were regarded in the whole district as spiritual leaders, and were as much honoured in Cheshire as elsewhere. To their names should also be added that of the apostolic Oliver Heywood, of whom Mr. Hunter has left us an invaluable biography, full of curious information respecting the early Nonconformist churches in Yorkshire and most of the bordering counties.

To some publications of the Chetham Society we owe many interesting facts respecting the Nonconformist leaders in Lancashire and Cheshire. The Autobiography and Diaries of Henry Newcome, though abounding in names and dates, disappoint us in the meagreness of their details,* and also fail in maintaining the repute of the writer, who was regarded by his contemporaries as the prince of preachers. His publications (now rarely to be met with) shew him to have been an earnest and eloquent man in the pulpit, whose strength lay in practical religion. But as a man he wanted force of character. In the parlour, Mrs. Newcome (who, we suspect, was somewhat of a Xantippe) was more than his match. Of the natural shrewdness of Newcome,

* There exist in private hands some very curious volumes of MS. collections, the work of Henry Newcome, containing private letters, copies of documents, and memoranda of facts. Many of these well deserve publication. Some well-selected extracts are accessible to the readers in the British Museum Library in the MS. collections of the late Rev. Joseph Hunter. But woe to him who attempts to transcribe from Mr. Hunter's minute and rapid MS. the names of persons and places with which he is but imperfectly acquainted !

as well as his political knowledge, no man will form a high estimate who reads his sermon in which, on the eve of the Restoration, he told the Manchester people that Charles II. had a religious disapprobation of the profane custom of drinking healths. The courtiers of the profligate King would be as much entertained by this instance of provincial simplicity as they were at the credulity of the ministers (one of whom was Mr. Thomas Case, for a short time rector of Stockport) who listened with delight at Breda to Charles, whom they heard in an adjoining apartment thanking God in prayer that he was a covenanted King!

In the Life of Adam Martindale, the ejected Presbyterian clergyman of Rosthern, in Cheshire, also published by the Chetham Society, we have a work original in its spirit, graphic in its details, presenting a remarkable portraiture of the man and a striking picture of his times. Martindale was a scholar, and especially skilled in mathematics. But, unlike some profound mathematicians, he was a quick and sagacious observer of all going on around him, read correctly the characters of those with whom he had dealings, and clothed his narrative in pithy sentences and well-chosen words. He had less of the Puritan in his composition than had some of his contemporaries. His shrewdness of thought and style often reminds one of Defoe. The volume before us contains an abridgment of Martindale's story, a portion of which our readers may like to see, spite of the slangy phrases in which here and there Mr. Joseph Thompson indulges.

“And now came out that fatall Act of Uniformitie that threw off many hundreds of us out of our places.’ Martindale received the Act with notice on the 22nd August; two days later he was to give his unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained in the revised Prayer Book. He complains of the short time allowed for the study of the book; but he knew sufficient of its contents to enable him to make up his mind on the subject. He had already resolved not to subscribe. He took leave of his people on the previous Sunday (17th), taking for his text Acts xx. 32, *And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified.* The words were full of meaning both to his people and to himself; he needed consolation, for his was a hard case. It has been shewn

that he displaced no man when he took the living ; he had the strong support of the parishioners ; he was a loyal subject, and served the royal cause during the Cheshire Rising ; he was confirmed in his incumbency. But all these things were as valueless as the royal word. No time was lost in serving the church-wardens with an ejectment. On the 29th August the Bishop of Chester issued his order forbidding Martindale the use of the pulpit, from which he had preached so faithfully for many years. The order is given at length in the *Life*, page 166.

"Martindale had heard from his friend Newcome that the King did not really wish to be so hard upon the Nonconformists, and that he would take it unkindly if they threw up their livings unforced. Accordingly on the next Sunday, a day ever memorable in England, he found the church doors open as usual ; the soft music of the bells floated over meadow, wood, and mere as before ; there was no change outside the church, and inside a great congregation was gathered, 'but there was no man to break the bread of life to their hungry souls,' so he officiated once more. He told his people he had come there in opposition to no man, but solely for the King's pleasure. He preached from Psalm cvi. 4, *Remember me, O Lord, with the favour that thou bearest unto thy people.* But all this was a mistake ; the King's pleasure might be judged by his sanctioning the unjust Act ; the patron of the living had caused the bells to be rung in mockery, and had left the congregation without a preacher that he might be petitioned to procure one.

"And now Martindale, with a large family, had to face the world to seek for his daily bread. His successor speedily took possession of the vicarage, and did not give him what salary was due. He suffered loss of property in various ways, but with his noble mind determined to make his living conform to his limited income. He removed to Camp Green, where he lived for three and a half years, and during this time remained a hearer of his successor, Mr. Benjamin Crosse, frequently repeating the vicar's sermons, with an addition of his own, to a few friends on the Sabbath evening. Adam manfully fought against poverty and turned schoolmaster, but in this employment he was not to be let alone. The Bishop of Chester 'preached fiercely against Nonconformists at Bowdon ;' Sir Job Charleton, when upon the bench at Chester, gave a severe charge against Nonconformists being entertained as tutors in great families, or teaching private schools. These remarks were highly approved by Sir P. Leicester and the other justices. They had their effect ; Adam lost the sons of a neighbouring gentleman, who could not face ecclesiastical threats. Martindale found he must turn to something else ; he thought of

medicine, but was too conscientious to kill his patients, so he took to mathematics, and found a great helper in Lord Delamer, who on this and on other occasions proved to be his good friend.

"Whilst he profited by Lord Delamer's kindness, who lent him books and instruments, and who frequently gave a stimulus to their use by his own discourse upon them—Martindale did not neglect his people; many of them were Nonconformists, and he regularly preached to them, but this exercise was greatly hindered by the appearance of the Conventicle Act. He had to break up his congregation into small knots to prevent its coming within the limits of that Act. His labour was greatly increased, as he sometimes preached four or five times a day. He had also to break up his school; but in all this he found help. Lord Delamer commanded him to his school at Warrington, where he perfected his scholars so far in land surveying as to bring down the praise of all those who saw their exploits. He was also well received at Preston; and both there and at Warrington he had 'the happiness of spiritual libertie and employment among the Christians of most eminence.' In addition to these engagements he became the tutor of Mr. Charles and Mr. Benjamin Hoghton of Hoghton Tower, 'where Sir Richard, my ladie, and indeed all the family, shewed me great respect; and for libertie to preach there was more than I desired, for they had an able and godly chaplaine of their owne that I delighted to heare.' But though these temptations to remain were very great, he would not leave his own people, wishing rather to do good. He had other advantageous offers, among them one from Mr. Banks of Wigan, but the Five Mile Act forbade his going there. During the next seven years Martindale continued to teach mathematics at Manchester and elsewhere; he also preached as opportunity afforded, sometimes running risk of apprehension. During the time when the first Conventicle Act had run out, and before the second was passed, he preached in Bury parish, and found the house surrounded. He was brought before Dean Bridgman, who reproved him and indicted him to the sessions at Manchester, but by his legal ingenuity and the perjury of the witnesses against him he escaped. His old enemy Bishop Hall meanwhile had died, and Bishop Wilkins filled the see of Chester in his stead. Dr. Wilkins had married Cromwell's sister, and was much beloved. He wished to encourage moderate Nonconformists, and among them made an overture to Martindale, which would have been gladly accepted had not the Archbishop of York stopped these liberal practices.

"The connexion between Martindale and Lord Delamer was

to be made closer; during September 1671 he accepted an engagement to become chaplain and tutor to his lordship's family. Martindale gratefully bears testimony to the kindness which was so admirable a feature in the conduct of one who had been so exalted as Lord Delamer. In return, Martindale educated a son, who afterwards contributed in no small degree to the establishment of England's liberty, and to the toleration which was granted to Nonconformists by William and Mary. Martindale says of his engagement:—'When I was first invited to officiate as chaplain at Dunham, it was only for three weeks or a month; but this proved to be fourteen years, and probably would have been more if my lord's death had not put an end to my attendance there. All this while I had the same libertie among my own people of Rotherston parish as before. Mine employment there (besides accompanying my lord oft abroad) was family duty twice a day; which before dinner was a short prayer, a chapter, and a more solemn prayer, and before supper the like, with a psalm. When we kept at home I officiated; and when, on the Lord's Day, we went to Bowdon, I catechized in the evening, and expounded the catechism in a doctrinal and practical way.'

"Martindale's sufferings did not make him tolerant of some other Dissenters. It is sad to hear him say, 'that if the King had offered me my liberty, upon condition that I would consent that Papists, Quakers, and all other wicked sects should have theirs also, I think I should never have agreed to it.' He profited by the King's short-lived Declaration of Indulgence, issued March 1671-2, 'which of all the many unpopular steps taken by the government was the most unpopular.' He took out a licence and preached twice each Sunday; on one of these occasions he called upon his successor, whom he found in his last illness, and who desired his prayers. Adam did not hesitate to speak faithfully to him.

"Several years passed quietly away, during which Martindale published various works, such as his *Countrey Survey Book*, his *Almanacks*, &c., which gained the approval of the Royal Society. Nor was theology neglected; he was much engaged in the controversy touching kneeling at the sacrament. The confidence of Lord Delamer in his chaplain is manifested by his lordship sending him into Northumberland to arrange a marriage between his daughter and Sir Ralph Delaval, Bart. Troubles came thick and fast upon him shortly after this. He had already mourned over sons and daughters: he now suffered from fire and fever, and above all from the 'unspeakable losse of my deare and faithful friend, my noble Lord Delamer, together with all hopes of employment at Dunham.' The loving intimacy of many years

was broken, the counsellor, patron, and friend was dead, and Adam, weak in body and with broken health, had once more to face the world! To face the world and find a prison. Monmouth's rebellion in the west, and its subsequent failure, gave another plea for persecuting the Nonconformists. Orders were sent down to the deputy-lieutenants to secure all the Nonconformist ministers in the county; some were sent to Knutsford, some to Chester; Martindale to the latter place—weak, weary, and so ill as to be compelled to lie down twice on the journey he was compelled to go, though perfectly innocent. He was confined in jail for eighteen days, and then liberated on bail.

"Soon after his return home he heard of the death of his fellow-prisoner, Mr. Briscowe. It was followed by the deaths of many others who had suffered for conscience sake. One by one his friends passed away; the past had been full of trouble, the future looked gloomy, causing him to write as the last sentence of his Diary, 'When God is housing his sheep (or rather sheep-herds) so fast, it is a dangerous prognosticke of a storme ere long to ensue.'"—Pp. 431—436.

Of theological differences amongst the Nonconformists of Cheshire, this volume gives us here and there some interesting particulars. Of the quarrel at Stockport occasioned by the ultra-Calvinistic preaching of Mr. De la Rose, and the consequent secession of a part of the flock (the seceders are now represented by the Unitarian church of Stockport), we have a narrative, the moderation of which is creditable to Rev. A. Clark, of Stockport. He finds less difference between the parties than might have been expected; but it is often thus. In the beginning of a controversial struggle, the logical differences may not appear very great, yet the tendencies of thought may point quite in opposite directions. A century and a half ago, the different sections of Cheshire Nonconformists may have had few conscious or avowed differences of opinion in respect to the person of Christ, yet it is certain, as proved by the result, that there were tendencies already at work which eventually separated broadly and palpably the liberal from the orthodox Dissenters of the county.

We have also in this volume some reference to an early heretic, a disciple of John Biddle,—John Knowles, of Gloucester, who was for a time preacher to the garrison at Chester. It was in opposition to him that Samuel Eaton, of Dukinfield, and afterwards of Stockport, prepared his treatises in vindication of the divinity of Christ. There is

much obscurity and difficulty in respect of John Knowles. It is probable that there were two contemporary ministers of this name, one orthodox, the other heretical. The orthodox Knowles is set down amongst the ejected clergy of Bristol, and of him there is a large account in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Americana*. Of Knowles, the heretic, whose works have been long known to us, some information has recently been made public for the first time in a recent volume of the *Calendar of State-Papers*. We do not doubt that this unexpected vein of heretical history will be speedily worked by some competent hand. The early manifestation of Arian or Unitarian opinion wherever there is any religious freedom, and under almost every existing theological system, is a fact that deserves attention. To some it may seem merely the working of that pride of intellect which they are disposed to set down to the original sin that, according to their theory, lurks in the heart. But it still remains a question to be answered, how it happens that this pride of intellect should so frequently and in opposition to all opposing bias lead in the direction of Unitarianism? And up to a very recent period the men who most developed this tendency were diligent students of Scripture. But we have not space for entering upon this and some other topics of interest connected with our subject.

We close our notice of "Nonconformity in Cheshire" by an extract from the appended Notes relating to John Knowles:

"Mr. Knowles afterwards became minister at Pershore in Leicestershire (*Worcestershire*), where he was apprehended by Lord Windsor, and imprisoned on April 25th, 1665. His dwelling was searched and his papers were seized; among these were the following: 'Articles of Faith to be enquired into in reference to these times. 1. What is believed concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity. 2. Concerning the Deity of the Son and the Spirit. 3. Concerning the first Sin and the Propagation of Sin. 4. Concerning Election, Redemption, Reconciliation, the Moral Law.' 'A refutation of certain reasons against Laymen's preaching of the Word.' Also letters from his friends, with animadversions evidently noted down for the purpose of establishing against him the charge both of heresy and rebellion—*e. g.* 'Now to thy desire of Mr. Biddle's reading of the first chapter of John. . . . Et verbum, aut potius sermo, erat apud Deum; ergo non ipse ille Deus.

'By which it appears that Mr. Knowles is a Socinian and denies the Godhead of Christ ; that he is so doth more largely appear in his book, and by his communication he hath with Mr. Biddle and the use of his blasphemous writings, with which his study is well furnished.' Another letter evidently bearing only on religion is described as 'a very strong invitation to sedition and to alter the constitution of government, in dark terms, wherein Mr. Knowles is expected to be very instrumental.'—*Record Office, Domestic, Charles II.*, 119, 125.

"The following letter, praying for release, shows how great must have been Mr. Knowles's sufferings while in prison :—'To his Grace the Duke of Albemarle. My Lord, I humbly beseech your grace to suffer this paper to have access to you to inform you of my sad and deplorable condition here in the prison of the Gatehouse, where I have lyen now about two months upon a bare suspicion, through the misinformation of some . . . I beseech your grace, and now the more earnestly considering the great increase of that contagious disease wherewith Almighty God hath now visited us, that you will be pleased to speak to my lord Arlington, that bayle may be accepted for me. JOHN KNOWLES. July, 1665.'—*Record Office, Domestic, Charles II.*, 127, 135."—Pp. 465, 466.

VI.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

1. *The Book of Job, as expounded to his Cambridge Pupils, by the late Hermann Hedwig Bernard, Ph.D., M.A.* With a Translation and additional Notes, by his Friend and former Pupil, Frank Chance, B.A., M.B., &c. Vol. I. (containing the whole of the original Work). London : Hamilton, Adams and Co.

WE had been accustomed to think that the days were long past, when a commentary could be written and published on a single book of the Bible in one, two, three, or more, quarto or folio volumes. But the old practice may fairly be said to have been revived, in a remarkable Commentary on Job, now lying before us, a royal octavo of 500 pages ; not the whole of the work either, but a forerunner only, i.e. a first volume, to be followed by an Appendix, in three parts, each of fourteen chapters. We need scarcely add that the work is intended for students and scholars ;

and, so far as a rapid perusal of parts of it enables us to judge, it is certainly worthy of their attention, although it is often needlessly diffuse. The substance of the work is by the late Dr. Bernard, for twenty-seven years teacher of Hebrew at Cambridge. The philological attainments of this gentleman, as stated by the editor, were of the most uncommon kind. Born in Southern Russia of German-speaking parents, in addition to German he could speak Russian and Polish like a native; Latin, French and Italian were a matter of course. Moreover, the editor assures us "that he not only had all the Hebrew of the Old Testament at his fingers' ends, but that he had also a most intimate and accurate knowledge of the Talmud, and was well acquainted with the commentaries and writings of all the most eminent early and modern rabbinical authors, and with the works which some of those authors composed in biblical Hebrew." This minute and extensive knowledge is largely apparent in this volume, and is manifested also in some degree by the editor himself. The latter is evidently a devoted admirer of his master, the work being, in truth, a kind of monument to his memory, the whole expense of publication being borne by the editor's father, Mr. R. L. Chance, of Birmingham.

We cannot but wish that this admiration for the deceased teacher had been accompanied by somewhat less of depreciation or contempt towards various other scholars of recent times. Gesenius, Ewald, Conant, Dr. Davidson, Bishop Colenso, all come in for more or less of this depreciatory criticism. Here is a remark on Ewald, which we must say appears to us to be not altogether destitute of truth: "Ewald evidently rejects Elihu's discourse because it does not accord with his *own* interpretation of the preceding portion of the book. His argument seems to have been this: I am infallible; whatever view, therefore, I take of Job's character, it must be correct; any part of the book, therefore, which does not accord with my view cannot be genuine. Elihu's discourse does not accord with my view of Job's character, therefore it cannot be genuine." And here, on the same page, is a rap at Bishop Colenso, partly due, we suspect, like some other things of the same sort, to theological prejudice. Speaking of books containing what is "startling and paradoxical" in regard to the Bible, the editor observes: "The author [of such books], though but

yesterday a teacher of arithmetic, is at once exalted to the rank of a biblical critic of the first order, and it is besides straightway inferred that he must be a profound Hebrew scholar, though all the time he is probably only a smatterer." Dr. Davidson is spoken of as "a critic of the same class as Bishop Colenso," and as one in whom the reader is not too hastily to put his trust. Similar remarks occur in reference to other well-known writers. We are not sure how far such sentiments are the joint utterance of both master and pupil, or proceed only from the latter. The mode of composing the work was so peculiar as to make this a point which even the "higher criticism" might have some trouble in deciding. The commentary was written down by the editor from Dr. Bernard's dictation; but much, including the Prefaces with their copious notes, is from the editor's own head, as well as hand. He tells us, moreover, that he proceeded, after writing down what had been dictated to him, "to add, alter or retrench," as he thought fit. "From this account," he adds, "it must be evident that the language of the Commentary is neither Dr. Bernard's nor yet mine, but a mixture of the two, and as such I trust it will not be too severely criticised."

A work of so much pretension, and doubtless of so much real merit, challenges comparison with other works of the same kind. We have compared portions of it with the corresponding parts of Hirzel on Job, a volume which we have long regarded as a model of concise yet rich and ample exposition. Hirzel will certainly not suffer by the comparison, though not more than about half the size of this first volume. We turned, for example, to the famous passage in xix. 23—27. The Commentary of Hirzel is here, as in many other places, much more detailed and full of matter than that of Dr. Bernard; giving not only the writer's own view of the meaning, with abundant critical and grammatical evidence in its support, but, further, a summary of the views of the most eminent authorities, from the Septuagint and Vulgate down to the moderns. What Hirzel has said on this passage is an excellent example of condensed, elaborate and interesting commentary; and we do not find anything in Dr. Bernard's work which can be considered superior or indeed equal to it. In other respects, as regards the interpretation of the passage and its connection with the rest of the book of Job, the two

commentators do not greatly differ. Neither of them, of course, accepts the words of vv. 25, 26, as expressive of the speaker's belief in a bodily resurrection. Hirzel, however, appears to us to have greatly the advantage in the interpretation of vv. 26, 27. These verses are evidently the expression of Job's confidence that, in spite of the miserable condition to which disease and suffering have reduced him, still he shall see God standing up hereafter upon the earth as his avenger, to do him justice as against the imputations of his opponents ;—an interpretation which corresponds so well to the appearance of the Almighty later in the book, and especially to ch. xlii. 7.

We append the translation of this passage as given by Dr. Bernard's editor and that of the Revised Version of the Old Testament. By a comparison of the two, the reader may judge how far there is any superiority on the side of the former.

Job xix. 23—27, in Dr. Bernard's version :

- "23. Oh that now my words were written down,
Oh that they were engraved in a book !
- 24. *That*, with a style of iron and *with* lead,
For ever, they were graven in the rock !
(THESE WORDS, NAMELY:)
- 25. That I know *that* my Redeemer liveth,
And *that* He will remain the last upon *the* earth.
- 26. *Yea*, even after my skin is thus pierced,
Still from my flesh can I see God :
- 27. Whom I, for myself, can see,
Yea, mine eyes behold, and not another ;
For Him are my reins consumed within me."

The same passage from the Revised Version :

- "23. Oh that now my words were written !
Oh that they were inscribed in a book !
- 24. That with an iron style and with lead,
They were engraven for ever on a rock.
- 25. For I know that my Avenger liveth,
And that at length he will rise up over the dust.
- 26. And after my skin hath been thus torn,
And without my flesh I shall see God ;
- 27. Whom I shall behold on my side,
And mine eyes shall see, but not estranged *from me*.
My reins are consumed within me."

The latter version does not exactly follow Hirzel, and the last line is defective in not inserting the words "*For him;*" the meaning being that Job is eager for the appearance of Jehovah, of which he has just spoken. The interpretation put upon ver. 26 by Dr. Bernard's editor appears to us trivial and unsuitable to the context: "Even the flesh, which is visible through the holes in my skin, disgusting as it is, is so wonderfully wrought that I see it must be God who made it." The original is obscure, but the meaning nevertheless, it can hardly be doubted, is to this effect, that notwithstanding his wretched state, full of ulcerous wounds as his skin is from the disease, still "even without my flesh," i.e. even though his flesh should be destroyed, he should see God standing up hereafter as his vindicator. It is quite unnecessary and very awkward to assume, as Dr. Bernard does, that the words commencing at ver. 25 are the words which Job desired to have engraven on a rock!

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2. *Sermons for the Times.* By John Page Hopps. London: Whitfield, Green and Son. Manchester: Johnson and Rawson.

He would have but a cold nature who could read through these sermons without being touched by the fervid earnestness of the preacher. The sentences seem to thrill, often with almost passionate feeling. Mr. Hopps does not pretend to solve for his hearers the great mysteries that perplex the intellect; rather is he anxious to pour out, so as to win their sympathy, the various love, aspiration, worship, aim in life, that fill his heart. To be perfectly candid in our criticism, we must say that the chief defects of the sermons seem to lie on the side of deficiency in clearness and development of the *thought* through the too much absorption by the *feeling*. We have felt ourselves often drawn into sympathy with him, and have gone along with him, feeling that he was presently about to take us and place us in front of the Holy of Holies, draw aside the veil, and shew us face to face the sanctities that have inspired himself. But ever as he comes to the door he allows us to catch only scattered glimpses of that which is within ere he turns away and leaves us to ourselves. Thus, again and again, he tells us that "religion is not theology." We recog-

nize the truth of his affirmation. We acknowledge that it is religion that Mr. Hopps is teaching us to feel, but still we press on hoping to learn from him to comprehend more in thought what this religion is, and how we may nourish it in ourselves and grasp it—the enduring and unchanging reality—no longer dependent on the mere outward and changing forms of theological doctrine. This hope Mr. Hopps does not gratify. He has not yet, we think, learnt to understand his own meaning. If he will go on to develop his thought, he may still have much to teach us.

But while, with all candour and with an earnest desire for Mr. Hopps's future usefulness as a preacher, we have spoken of what we miss in these discourses, we now turn back to speak with unfeigned gratitude of that which we have found. That earnest feeling which pervades this volume, making each discourse like a psalm or prayer, rather than an essay, is an invaluable quality in a preacher. We need more of it in our prophets. Too often they tell us in cold, hard discourse, with scientific precision and anatomy of definition, what it is we *ought* to love, and be, and do. Perhaps they would do more for us if they could take captive our souls, and carry us with them in the tide of their own earnest love and desire towards the good to which they direct us.

The leading thought in these discourses is, that "the first thing in a Christian church is not its theology which divides, but its religion which unites. Theology is not religion. It is the statement of religion, the philosophy of religion. In our religion of loyalty, of love, of duty, we are all one. It is only when we come to definitions and verbal anatomies that we divide and fly off into sects."

This thought the preacher reiterates again and again in various forms: "Christianity is not a formula—religion is not the repetition of a creed," &c. &c. And now and then with this protest and denial we get a glimpse of the truth for which we presume it is to make way. "Religion is the power of an endless life, the life of duty, of virtue, of reverence, of faithfulness to conscience and to God." This is the thought that we should have been glad to see more developed. Another form in which Mr. Hopps presents his leading doctrine is, that, as he reads the signs of the times, men are learning to distrust theologies, while still they yearn for religion. "They want us to cease talking like

priests or theologians ; they are tired of our dreary debates, our sectarianisms and our schools. They are living like the men Christ blessed, with sins to lament, with sorrows to bear, with passions to keep down, and with souls to save. *They* too are made in the image of God, and on their souls the bells of heaven are hung, which will still be responsive to the hand that shall have skill to call their music forth. And yet the churches complain that the people give out no *answer* to their loud appeal. Let them cease, then, to preach from dead parchments, and take their texts from men's living souls."

We conclude by cordially wishing Mr. Hopps great joy in the new field of ministration into which he has entered ; and we could perhaps wish him no greater joy than that of retaining, through many long years of ministerial experience, the earnestness, the freshness, the hope and love, which these "first words" speak.

3. *Miscellaneous.*

AMONG the books and pamphlets upon our table, we mention first a little volume by Mr. Robert Brown, entitled, "The Gospel of Common Sense," made up of three essays previously published, but now revised and enlarged.* The author's aim is sufficiently bold—no less than to establish the harmony of "mental, moral and social science" with what he calls "scriptural Christianity ;" that is, a modified form of Evangelical religion. We need hardly say that his method has our highest approval, even though we cannot at all agree with the results to which it conducts him. But his work is of considerable interest, as shewing the line of argument by which a thoughtful and earnest layman strives to reconcile the traditional doctrines of his church with patent facts of human life and circumstance. In wonderful contrast to it stands a volume, "Force and Matter,"† translated from the German of Dr. Louis Büchner by Mr. J. F. Collingwood, in which are recorded the latest results of a materialist philosophy, which unhappily has

* The Gospel of Common Sense, or Mental, Moral and Social Science in Harmony with Scriptural Christianity. By Robert Brown. London : Jackson, Walford and Hodder. 1864.

† Force and Matter : Empirico-Philosophical Studies, intelligibly rendered, by Dr. Louis Büchner. Edited by J. Frederic Collingwood, F.R.S.L., F.G.S. London : Trübner and Co. 1864.

some currency on the continent. Its doctrine may be briefly stated. The idea of Force is inseparable from that of Matter. There is therefore no soul, no spirit, no God, no future life. Thought is a secretion of the brain; man is an automaton, whose actions are dependent upon his physical organization. The author pretends to be very wrathful against those who deduce as a corollary from these premisses the impossibility of morality and the dissolution of civil society; and somehow finds in them (though *how* he does not condescend to tell us) the guarantee of human equality and dignity. But what dignity in a machine of flesh and blood? What equality between men, one of whom possesses over the other the all-important advantage that he is three inches taller, and has a brain as many ounces heavier? For dignity, we need to believe in the moral—for equality, in the spiritual nature of man. It is difficult to conceive what good purpose can be answered by the translation of the crude and ignorant speculations of this book, except to shew what must be the utter wretchedness of human life and destiny, if deprived of the light which streams from the throne of a living God.

Among sermons must, in spite of its imposing title, be ranked "The Genius of the Gospel, a Homiletical Commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew,"* by Dr. David Thomas. This portly volume of more than 700 pages has been compiled out of the author's sermon-drawer by the simple process of extracting from it all the discourses which were founded on a verse of the first Gospel, and (we suppose) writing a few more to fill up the missing links. The book thus formed has been submitted to the revision of Mr. Webster, one of the joint editors of a Greek Testament, which amply makes up by indiscriminating orthodoxy for any little deficiencies in critical insight and ability. What Mr. Webster has done for the work, except to write a commendatory Preface, it is not easy to say. Nowhere can we detect the slightest trace of a critic's handiwork. The difficulties of the Gospel are passed by as though they did not exist. It is not too much to say that the student would consult this volume in vain in regard to any of the perplexities which would naturally occur to a thoughtful mind.

* The Genius of the Gospel : a Homiletical Commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew, by David Thomas, D.D. Edited by the Rev. William Webster, M.A., &c. &c. London : Jackson, Walford and Hodder. 1864.

• He would find out how a fluent preacher, endowed with a certain vivacity of thought and expression, would manage to edify an Independent congregation. If he had the same task to perform, and was not too proud to take a hint from another man's work, he might excavate from this quarry plenty of rough material. But to call a book so carelessly put together as this, "The Genius of the Gospel," or one so utterly destitute of scientific worth, "a commentary," homiletical or otherwise, is a simple perversion of language. It is, according to the author's candid confession, this and no more: a mass of Dr. Thomas's sermons, first preached at Stockwell Chapel, then published in some periodical called the *Homilist* (of which he is apparently the editor), and now, "crambe bis repetita," warmed up again to suit some possible fresh phase of public taste.

Mr. Binns' eloquent sermon before the Provincial Assembly of Lancashire and Cheshire* was the occasion of an animated discussion, and is in consequence given to the world by its author, who in his Preface very fairly states the circumstances attendant upon its publication. It is an exposition, with much more of rhetorical ability than of logical accuracy, of the religious philosophy usually associated with the name of Theodore Parker; and is chiefly noticeable as a personal confession of faith on the part of its author. We are unable to learn from it what are Mr. Binns' conceptions of revelation in general and Christianity in particular; the indications of thought upon these fundamental topics, given in different parts of his sermon, are not, to our mind, capable of being united into any harmonious whole. We gather only in general that he thinks much less highly of the biblical literature than the majority of men, and scoffs at the intelligence of those who still hold the possibility of miracle. Both of these matters we are content to leave to the arbitrament of time. There are minds which are still under the influence of a recoil from an unreasoning bibliolatry; and others, caught in the incipient materialism which is the result of an exclusive study of the natural sciences. But presently the pendulum will take a backward swing. We shall hear fewer of those comparisons between the Bible and the Vedas or the Koran, which are so distasteful to the Christian conscience; and

* Christianity in relation to Modern Thought: a Sermon, &c. By William Binns. Whitfield, Green and Son. 1864.

inquirers into physical nature will be content to admit that there may be things in heaven and earth not dreamt of in their philosophy.

The annual sermon in Surrey Chapel before the London Missionary Society is a great occasion among Evangelical Dissenters. This year it was preached by Mr. R. W. Dale, the successor and biographer of John Angell James. His discourse, "The Living God the Saviour of all Men,"* is thoughtful and earnest, not wanting in rhetorical power, but of unreasonable length in proportion to its matter, and dealing only in generalities with the subject of the day. A more noteworthy production is a sermon by Mr. Charles Voysey, incumbent of Healaugh, "preached on July 10, 1864, in special reference to the two Old-Testament Lessons for the day," and entitled, "Is every Statement in the Bible about our Heavenly Father strictly true?"† These lessons are contained in 2 Sam. xxi. xxiv., and any Unitarian reader who will turn to them may anticipate Mr. Voysey's comment. His tone is at once manful and reverent; we can conceive of no better way of introducing such subjects to a rural congregation than that which he adopts. A significant fact is, that the sermon (to which is prefixed an excellent Preface) is printed and circulated at the expense of "a brother clergyman." We can only call our readers' attention to a "Reply"‡ by a Clergyman to the Archbishop of York's Pastoral (another strange sign of the times); to Mr. Poynting's admirably thoughtful and earnest paper read before the Sunday-school Association;§ to Mr. Brooke Herford's able and moderate discourse before the British and Foreign Unitarian Association;|| and to Mr. Maginnis' interesting sermon, "Of Great Men."¶

* The Living God the Saviour of all Men : a Sermon, &c. By R. W. Dale, M.A. Jackson, Walford and Co. 1864.

† Is every Statement in the Bible about our Heavenly Father strictly true ? A Sermon, &c. By Charles Voysey, B.A., Incumbent of Healaugh. London : Whitfield. 1864.

‡ A Reply to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of York's Pastoral Letter. By a Clergyman. London : Whitfield. 1864.

§ What are the best Means of making our Sunday-schools more efficient ? By Rev. T. E. Poynting. London : Whitfield. 1864.

|| Truth and Liberty : a Sermon, &c. By Brooks Herford. Published at the Request of the Committee. London : Whitfield. 1864.

¶ Of Great Men, with special reference to Garibaldi and Shakspeare. By David Maginnis. London : Whitfield. 1864.

Mr. F. W. Newman's "Discourse against Hero-making in Religion,"* is an attempt to prove that what is at once valuable and distinctive in Christianity did not come from Christ, and that his character does not deserve the admiration which it has hitherto attracted even from unbelievers. To dwell upon his statements would be painful; to answer them in detail, a tedious and unprofitable task. At present he does not seem to have laid down any fixed rule for the use of scriptural evidence, while his deductions from the record as it stands (e.g. in the case of Ananias and Sapphira) appear to us to be glaringly unfair. When we recollect the spirit of unfeigned religiousness, of high moral feeling, which breathes through others of Mr. Newman's works, we can only confess in sorrow and perplexity our utter inability to comprehend his view of the character and life of Christ. He will probably comprehend as little the deep regret with which some of those who owe deep obligations to his religious teaching in "The Soul," will lay down this pamphlet.

From America we have received—we hope as first-fruits of a harvest—a lecture by Mrs. Dall upon "Sunshine,"† a lively and even eloquent exposition of the influence of light upon health. From France have come two excellent addresses (given to catechetical classes) by M. Athanase Coquerel fils, upon the distinctive characters of Catholicism and Protestantism;‡ and Three Letters in which our esteemed contributor Dr. Réville replies to a virulent criticism upon modern theology by a certain Pasteur Poulain.§ They are valuable not only as shewing the theological position taken up by so clear a thinker as Dr. Réville, but as containing much interesting information as to the history and present state of religious parties in France. And it is almost needless to add, that they are written in that bright, incisive, nervous prose of which their author is a master.

* A Discourse against Hero-making in Religion, &c. By F. W. Newman. London: Trübner. 1864.

† Sunshine, a new Name for a Popular Lecture on Health. By Mrs. Dall. Boston: Walker, Wise and Co. 1864.

‡ Le Christianisme et le Protestantisme, considérées dans leur Origine et leurs Développementa. Par Ath. Coquerel fils. Paris: Michel Lévy, Frères. 1864.

§ Notre Christianisme et notre bon droit: Trois Lettres, &c. Par A. Réville. Second Edition. Paris: Cherbuliez. 1864.

THE
THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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I.—THE ENGLISH FREETHINKERS.

THE Freethinkers are the representative men of an important epoch in ecclesiastical history, and hitherto have received scant justice. Like the Arians, they were defeated, and so have ever since been defamed. But in this inquiring age, we may claim a hearing for a narrative of the heretics whose self-denying labours helped to make the present possible. Our work is fourfold—to explain the systems of individual thinkers, to picture the general theology of the times, to criticise as we go on, and to point out the differences and resemblances between then and now. We ask our readers to remember the spirit of investigation generated by the Reformation; the acquaintance with the subtle questions disputed among schoolmen and theologians needed by every Protestant who wished to give a reason for the faith that was in him; the fluctuations of the established religion during the reigns of Henry, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, naturally leading thoughtful men to suspect sandy foundations everywhere; and the energy of a new life in humanity overflowing in adventure, commerce, and all other spheres of enterprize.

Elizabethan literature is rich with the results of metaphysical study. All problems seemed to pass through the mind of Shakspeare, none so barren as to yield him no fruit. Other dramatists and poets as well as prose writers displayed an almost equal familiarity with speculation, if not an equal mastery of it. In the department of poetry, however, Sir John Davies' "Immortality of the Soul" stands alone, both for its wealth of philosophical thought as a poem and its imaginative genius as a sustained metaphysical argument. There is a description of a scholar and his dog in one of

Marston's plays which presumes an acquaintance with philosophy in his audience such as students only possess. The scholar tells how he discussed the nature of the soul, free-will, and most of those problems said to have been debated by the devils of old in Pandemonium. Milton condemns them as "vain wisdom all and false philosophy." Marston's conclusion was much the same. The spaniel slept while the scholar argued, but his master says—

"At length he wak'd and yawned ; and by yon sky,
For aught I knew, he knew as much as I."

When dramatists write long descriptions whose points consist in happily hitting off philosophical systems, and when playgoers are amused by them, we may safely infer the tendency of the national mind at that era. Outwardly most men professed allegiance to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, but thought freely nevertheless. Of course a suspected heretic was an atheist, a harsh nickname saving the trouble of refutation, and being considered equal to it. Rumour called Marlowe an atheist, but so far as we can discover merely because the common mind could not understand him. Attempts have been even made to prove Shakspeare one on no better grounds than that he was a friend of Marlowe, and makes his own characters talk consistently as men of the world, and not always like preachers. One speculative spirit ran through the reigns of James and Charles, and held its own, and perhaps more than its own, under Cromwell. Laud and his High-church partizans, the Presbyterians, and the horde of fanatics described in Edwards' "*Gangræna*," necessarily fill the foreground in an ecclesiastical picture of the time. But still many nominal Churchmen and Puritans, obliged to take some sectarian name, really stood aloof from all sects, and either worshiped nowhere or within. "Mr. Joshua Bletson, of Darlington, Member for Little Creed," in "*Woodstock*," is a fancy portrait of a believer in an *Anima Mundi*, and no doubt there were more like him. Yet dissent from the current theology was often accompanied by healthier views than those of this half-atheist. Alexander Ross gives a list of 105 opinions that "like poisonous weeds infest our English garden." Some are forms of passing fanaticism, but among the rest are such as "that reason is the rule of

faith ;" "that Turks, Jews, Pagans, and others, are not to be forced from their opinions;" "that now many Christians have more knowledge than the apostles had;" "that all men ought to have liberty of conscience and of prophesying, even women also;" and "that it stands not with God's goodness to damn His own creatures eternally." A heresy of a different stamp is, "that every creature is God, as every drop in the river is water." Ross does not deign to argue against these notions, for he thinks the mere statement is a condemnation of them. But at last, after stating one about devils, he loses his temper, ventures at a wicked pun, and even alters his spelling to express deeper contempt, and says, "But I will leave these divels, though I could mention many more; but that it delights not myself, nor can it the reader, to be raking in such filthy mire and dirt." Evidently heresy was rife during the Commonwealth when Ross wrote. Then he won a reputation for learning and orthodoxy, now he is chiefly remembered through a couplet in *Hudibras*.

But before the time of Ross free religion secured a spokesman in Lord Edward Herbert of Cherbury, an ambassador of James, an early counsellor of Charles, and an intimate friend of Grotius and Ben Jonson. However, the voluminous ex-royal chaplain—though he published twenty-seven works and had seven more ready for the press, though there appeared from his pen "refutations" of Lord Bacon, Sir Thomas Browne, "Doctor Harvey," and others, who were only theological sinners in a small way—permitted the "*De Veritate*" and "*De Religione Gentilium*" to pass uncriticised. Referring to Hallam's "*Literature of Europe*" for an analysis of the former, we here give an account of the latter, which, as being more theological, is better suited for our purpose. We quote from an English version entitled, "*The Ancient Religion of the Gentiles*," by "the Learned and Judicious Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury." It begins with "five undeniable propositions or 'common notions' which not only we but all mankind in general must acknowledge." "1. That there is one supreme God. 2. That He ought to be worshiped. 3. That virtue and piety are the chief parts of divine worship. 4. That we ought to be sorry for our sins, and repent of them. 5. That Divine Goodness does dispense rewards and punishments both in this life and after it." From these standpoints he proceeds to shew that

"an universal Providence is extended to all mankind," and that "forasmuch as the heathens worshiped the same God as we do, after they had led a good life they were made partakers of the fulness of divine grace." The following passage will give an idea of the fine philosophy of the book :

"For our mind is so noble in its own nature that it directly desires eternal things, and at last can only be satisfied with and acquiesce in them ; the frail and slippery state of mortals declines even in the very height of the enjoyment of the pleasures which only please the external senses, wherefore the ancients thought they ought not to rest satisfied with them ; so that not only the miserable and distressed, but also all pious and good men, as if they were tired and satiated with everything here, endeavoured after something beyond them, though they knew not what it was. From hence first proceeded the notion of an unknown Deity. For God inspiring all men with a desire of an eternal and more happy state, He tacitly discovered Himself who is Eternal Life and perfectly happy. Now in regard God cannot be worshiped according to the excellency of His dignity, which the most sagacious reason can never penetrate into, He therefore manifested Himself by the most excellent fabric of the world ; the parts whereof when the ancients viewed and contemplated, it put them upon an anxious and strict inquiry whether there was anything here or anywhere else that was eternal, knowing very well that fading and transitory things could produce nothing but what was fading and transitory. In which scrutiny, finding that all things in this sublunary world as they had a beginning so they were subject to corruption, they began to observe the heavens and stars, and found that there was a certain, eternal and happy state in them only. Now although the worship of the supreme God is more ancient in itself, being written in the heart, yet in regard our ancestors received the first indications of Him from those splendid, incorruptible bodies the sun and moon, if not the most ancient, yet certainly the most universal worship (such as it was) was paid to the stars."

He then proceeds to shew that "the sun and moon, with the other planets and fixed stars, the heaven and superior elements, were adored with divine honours." "But in this the ancients thought that they worshiped the supreme God, these being the best representation of the Deity." In illustration of the position that "the supreme God amongst the heathens was the same as we own and acknowledge," the

author quotes various passages from Scripture. Thus the vision at Joppa, which taught Peter that there is nothing common or unclean, and that God is no respecter of persons, but accepts the righteous of all nations, is quite to the point. Portions of Paul's Athenian sermon, which recognize "the unknown God" of Paganism as one with the true God of Christianity, and express the loftiest truths of theology in language quoted from a Greek dramatist, are justly made to tell in favour of natural religion. In the same way, the same apostle's declaration to the Romans, that "the invisible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead," is quoted as an argument for universal revelation. It is quite refreshing to look at his doctrine of moral evil in the midst of the almost omnipotent Calvinism of the times. "Evil proceeds only from ourselves. When men suffer the just judgment of God, they ought to submit to it with thankfulness as a correction for their advantage." "I assert nothing here but that the principle of evil cannot be derived from Adam, for all our sins and transgressions are our own mere voluntary acts; and no mortal was ever so necessarily determined to do evil, but by the Divine Goodness he could both see and avoid it." We cannot resist the temptation to quote the following noble statement of natural religion:

"I should sooner doubt whether the sun did enlighten the remotest parts than that they were ignorant of the supreme God, He being conspicuous in all things, and the sun shining only in its own sphere. And what can be a more excellent, reasonable and genuine worship than what proceeds from reverence and love? There is nothing remains more when these two are but well explained; for then God is worshiped with our reverence and in His fear, which is justly called the beginning of wisdom, and that supreme majesty of God which beholds all things here is not offended by any crimes, and man goes no other way towards heaven but in the paths of virtue, acknowledging himself unfit for glory and eternal felicity when he hath contaminated his soul with guilt, and by that means rendered himself unfit and unworthy to be admitted into the company of the most good and great God. But where this perfect love of God is established in the mind of man, it will subdue all wicked and tumultuous affections and raise a belief and hope of a better life. Upon these things it is that the whole frame of religion turns. But,

what is seriously to be lamented, weak-brained superstitions and profane rites and ceremonies were coined in the priests' mint, and mixt amongst the pure bullion of religion; for had they stood upon the firm basis, the heathens would not have lost their labour."

Lord Herbert's religious philosophy is thus based on an immediate consciousness of divine things. He did not, as Locke erroneously asserts, hold a doctrine of innate ideas, yet neither did he compare the mind to a sheet of blank paper, but rather to a closed volume which opens itself at the suggestions of outward nature, and discovers in the hitherto concealed pages those tendencies which when perfected are the general truths of reason and religion. Ben Jonson's epitaph is a testimony to the public estimation in which he was held. His autobiography is a witness to the transparency of his character, and the prayer at the end to the genuineness of his piety, while the revelation which authorized the publication of the "*De Veritate*" may be taken as a modern parallel to the old visions of the Hebrew prophets.

Nearly fifty years after the publication of Lord Herbert's "*De Veritate*," Baxter answered it (1671) in "More Reasons for the Christian Religion and no Reason against it."* He complains that "infidels are grown so numerous and audacious, and look so big and talk so loud that any one may see they are not silenced in their speaking-places or hampered by a Five-Mile Act." Baxter's answer, which is equally one to the "*Religion of the Gentiles*," has nothing in it but words, and is dreary reading. Its divisions and subdivisions are more than we can count. There is a thirdly in one place which breaks up into a seventeenthly, and on the road thither branches out into two subdivisions of three and one of four. If Baxter's sermons were like this work we pity his congregations, for it is wordy, pointless and illogical. He admits Herbert's common notions as far as they go, but wishes to add others; for instance, "that all men are sinful and depraved." In support of miracles he quotes the story of a Platonic philosopher who was so moved by seeing the ghost of his friend ride away on a white horse that he gave up philosophy, turned Christian,

* Baxter's Works, Vol. XXIII.

and devoted himself to meditation and prayer for the remainder of his days. We cannot join in Baxter's lament over the increased number of infidels, for if many were like Lord Herbert, whom he treats as their chief, they only broke with man to keep faith with God. Nor can we join him in wishing that "the Lord Edward" shared the opinions of his saintly brother, George Herbert; for, much as we love the poet, on the whole we are bound to say we prefer the peer. No doubt the philosophy of the one brother is dry, hard, and too purely intellectual; yet the poetry of the other is not only overladen with quaint theological conceits, but marred by a virulent orthodoxy, which makes its finest strains sound "like sweet bells jangled, out of tune and harsh." The author of the "Country Parson" and the "Temple" has bequeathed to the world a life of simple piety and some few immortal verses, but the author of the "De Veritate" anticipated in his metaphysics some of the best replies to the sensationalism of Locke, and was the first man in Christendom to assert the principles of natural religion. He may sometimes have taken too much for granted as to the co-existence of his five truths with the range of humanity, and made too light of the Christian in his zeal for a universal revelation, but his were noble errors; and modern freethinkers may safely build on the foundation he laid, and still be proud of him, even though, as the temple rises higher, they see fit to depart from the original plan.

Hobbes, a contemporary and also an acquaintance of Herbert, belonged to a different school, and sowed tares where Herbert sowed wheat, while his whole character was in startling contrast to the Platonic temperament and romantic bravery of the latter. Herbert's early life was as full of duels as Goethe's of loves, and he displayed that self-sacrifice and fearlessness of danger which naturally accompany a belief in immortality; but Hobbes trembled at shadows, and besides being, like Falstaff, a coward on instinct, was a coward on principle. His philosophy of human nature was a baser thing than the theologian's natural depravity; with him all greatness had a mean origin, and every rose-tree was the growth of a dung-hill; he recognized no truth but in materialism, and no duty but in short or far seeing selfishness. It is almost a contradiction to speak of him as a free-

thinker, for he aimed to crush freedom both in politics and religion. The chief object of his ridicule, argument and hate, was "tyrannophobia," as he called it; to him all were mad who were afflicted with a dread of tyranny. His "Leviathan" bore a sword and a crosier, emblematic of the omnipotence of the governing power alike in Church and State. It was written during the Commonwealth period, while he was an exile with Charles Stuart at Paris, and confessedly because he hoped it would be the means of securing him a peaceful return to England; for its ductile philosophy was at the service of all absolutism, whether in a Protector or a King. It may be that the calamities of the civil war and the squabbles of a hydra-headed sectarianism had disgusted him with freedom, and led him to assert that truth and right consisted only in the will of the ruler. Then his doctrine of selfishness, and the idea that the state of nature is a state of enmity and war, on which his philosophy rested, would blind him to the bright side of Puritan patriotism and piety, and dictate a government for men modelled on those for wild beasts in menageries. His freethinking was practically a negation of religion. Ecclesiastical institutions were advisable, but only as engines of government, and it was treason publicly to deny the law as laid down either by the state magistrate or the state priest. Truth in itself there was none, and right in itself there was none; truth was the word of the ruler, and right was his will. His contempt for religion could not be more forcibly shewn than by his saying, "It is with the mysteries of religion as with wholesome pills for the sick, which swallowed whole have the virtue to cure, but chewed are for the most part cast up again without effect." Hobbes himself, in conformity with his doctrine of obedience to the state, took the sacrament and went to church in days when Milton's theology was too free to permit him to worship either with Prelatist, Presbyterian or Independent. His philosophy was fashionable at the court of Charles the Second, and bore appropriate fruit there; but the best statesmen and all religious thinkers protested against it as destructive of natural distinctions and civil and spiritual liberty. Archbishop Bramhall published the "Catching of Leviathan," and Alexander Ross, 'Leviathan drawn out with a Hook.' But Hobbes' own admirers put no bounds to their admiration, and in reference

to his birth on Good Friday were wont to say that on that day one Saviour left the world and another entered. Cowley's lines on Hobbes approach the verge of idolatry, and if the philosopher so impressed such a man of genius as Cowley was, notwithstanding his manifold fanciful conceits, we may judge with what blind worship the commonalty of disciples would regard him. Justice demands we should say that his life was free from stains of licentiousness and crime in a court where nearly everybody else was spotted. But it was equally free from sunshine, and had no trait that posterity can admire. He said he would at any time pull himself out of a pit with the aid of a helping leg from the devil, and in old age was willing to sacrifice all his friends for another day of life. As for his philosophy, it was the antipodes of truth; but its errors were so bewitchingly worded and argued, that it is no wonder many readers were charmed, and either put out the eyes of conscience or put on the coloured glasses of selfishness. Few people now will agree with Warburton that Hobbes was neither an enemy to religion in general, nor to Christianity in particular. The fact is, he was an enemy whose principles left him no liberty, had he felt inclined, to give quarter. Lucretius had grandeur in his Atheism, and Spinoza had piety in his Pantheism; the genius of the former is an answer to his negations, and the conclusions of the latter were only those of "a man intoxicated with God." But we never see the quaint picture of the allegorical Leviathan surveying the world with a sword in one hand and a crosier in the other, and looking down on church and castle, mitre and crown, incense and artillery, symbols of thought and weapons of war, the court of justice and the battle-field, without feeling that it is the apotheosis of force, the degradation of man, and the loss of God.

But Herbert and Hobbes did not determine the future course of theological thought. They initiated and illustrated boldness of speculation; but while in this respect their spirit often reappears, their special doctrines and methods were soon lost sight of. Herbert unfortunately wrote in Latin, and thus won the learned abroad at the expense of losing the people at home. On the other hand, Hobbes, who was an unsurpassed master of English speech, was also a slave by nature, and, cut off from sympathy with the

national genius, could find no disciples except in slaves like himself. The Revolution of 1688 and the accession of William of Orange introduced the triumph of liberalism in politics, and demanded it in religion. The intellect of the nation recovered from the extremes of preceding reigns. A class of writers grew up who discussed theology in the popular language, and made the multitude familiar with the subtle points of controversy. Freethinkers were too wise to follow the example of Lord Herbert and bury their speculations in a dead tongue; and the simple exercise of liberty opened a wide gulf between them and the main doctrines of Hobbes. All the circumstances of the time were in a conspiracy for progress. The multiplication of sects breeds quarrels, but also sharpens men's wits and disposes them to free inquiry. The very contest of rival Catholic and Protestant infallibility is a safeguard of individual liberty, for the necessity that must reject one may justify the rejection of both. When, in spite of the peril of damnation, men deny any authority professing to interpret in a saving fashion the reputed oracles of God, logic commands them to fall back on the light of private reason. The freethinkers felt and acted upon the conviction that the authority of prophets and apostles rested on the same foundation as that of the Pope repudiated by Protestants, and that of Luther, Calvin and the Anglican creed-makers, repudiated by Catholics. But though sectarianism cannot for a moment defend abstinence from suicide on any ground except absolute free thought, yet it seldom sees the goal of its own principles, and still more seldom follows them thither. The religious confusion during the civil wars and the Commonwealth, the political ecclesiasticism of Charles the Second's reign, and the attempted re-establishment of Romanism by James, illustrated the uncertain nature of even national creeds. Providence drove men out of the State churches and Dissenting chapels. But silently as the temple of Solomon, there arose more sacred sanctuaries, and after-history has revealed the troubling of the chaos as the brooding of a divine spirit. Under James the mysteries of religion were debated in coffee-houses as politics are now in clubs. Dryden's "*Religio Laici*" almost teaches a theology of common sense. His "*Hind and Panther*" is a splendid monument of conversion to Catholicism, and both poems bear witness to

the popular ferment. The former answers the latter, and the latter in turn overthrows that superficial Protestantism which praises freedom but dreads the consequences, and maintains true opinions essential to salvation without possessing an unerring judge of what true opinions are. Tindal changed his faith, after a coffee-house discussion, about the same time as Dryden ; but did not stop where the poet did. He soon saw reason to change again, and startled Protestants and Catholics with "Christianity as old as the Creation."

A powerful influence over the movement of thought was exercised by Leclerc and the continental Unitarians. Though the Unitarians were hampered by a deficient biblical theory, and in England especially sometimes used language which believers in plenary inspiration only echo, yet they were among the first to respect the moral sense, and to preach Christianity as a rational religion. They were traditional, their revelation was a miracle of the past, and their criticism was confined to educating the sense of Scripture. They certainly displayed remarkable ingenuity in introducing into Scripture, or discovering there, the doctrines of reason, and for the rest they were moderate and upright men. Orthodoxy, however, treated them as the Iscariots of theology who betrayed the Son of Man with a kiss. Locke did not openly number himself among them, but still his "Reasonableness of Christianity" is a type of their best works. It maintains that Jesus was the Messiah, taught excellent moral precepts, and brought immortality to light by his own resurrection. It asserts that Christianity consists in acknowledging this and living accordingly. Moderate as Locke's statements are, the book was bitterly opposed. Its assailants argued that Unitarians were next-door to units, and units to cyphers, and that Socinianism itself (as they always called it) was the most prolific cause of atheism. If the Unitarians had been bold, there was perhaps a time when they might have grasped the helm of the national vessel, and steered into a haven of safety. But they feared the multitudinous laughter of the ocean-waves, and took to yachting in land-bound waters. The Cassandras of the Church, they prophesy, but nobody believes ; and when the fulfilment comes, it brings them no credit. We mention them here as a drop

in the onward tide of events bearing the world to results always unexpected and often unwelcome. And we mention Locke in particular because really he was the theological representative of Unitarianism, and the philosophical representative of Freethinking, and in spite of himself identified with men from whose conclusions he stood aloof.

But Locke's book, though written in the hope of converting the Deists, took too much for granted, and possessed too many of the characteristic shortcomings of his philosophy, to meet with great success. He rather evaded than faced the difficulties of the Bible, and got rid of the dogmas of orthodoxy by saying little about them. Some time before it appeared, Charles Blount had published the "Oracles of Reason" in a series of "Letters to Mr. Hobbes and others," but his principles are nearer Herbert's. He gives seven fundamental truths of religion, which are the five of that nobleman differently worded.

John or, according to his baptismal name, Janus Junius Toland began his sceptical career early, and while a student at Oxford issued a pamphlet proving, to the consternation of the University, what few would now dispute, that "the History of the Tragical Death of Attilius Regulus, the Roman Consul, is a Fable." Toland's "Christianity not Mysterious" was the opening of the general war. It appeared the year after Locke's "Reasonableness of Christianity," and to a certain extent stands on the same ground as that book, but is more thoroughgoing and decidedly more logical. According to it, there is nothing in the gospel contrary to reason nor above it. He defines mystery as something intelligible in itself, but made known by revelation; and as Christianity is a revelation it is no longer mysterious. In support of this position he ransacks the Bible with rare industry and tolerable success. The Old Testament professes to teach a religion right and reasonable. In the New Testament, "mystery" sometimes means Christianity before it has been preached to people; when the apostles have explained doctrines, they call them "manifested mysteries," that is, mysteries which are so no longer; and finally, the word is put for anything veiled in parables, allegories or figures of speech. Whatever, then, is either unintelligible or contradictory in itself, or of which we can only have inadequate

ideas, he rejects. It may belong to the theology of the schools, but it is no part of his Christianity. It is easy to see how this reasoning would tell against the orthodox creeds, and, when logically carried out, land Toland in conclusions shocking even to his brother Socinians. But he frankly said, "I am neither of Paul, nor of Cephas, nor of Apollos, but of the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the author and finisher of my faith." The book is cleverly written, and its chief shortcomings are those inseparable from the Lockean metaphysics. It created abundant excitement, and involved greater men than the author in controversies and quarrels. It asserts Locke's doctrine of sensation and reflection as the origin of all our ideas, and judges religious theories from the standpoint of a rather narrow common sense. Among its numerous unfriendly critics was Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, in his "Vindication of the Trinity." This prelate attacked the "Essay on the Understanding" at the same time, seeing there the source of all the Socinian heresies. But he had better have been quiet. Unpractised in philosophical discussion, he was no match for Locke, who answered him in a homely, trenchant and ironically reverent style, and left the author of "Christianity not Mysterious" to answer for himself. The controversy, half metaphysical and half theological, lasted some time, but at length public opinion decreed the victory to Locke, and the vexation of conscious defeat shortened the days of Stillingfleet. The Grand Jury of Middlesex, without, according to Bishop Burnet, having read Toland, ordered him to be proceeded against; and when his book found its way into Ireland, the Irish Parliament sentenced it to be burnt, refusing to hear the author in its defence. Dr. South thanked the Archbishop of Dublin for giving the "Mahometan Christian" his deserts, and regretted that England had not yet condemned in a similar way Sherlock's "Doctrine of the Trinity." But Toland was not silenced either by the Grand Jury or the Parliament, and the burning of his book only added to its popularity. In an edition of the "Life and Works of Milton," when exposing the forgery of the "Icon Basilike," he illustrated his argument by an allusion to fictitious Gospels and Epistles. This led to a controversy in which Bayle, Dr. Samuel Clarke and others were mixed up. By this time the Socinians were growing shy of him,

and not even his pamphlet, "Socinianism truly Stated," succeeded in restoring him to favour. He claimed to have discovered in "Nazarenus" the original plan of Christianity, which he said provided for the preservation in the church of the distinction between Jews and Gentiles. The Jews were to observe the law and to acknowledge the Gentiles as brethren; the Gentiles were to be free from the law, but to acknowledge only one God; while both were to be made one in Christ by the sanctification of the spirit and the renovation of the inward man. A pamphlet called "Pantheisticon" was conceived in an inferior spirit. In a note to the "Dunciad" it is termed the "Atheist's Catechism," though the name is enough to free it from the charge of atheism. Its philosophy is that of the author of the "Dunciad" himself as proclaimed in the "Essay on Man:"

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body nature is, and God the soul."

It tells how the members of a philosophical society resolve to practice all the virtues, how as a sort of religious exercise they read passages out of Cicero and others, and sing verses suitable to their maxims out of the ancient poets. The worst part of the book was that it was printed in red and black, and meant apparently to be a satire on the Church Liturgy. A mere list of Toland's numerous works is out of the question. We have counted those mentioned by Des Maizeaux, and find as many as forty-five, some of them with titles as long as a moderately-sized preface. His life was an incessant controversy. He was engaged in all political and theological disputes, and was sure to have a volume or a pamphlet ready for every question. He seems at one time to have been a semi-ambassador. He was on intimate terms with the Electress Sophia of Hanover, with Prince Eugene, and Harley, Earl of Oxford. Locke, Leibnitz, Defoe, Clarke, Bayle, Stillingfleet, are a few of the names associated with his own in friendship or in quarrel. Notwithstanding his popularity and his royal and noble friends, he died at last in poverty; and the sketch of him is one of the saddest chapters in Disraeli's *Calamities of Authors*. A few days after his death "An Elegy on the late ingenious Mr. Toland" appeared. It was never known whether it was written in

ridicule or praise. It is extravagant enough in its laudations, saying :

“To thee we owe, to thy victorious hand,
A rescued people and a ransomed land.”

But as it further inquires, has

“Each jarring element gone angry home,
And Master Toland a *nonens* become ?”

we feel it was meant for satire, though these are the only suspicious lines in the whole. But then they are very suspicious.

It was, however, a pupil of Locke, with a better philosophy than his master, who in one work did more damage to the popular creeds than was done by the many and quaintly-titled publications of Toland. Dryden ridiculed the Shaftesbury of “Absalom and Achitophel” for his exertions to benefit “that two-legged thing, a son,” but would scarcely have spoken of the grandson in the same contemptuous way. The author of the “Characteristics” has not only a name in literature as a master of style, and one in theology as a freethinker, but through the “Moralists” and “Inquiry concerning Virtue,” he marks out an important epoch in the history of moral philosophy. His scepticism was the more dangerous because it lurked in writings of acknowledged merit—nay, even formed the very groundwork of a system which surpassed the theology of the time in its conceptions of duty and recognition of the divine in nature. He wrote no book on the age, authenticity or credibility of the Old Testament, and he never undertook either to criticise or expound Christianity ; but he always proceeded on principles at which conservative religionists shuddered, and displayed a free spirit which made them stigmatize him as an infidel. With an occasional apologetic expression about “sacred authors” and “Holy Scripture,” he practically treated the Bible as one book out of a multitude, and the biblical characters and writers as men amenable to the judgment of the common reason and conscience of mankind. Whatever speculative questions come to him he answers from the standpoint of humanity, and questions of history he determines by the then current rules of historical criticism. He discusses virtue and providence with the same freedom, and makes quotations from Herodotus

on equal terms with quotations from the books of Kings and Chronicles. He holds the opinion first broached by Plutarch, that it is better to believe there is no God, than that there is a God but He is wicked, for to the Deity the highest conceivable goodness necessarily belongs. We understand Him best when we practise virtue, and He is no more honoured by the praises of bad men or ignorant enthusiasts, than a musician is honoured when lauded to the skies by flatterers who neither know nor love music. He divides religious people into Theists, Polytheists, Demonists and Atheists, and evidently believes that popular theologians are Polytheists because they worship more ruling minds than one, or Demonists because they ascribe evil qualities to the ruling minds. The Theists, however, of whose doctrines his own writings are an eloquent exposition, believe that everything is governed for the best by one designing power, good in spite of the clouds which a finite eye cannot penetrate, and permanent in the midst of change. In maintaining that perfection belongs to the whole, he seems to leave no room for sin. According to him, pleasure and pain, good and ill, beauty and deformity, are like flowers in a carpet that look bad in the pattern, but mighty natural and well in the piece. At times we are inclined to think that he abandons a First Cause, loses God in nature, and makes men mere organs of the Infinite. But his Pantheism is poetry, or a temporary mood or form of speech, like that of St. Paul who said, "Out of Him (God), and through Him, and to Him, are all things," though the apostle doubtless argued against Athenian opponents who said the same thing in a more consistent way. The conclusion of the philosophical sermon of Theocles is Shaftesbury's real doctrine: "For divinity itself is surely beauteous, and of all beautys the brightest; though not a beauteous body, but that from whence the beauty of body is derived; not a beauteous plain, but that from whence the plain looks beautiful. The river's beauty, the sea's, the heaven's, and heavenly constellations, all flow from hence as from a source eternal and incorruptible. As beings partake of this, they are fair, and flourishing, and happy; as they are lost to this, they are deformed, perish'd and lost." His allusions to Scripture questions are scattered and incidental. He thinks the Hebrews manifested a servile dependence on the

Egyptians, calls Paul fair and generous because he was sceptical, speaks kindly of the Emperor Julian and omits calling him apostate, evidently puts little faith in Jonah, treats Abraham and Jephthah as "primitive warriors" who shared the superstitions of the time concerning human sacrifices, and says that a devil and hell, though exploded errors to philosophers, may be useful restraints over wretches who laugh at the jail and gallows. His position with respect to miracles will repay careful meditation. Untroubled by historical evidence, and not caring to criticise in detail the crowds of ancient and modern wonders and impossibilities, he regards them from the standpoint of his own lofty Theism, and in a world where all is divine sees neither room nor need for interpositions which prove the presence of God occasionally, yet imply His absence generally. "What," he asks, "though the sky should suddenly open, and all kinds of prodigys appear, voices be heard or characters read? What would this evince more than that there were *certain* powers could do all this? But *what* powers? whether one or more, whether superior or subaltern, mortal or immortal, wise or foolish, just or unjust, good or bad; this would still remain a mystery, as would the true intention, the infallibility or certainty of whatever these powers asserted. Their word could not be taken in their own case. They might silence men indeed, but not convince them, since power can never serve as proof for goodness, and goodness is the only pledge of truth." "This unhinging of nature destroys that admirable simplicity of order from whence the ONE infinite and perfect principle is known," and "we have before our eyes either the chaos and atoms of the Atheists or the magic and demons of the Polytheists. This tumultuous system of the universe teaches men to seek for Deity in *confusion*, and to discover Providence in an *irregular disjointed world*. By harmony, order and concord, we are made atheists; by irregularity and discord, we are convinced of Deity! The world is mere accident if it proceed in course; but an effect of wisdom if it runs mad!" Among the imperfections of Shaftesbury's character was his inability to appreciate "enthusiasm," and his consequent injustice towards the Crusaders, some French Protestants whom persecution had driven to England, and most people who displayed that earnestness for a special faith which he

thought twin to bigotry and only lacking opportunity to develop itself into tyranny. But with all his shortcomings as a philosopher and theologian, we accept him as an indispensable counterpoise to Hobbes and Locke. Whether we study him in his own prose poem of the "Moralists," or in the "Pleasures of the Imagination" of his disciple Aken-side, he has a multitude of graces that compensate for a few faults, and, though discordant in parts, is admirable in the whole. In one sense Shaftesbury was the literary preacher of natural morality and religion. Loving to dwell in the regions of lofty speculation, he seldom descended to the level of the people, and mixed little with the kindred spirits who worked towards the same end in a humbler sphere and with ruder weapons. He was more at home in metaphysics than in scripture, and would rather discuss the method of God's life in nature than the controversies which formed the stock-in-trade of ordinary heretics and divines. Thus he was a favourite of scholars and an inspiration to thinkers, but unstudied by the mass of Englishmen. However, the celebrated of one age are often the forgotten of another, while the genius who is too refined to win the worship of the crowd may be the centre of a select circle for generations. "The celebrated Toland," as Voltaire calls him, filled the newspapers with his exploits; his name was as well known as Queen Anne's, and his works had more purchasers than Milton's; but now he is doubly dead. Shaftesbury, his contemporary, made little noise in Toland's time, but he is living still.

The successive works which Anthony Collins published, brought the argument home to the church and the people. He was an intimate friend of Locke, and one of whose future that philosopher entertained great expectations. His "Discourse of Freethinking" is a common-sense exposition of principles which might well, as we know it did, fill the camp of the enemy with terror. Collins professes to suppose that nobody will deny the free use of reason any more than the free use of eyes. All societies are based on it. All conversation takes it for granted. All good springs out of it. Freethinking had already notoriously banished the devil from the United Provinces, and surely if the same means could bring about the same happy results in England, there would be cause for universal rejoicing. Perhaps it might

afterwards be necessary to reduce the number of the clergy when the common enemy was overcome, but they would be compensated by the consciousness of the deliverance of their fellow-creatures. Besides, why should any Protestants object to freethinking? It alone justifies their dissent from Catholicism. And when they established the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, they evidently believed it not only innocent, but desirable, to change an inherited religion for another and a better. The evils of superstition, the pretenders to revelation, the examples of Christ and the apostles, and even the theological quarrels of the clergy, compel men to think for themselves, otherwise how can they tell what to choose and what to refuse in the chaos of opinions and the conflict of creeds? Interested partizans accuse freethinkers of being infamous, but really "they have been the most understanding and virtuous people in all ages." In Greece, they included Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus and Plutarch. In Rome, Varro, Cato the Censor, Cicero, Cato of Utica, and Seneca, belonged to them. Among the Jews they reckoned Solomon and Josephus, while the prophets were some of their foremost representatives, being always in opposition to the priests. In Christendom, Origen, Minutius Felix, Synesius, "My Lord Bacon," Hobbes and Tillotson, were a few out of a multitude. No name is given without justifying quotations, and those from the Hebrew prophets are peculiarly forcible. But Collins was unfortunate with his classical authors. He was a scholar, but still inferior to men who had made Greek and Latin the study of a lifetime, and so he occasionally blundered in his translations. This brought down upon him Bentley, the "slashing Bentley" of Pope, who was the most noted of his many critics. Bentley professed to write from Leipsic, under the signature of "Phileleutherus Lipsiensis." He had heard of a society of freethinkers in England, and was animated by an ambition to join them. Preparatory to applying for admission into the honourable fraternity, he read the "Discourse," that he might know their principles more thoroughly. But here he discovered that they were "the most slavish, the most abject and base, that human nature is capable of." Then, using nearly as much of Latin and Greek as English, he proceeds to criticise, not the argument of Collins, but the quotations, and scarcely

passes one without condemnation as a false reading or a bad rendering. But a man may have truth on his side even if he does not carry classical literature and the ancient fathers in his head. The main position of Collins remains intact, and he profited by his critic's superior learning in subsequent editions. The "Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion," which followed the "Discourse of Free-thinking," excited perhaps as much controversy as any theological work ever published. Collins professed himself moved to write by Whiston's fanciful doctrine that the Jews had corrupted the text of the Old Testament in order to make the reasoning of the apostles on the Messiahship look inconclusive and ridiculous. This doctrine he denies. But for what purpose? Ostensibly in the interests of Christianity; really in the interests of scepticism. The apostles, he argues, undoubtedly built Christianity on the Old Testament. They cited the prophecies, and asserted their fulfilment in their Master. Now, if they were fulfilled, the popular faith is established; if not, it is a dream. Literally, however, not one was fulfilled. Any fulfilment, then, could only be in a typical or allegorical fashion, or in that general way in which we quote the poets, and find illustrations of old ideas in modern events. As many ancients interpreted Homer allegorically, as the Stoics allegorized the whole heathen mythology, as Philo and the Alexandrian Jews did the same with the Old Testament, and some Christian fathers with the New, so we must allegorize the Hebrew prophecies in relation to Jesus. Collins amplifies his argument with much learning and acuteness, and leaves no doubt of his intention to shew that the uncertainty of history makes dogmatic Christianity inexcusable. In three years, thirty-five replies and criticisms were published. Bishops, clergymen, Presbyterian ministers and laymen, furbished up their armour and entered the lists. Then he answered his answerers in the "Scheme of Literal Prophecy Considered." In this latter work he examines every text, and adduces weighty reasons for the assertion that no prophecy was literally accomplished in the Founder of Christianity. But at the same time he makes a point of invariably speaking of Christ in terms of genuine reverence. An elaborate section on Daniel is a good illustration of his critical powers. Starting from Porphyry's remark that the

book of Daniel is true up to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and false after it, he comes to conclusions most of which modern criticism accepts as established results of science. He says that the book was ascribed to Daniel, but not written by him. His chief reasons are, that Ezekiel implies that Daniel was an old man in that prophet's days, whereas he is a youth in the book itself. It has many derivations from the Greek, which language was then unknown to the Jews. The name is omitted among the prophets recited in Ecclesiasticus. The Chaldee portion is written in the style of a later time. The Jews were accustomed to compose books for fictitious authors. It was not admitted into the Septuagint translation, the present Greek version inserted there being Theodotion's, of the second century A.D. And from many peculiarities the author appears plainly to be a writer of things past. To the bitter personal attacks made upon him as an unsettler of the faith, Collins replies that the only means of attaining happiness here and hereafter is a sincere endeavour to know and obey the will of God, and that the free exercise of reason, accompanied by a virtuous life, is better than a paradise of fools. He was associated with Leibnitz in maintaining the doctrine of Necessity against Dr. Samuel Clarke, and his arguments settled the wavering mind of Priestley. Thus he determined the course of Unitarianism during half a century. The Arians opposed him, their descendants borrowed from him, and he exercised the most influence in a department where he possessed least truth.

Pope unfairly makes Dr. Matthew Tindal a hero of the "Dunciad." Tindal had been a Roman Catholic, and Pope could not forgive his desertion. He left Protestantism in James the Second's time, and for that alone is numbered by Macaulay with "infamous apostates." Hitherto, the freethinkers have had no satirical poets and no eloquent historians, so Tindal still endures the double injustice. But his "Christianity as old as the Creation, or the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature," is the work of a clear thinker and a sincere man. It was published a few years after Wollaston's "Religion of Nature Delineated," but is not hampered by that thoughtful author's overstrained metaphysics, and grapples with the questions which death forced Wollaston to leave unanswered. Tindal's position is

closely allied to Lord Herbert's—that supposed special revelations add no truth to the original revelation through the light of reason and the moral law. He called the combatants on both sides from their barren controversies on the Bible back to first principles, and asserted that the treasure, about whose presence or absence in the Hebrew writings they were disputing, was lying unclaimed at their own doors. The true religion, he argues, is perfect; it is neither capable of addition nor diminution, but is immutable as the Author himself. God wishes all men to come to the knowledge of His truth, and teaches them it; and Christianity, if it be of God, though the name is of late date, is yet as old as human nature, and the very law of our creation. God's service is reasonable, and of its parts reason is the sole judge, as the eye is of light and the ear of sound. The design of the gospel was not to add to the perfect law, but to free men from the load of superstition mixed up with it. Its first preacher, by living up to his sublime teachings, has set us a noble example. God, being infinitely happy in Himself, created us not for the sake of His own glory, which cannot be increased, but for our good. Sin is acting contrary to our nature, and our duty consists in copying the divine original, imitating Him in our extensive love for man, and thus growing like Him who is all perfection and all happiness. The better to enable us to serve Him, God has sown in our hearts seeds of pity, humanity and tenderness, and made well-being depend on virtue. So good is He, that even the penalties attached to His laws are for our advantage, and we are benefited by every natural punishment for breaking them. The justice by which God is righteous in all His actions, and the mercy by which He is beneficent, are inherent in the Divine Nature, and infinite and eternal as Himself. The effects of His justice never extend to annihilation; He chastises His children not out of spite or self-interest, but because He loves them, and cannot bear to see them remaining in the miserable state inseparable from sin and wickedness. He requires nothing for Himself, not even the worship we render Him, nor the faith we are to have in Him; and it is as true in divinity as it is in politics, that the good of the people is the supreme law. Mistaken men lay stress on beliefs, but Christ and the apostles taught love, which nature also teaches. Whatever

goes against this inward light has no divine authority, for external revelation cannot make *that* the will of God which is unworthy of Him. Arbitrary and merely positive precepts, neither conducing to the honour of God nor the good of man, are no parts of religion. The law of nature and the gospel are both summed up in loving God with a perfect love that casts out all fear, and all whom He has created as He himself loves them. Superstitions, and the many mischiefs that men have done to one another on account of religion, are the consequence of abandoning these primitive truths. People clothe God with their own human infirmities. They invent mediatory beings. They think He delights in pain, and so torment themselves. They imagine that the less mercy they shew to their bodies, the more He will shew to their souls. Sometimes they get the reputation of saints by acting the part of devils, so that their notions of God only tend to make them worse men. Salvation from such and all other evils must be sought in adherence to those laws which are God's nature, and, being immutable as Himself, are independent of priest-created creeds and ceremonies. Baptism, confession, anointing with oil, the laying on of hands, praying in a particular place, are things indifferent, in which God leaves us at liberty to act as we please. If religion consists in imitating the perfections of God, what perfection do these customs imitate? Surely none! They who, to magnify revelation, weaken the force of the religion of nature and reason, really strike at the root of all religion. For revelation itself, as an appeal to reason, must acknowledge it as judge; and if we grant that it may contradict what it thus appeals to, reason and revelation are both destroyed at once. Even if Scripture be our rule, it is only reason can make it so. For we can no more do without reason than one man can see with another man's eyes, or one ship be guided by the helm of another. Therefore Isaiah reasoned with the Jews, and Paul with the Gentiles, to make them remember things which their ancestors had lost or themselves forgotten. And now also the bulk of mankind must be able to distinguish between religion and superstition, whatever those may say who preach reliance on authority. Nor are we justified in saving ourselves by trusting to Scripture, and God sets no value on such a blind faith. Besides, we see that, after all, Abraham,

David, Solomon, Paul, Barnabas, and other biblical characters, were men of like passions with ourselves. Some Scripture writers exalted things indifferent, and some used a mystical and inconsistent language. Then sometimes things are commanded which our consciences tell us it would be wrong to do. Very often reason is departed from, and human parts and passions imputed to God. Even many New-Testament precepts are delivered hyperbolically, or else expressed in a loose, general and undetermined manner. The truth is, there is no safe course except distinguishing in all cases by the unclouded light of nature. So doing, we shall hold that the gospel does and can make no alterations in the relation between men and God. Even its own truth and beauty, which can scarcely be exaggerated, must be determined by how far it is a republication or restoration of the religion founded on the eternal fitness of things, and given by God to us all in the very constitution of humanity. In this abstract of Tindal's system, we have adhered pretty closely to his own words. He wrote the book in his old age, and at the close of a stormy but upright political life. Warburton abuses him as "a kind of bastard Socrates." We call him by the name which he himself preferred—"a Christian Deist." What we have already said sufficiently explains the Deist. He supplemented it with Christian on better grounds than many persons have whose claims to that title are undisputed.

Annet's "Life of David" has the faults, but few of the merits, of Paine's "Age of Reason." Dodwell's "Christianity not founded on Argument" is sufficiently described by its title. Woolston's suggestive theory of the miracles was spoiled by his own scurrilous arguments and rude wit. The numerous works of Thomas Chubb are almost as scriptural as those of a Puritan divine, whole pages being compilations of texts. He believed Jesus the foremost Son of God, and primitive Christianity, though misrepresented by Paul, the best religion. If living now, he would be an advanced Unitarian, or one of the broadest members of the Broad Church.

While the freethinking commoners were keeping up a constant tumult of battle, an English peer, an ex-Secretary of State, and perhaps the most brilliant man of his generation, remained silent, though he was more than suspected

of being the greatest heretic of all. In an age when all statesmen were corrupt, he was most corrupt. He was at the same time the presiding genius of the English Cabinet and the secret ally of France. Though he professed to ridicule the philosophy of Hobbes, no man's life afforded a more practical exemplification of it. He was false to his friends while alive, and maligned them when dead. As a statesman, he was a Tory, though his theories led to republicanism, and a champion of the High-church faction, though he rejected Christianity. But with his personal character, and the part he played in the councils of the nation in an age when "every man had his price," and ladies of the bed-chamber and royal mistresses were as powerful as prime ministers, we have little to do, except incidentally. His friends, Swift, Pope and Atterbury, are sometimes thought to have been freethinkers like himself, though Pope was nominally a Roman Catholic, Atterbury a bishop, and Swift wishing to be one. According to this theory, Pope's "Essay on Man" is Bolingbroke's philosophy put into verse. There can be no doubt that the central idea of the poem is Bolingbroke's, for his own letters to Swift, written before its publication, contain the outline. There seems fair evidence, too, of the existence formerly of a fuller sketch, where the argument, illustrations and whole scheme, are drawn out at tolerable length. Thus it is probable that when Pope calls St. John, "guide, philosopher and friend," the largest meaning of his words is nearest the truth. Objections at the time of publication to the "Essay on Man," were, that it left no room for miracles, and offered a complete system of things without Christ and the Bible. We scarcely suppose that Pope saw the full drift of the doctrines of which he was made the brilliant expounder. That knowledge came afterwards, when he was introduced to Warburton, whose inventive genius soon discovered an occult orthodoxy in passages of plain freethinking, and a dogmatic Christianity in Pantheistic hymns. After Bolingbroke's return from exile and forced exclusion from the scene of his ancient parliamentary triumphs, when not occupied as a political pamphleteer he was thinking and talking philosophy and theology. His opinions, though unpublished, were well known, and the world anxiously wondered what literary shape they would take at last. Finally they were published

posthumously. He left his manuscripts for this purpose to his friend David Mallet, at that time Under-Secretary of State, and himself a freethinker. Mallet, who had as little principle as Bolingbroke, was willing to sell his legacy to the political friends of the dead peer. These, however, would not pay the price needed to save the memory of their former chief from obloquy, and themselves as pious Churchmen from the shame of infidel leadership. Nor were the friends of religion inclined to buy off the attack. The editor had evidently a high opinion of the works bequeathed to him, and a spiteful joy in imagining the havoc they would create. On the forenoon of the day when they were announced to appear, he met an eminent Church dignitary in the streets, and, taking out his watch, said, "My Lord, it is now, I see, 11 o'clock; Christianity will tremble at a quarter to 12." This was true enough of the orthodoxy of the time, but now Bolingbroke's speculations are forgotten, and Christianity keeps its even pulse. These posthumous works are undoubtedly the finest productions of the author's genius. They display a wonderful range of reading, considering the active part which their writer took in the history of the time, abundant metaphysical ingenuity and quickness of perception, and a literary style unapproached by any of his contemporaries. The theology consists in a series of "Essays on Human Knowledge," and fragments of some unarranged essays, all in "Letters to Alexander Pope, Esq." A perusal of them reveals the inspiring philosophy of the "Essay on Man," and makes us feel the essential unfairness of those passages in the "Dunciad" where Pope hurls his satire against freethinkers who were certainly no more heterodox than his own almost adored correspondent. Bolingbroke was a Theist who feared to ascribe attributes to God. The constitution of the heavens and the earth proved power and wisdom for him, but scarcely justice and goodness. Still he was willing to say, Whatever is, is right. As might be expected from the doctrines of his disciple Pope, he had no sympathy with à-priori divines, and called it madness to talk of imitating God. He had a profound scorn for everybody who thought they could understand the Divine Nature or explain the ways of Providence. His definition of insanity would be enthusiasm and metaphysical theology; and to him Plato, Leibnitz, Dr. S. Clarke, St. Paul, and even "my

good friend the B. of C.," were neither more nor less than lunatics with temporary gleams of reason. He wishes to be the representative of enlightened common sense, and to draw men from the presumptuous fancies of theologians to the facts of nature and life. The Hebrew Jehovah was the local deity of a race who strolled into Egypt. Joshua was more cruel than Pizarro. Paul was a "cabbalistical commentator" who imported doctrines into Christianity different from those of Christ, and whose chief merit was that he recommended reason, though he seldom practised it. Christ, who never called himself God, did not teach a complete morality, and many duties omitted by him, and for which his system leaves no room, are laid down by Seneca, Epictetus and others. The proper name of Trinitarianism is Tritheism. They who pretend to explain the Trinity only perplex it the more, and what is unintelligible in Plato is no better in the Christian Fathers who sanctified this heathen lore. Even Cudworth, the best of modern divines who have treated on it, leaves you where he found you, and gives you a nonsensical paraphrase of nonsense. Locke is a great man, and so is Bacon. Locke, indeed, is so great that sometimes he succeeds in making Paul intelligible. As for mankind in general, as they differ from the splendid scapegrace Henry St. John Viscount Bolingbroke, they give way to superstition which is a folly, or enthusiasm which is a crime. Chrysostom's ninety homilies on Matthew and eighty-seven on John, only remind him of a Puritanical parson who preached one hundred and nineteen sermons on the 119th Psalm; and popular sermons are mainly like that of the Scotch Presbyterian who told his hearers that immorality had slain its thousands, but morality its tens of thousands. Occasionally, vague allusions regard the miracles of the Old and New Testament as historical; but the general philosophy excludes them, and the criticisms on the authorship, age and peculiarities of the Bible shew that, in his estimation, it is untrustworthy as a basis for such stupendous disturbances of nature as miracles would be. On the whole, Bolingbroke is not only the cleverest, but one of the most extreme of the English freethinkers. But his theological productions have the same curse as his life. There is plenty of intellect, but no heart; they are brilliant as polished marble and as cold. He writes about religion

like a man who has contemplated but never experienced it, or as the poets of his time, Pope pre-eminently, wrote about women, whom they studied, admired, flattered and cajoled, but neither trusted nor loved. Apart from his Deity being simply powerful and intelligent, and lacking justice and goodness, we miss in him that spirit of natural piety and repose in the Perfect Will which so charm us in Lord Herbert. His God is a Force who governs the universe on the same principles on which his votary would have governed England, and his immortality rests on a perhaps, but does not venture on a probability. In spite of his eloquent talk, religion was really no more with him than it was with Hobbes—an engine of government. In these very "Essays on Human Knowledge," he says, "I neither expect nor desire to see any public revision made of the present system of Christianity. I should fear an attempt to alter the established religion as much as they who have the most bigot attachment to it, and for reasons as good as theirs, though not entirely the same." This explains how he was able to be the representative politician of the Tories, and how in all his works there is no friendly notice of the freethinkers, whose theology was so near his own. But these men spoke publicly, and were all stanch partizans of the Whig interest. In Bolingbroke's later days he was visited by Voltaire, then rising into fame, and whose theological spirit was closely akin to his own. It is said that he gave some suggestions for the improvement of the "Henriade," which was as yet unpublished. It is a pity that Voltaire did not in return teach him political liberalism and theological honesty. It was quite in accordance with the selfish policy of his whole life that, though he was too cautious to assail the established religion while living, he should lay a train for its destruction as soon as he died. Boswell quotes with approbation a poem by that eminent defender of the faith, David Garrick, which, among other things, tells how,

"The same sad day to Church and State,
 So for our sins 'twas fixed by fate,
 A double stroke was given ;
 Black as the whirlwinds of the north,
 St. John's fell genius issued forth,
 And Pelham's fled to heaven ;"

and Dr. Johnson says, "Sir, he was a scoundrel and a

coward ; a scoundrel for charging a blunderbuss against religion and morality ; a coward because he had not the courage to fire it off himself, but left half-a-crown to a beggarly Scotchman to draw the trigger after his death." The philosophy of Bolingbroke was superior to that of Hobbes, but imperfect still, because it had no basis in the moral instincts ; yet Hobbes was better than his philosophy, and Bolingbroke was worse. The memory of some men's lives, as Milton's for instance, diffuses a fragrance over all their works, and we love them both for the authors' sakes and their own merits. With others, such as Bolingbroke, it is different. Their memory lies like a gloomy shadow athwart the pomp of rhetoric and the splendours of imagination. We do not believe in an Inquisitor-general preaching toleration, and Satan expatiating on the graces of piety. Among the heretics of the time, Bolingbroke is foremost in mastery of the subject, and scatters jewels in his dust-heaps with such a prodigal hand that the patience of searchers is always rewarded. But we had rather that his writings came to us anonymously. We suspect even Truth herself when she bears credentials from the Secretary of State for Queen Anne and the Pretender, the English minister and the betrayer of his country's interests to France, the offspring of republicans and the literary chief of the Tories, the zealous defender of the Established Church and the Coryphæus of the enemies who aimed at its downfall.

The vice which was want of honesty in Bolingbroke existed in the milder form of want of moral courage in most of his brother freethinkers. Shaftesbury repeatedly professes a belief in the mysteries of the popular Christianity in the very works which are antagonistic. He seldom also misses an opportunity of having a fling at those whom posterity cannot but regard as his partners in one enterprize. He had episcopal friendships, and was an hereditary legislator. The constitution in Church and State was imperfect, but it was suited to the times, and, in nations, movements must be slow to be safe. So we suppose he reasoned. There can be no doubt that, notwithstanding his protestations, he was an outsider. It is an open question whether we call his conduct dishonesty, policy or timidity. But, at any rate, his inconsistency was no worse than the Maurician subtlety which sees a pledge of liberty in Subscription to Articles, and an

expression of Fatherly love in the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed. Lord Herbert alone seems to have been thoroughly straightforward, with no mental reservations, and no ingenious scriptural arguments to prove unscriptural propositions. Hobbes is lavish in quotations, and, to judge from him, the Bible writers teach, Christ illustrates, and God governs the world, according to the doctrines of the "Leviathan." The freethinkers often arrayed texts in their defence as numerous as the clergy did in attack. We constantly feel, however, that they were insincere. They must have known that the apostles did not hold Collins' notion of an allegorical fulfilment of the prophecies, or Woolston's theory of the miracles as symbolic stories. Why, then, did they refuse to speak out plainly, and say, We do not believe? We may plead these extenuating circumstances on their behalf. They lived in bigoted times, when even the profession of Unitarianism was penal, and its advocates driven to print their books at imaginary places, with the significant names of Eleutheropolis, Irenopolis, or Freystadt. So for their own safety's sake, and, as they thought, the better chance of victory, the freethinkers fought under false colours. They created supposititious Rabbis, they invented argumentative Mahometans, they discovered unreal manuscripts, they feigned a reverence they did not feel, they turned round to embrace their pursuers and smote them under the fifth rib. All this was wrong, we grant. They understood too literally St. Paul's becoming all things to all men, and craftily catching enemies with guile. But freethinking deceit was begotten by orthodox bigotry. The clergy persecuted, and the heretics tried to avoid martyrdom. If, then, we throw stones, let us throw them impartially. Christianity itself was a moral and spiritual protest against Paganism, and naturally bred martyrs. For centuries its disciples could only escape persecution by abandoning their faith. It was an easy thing to offer incense or to join a procession, but then to do this was also to deny Christ. But freethinking is not a religion. As its name imports, it is mainly an intellectual protest. So if men lacked courage to begin with, their heresy would not bestow it. Ingenuity detected many loopholes by which they might evade the law and still be freethinkers. We blame the bigots who made the loopholes tempting, and we blame the men who used them unworthily.

Conventional religionists mourned over what they called the recklessness and irreverence of freethinkers, who seemed to mean licence when they cried liberty, and to undermine religion while pretending a righteous indignation against superstition. But what was to be done? The newly-roused theological intellect could only choose between daring expeditions in quest of truth and a wilful plunge into deeper darkness. Experience has shewn the wisdom of the choice which decided for the former. The errors of freemen are their schoolmasters; those of slaves are but the rivets of heavier chains. Both Churchmen and Dissenters looked shyly even on the moderate liberalism of Archbishop Tillotson, and insisted on damming up, till they burst out as a destructive deluge, the waters which, under his guidance, promised to flow like a Nile over the arid Egypt of orthodoxy. They would have the old, old creeds, and would not put away childish things when they became men. Athanasius was the only safeguard from atheism, and the throne of God was built on the eternal punishment of man. A glance at the incidental literature of the controversy on the orthodox side, reveals some strange spectacles. By turns we are indignant at the so-called schemes of Christianity, look with wonder at the puerility of the arguments, and with a smile at the incongruity between the gravity of the cause and the character of many of its champions. Think of Dean Swift, fresh from some correspondence with Stella or Vanessa, salving his conscience and drowning the memory of his victim's reproaches by stinging sarcasms, which possessed the treble merit of wounding a foe, serving the Church and helping himself to a bishopric! Think of Sir Richard Steele issuing from a debtor's prison, or cold-bandaging his head after a midnight orgie, to prove the Christian hero the only great man! Addison's "Essay on the Evidences of Christianity" is peculiarly free from sound reasoning and reliable statements. Collins was ridiculed for his shallow scholarship against Christianity, and Addison, writing in its defence, laid himself equally open. Macaulay says, "He assigns as grounds for his religious belief, stories as absurd as that of the Cock-Lane Ghost, and forgeries as rank as Ireland's Vortigern, puts faith in the lie about the thundering legion, is convinced that Tiberius moved the senate to admit Jesus among the gods, and pronounces the letter of

Agbarus, king of Edessa, to be a record of great authority." Young may be said to have written a controversial poem in his "Night Thoughts." Lorenzo represents the whole society of freethinkers. But the poet paints them worse than they are, in order that his own arguments may seem better than they are. Much of the really fine writing about God, the religious teachings of nature, and the dignity of man prophesying immortality, might have been spared. It is all true, and creditable both to the head and heart of the poet, but it is beside the question, and might be used just as well by Shaftesbury. The peculiar revelations of Christianity, according to Young, are the nothingness of this life, and the perdition which awaits the mistaken disciples of virtue in the next. But why need we care to live at all, if a soul immortal,

"Thrown into tumult, troubled or alarmed
At aught this scene can threaten or indulge,
Resembles ocean into tempest tossed
To waft a feather or to drown a fly"†

And who would not deem annihilation preferable to immortality, and take refuge from a diabolical theology in atheism, if the agonized eloquence of the damned soul in Young's "Last Day" is to meet with no pitying answer from the skies? Common sense cannot but sympathize to some extent with the female freethinkers whom the poet thus satirizes in his "Love of Fame:"

"Since Sundays have no balls, the well-dressed belle
Shines in the pew, but smiles to hear of hell,
And casts an eye of sweet disdain on all
Who listen less to Collins than St. Paul.
Dear Tillotson! be sure the best of men,
Nor thought he more than thought great Origen.
Though once upon a time he misbehaved,
Poor Satan! doubtless he'll at length be saved."

Some of the defences of orthodoxy to which we have alluded incidentally, such as Baxter's criticism of Lord Herbert and Bentley's fierce attack on Collins, were far surpassed by several others. But in philosophical grasp of the subject, and perception of the inner life of religion, none are satisfactory. They display more faith in history, and offer a dogmatic system of Christianity; but, on the whole, the

freethinkers are stronger than their opponents. Abundance of learning, exuberance of wit, or a great, though perverted, logical power, cannot atone for a cause labouring under an absence of natural reason and moral beauty. Dr. Lardner's "Credibility" is a monument of scholarship and candour. But if it does admirably what its author intended, still it does not do what was needed. The times demanded arguments addressed to the intellect and conscience, and proof was asked of the harmony of Christianity with human instincts and the order of nature. Does not Lardner lose sight of the citadel in the vastness of outer walls? After all, his great work is beside the real question at issue. Granting everything he asks for, the deepest problems still remain unsolved. These do not belong to ecclesiastical history. They are unaffected by the authenticity of the Gospels and the reality of miracles. The relation of God to nature, the moral difficulties of any doctrine of Providence, the varieties of national character and individual fortune, and the inscrutable mysteries of eternity—these are Sphinx riddles which God alone can help us to solve, and labyrinths through which God alone can guide us.

But if Lardner be unsatisfactory, Warburton is more so. Lardner is indisputably a fair and open-minded man, and his religious character is unblemished. Every page he wrote impresses us as the work of an honest seeker after truth, who does not shut his eyes when he expects to see unwelcome sights. Not so, however, with Warburton. It does not tell well for him that one who had

"Drunk with drunkards, lived with sinners,
Herded with infidels for dinners,
Caught their humour, aped their plan,
And laughed at God to laugh with man,"

should afterwards become the most paradoxical defender, not only of Christianity, but of Mosaism. What can be more self-refuting than his argument in the "Divine Legation of Moses"? A belief in a future state of rewards and punishments is necessary to the preservation of society. Therefore the ancient philosophers taught such a state to the people, yet had no faith in it themselves. Solitary among the legislators of the old world, Moses kept silent on this all-important point, yet Judaism lived. How? It

must throughout its long life have been supernaturally protected, and the mission of Moses must have been peculiarly divine. The theory bears the stamp of sophistry on its face. It cannot get over the two-sided objection that if Moses did not believe in immortality, his religion was inferior; and that if he believed in it, but did not teach it, he himself was worthless. Never was learning so wasted as Warburton's. Never did conceit delude a man into a more indefensible position than his. The book convinced nobody, and is now merely a curiosity of literature. It raised more difficulties than it explained, and justified Churchill's satire, from which we have before quoted, that

"To prove himself a man of note
He in defence of Scripture wrote;
So long he wrote, and *long* about it,
That ev'n believers 'gan to doubt it."

Bishop Butler's "Analogy of Religion" is a work of a far higher order of mind, but so well known that we need not characterize it. It is enough to say that, though Nature has her difficulties, they are not like those of the popular theology. Her varied gifts, which entail temporary disadvantages on the less fortunate, are different from a special revelation that entails eternal damnation on the ignorant and unconvinced. The sufferings that her laws bring on the innocent through the sins of the guilty, do not free the guilty, and are not vicarious in character. And, above all, we may triumph over the difficulties of nature by the faith that the Divine Wisdom will satisfy our doubts hereafter, and win from our souls the response, All was well, even what we deemed evil; all was sunshine, though we were blind. But Butler's revelation confirms the difficulties it should explain, and multiplies them. We turn to it for comfort, but it is dark and pitiless. It makes the anomalies of a day the facts of eternity. Our anxiety becomes despair, and a passing shadow perpetual darkness.

In many respects, the Broad Churchmen of this age correspond to the Liberal Churchmen of Tillotson's time. Like him, they have no room in their theology either for the Athanasian Creed or eternal punishments. But in biblical criticism they go farther than he ventured. Tindal would scarcely object to Jowett's interpretation of St. Paul, or

Bolingbroke to Colenso's books on the Pentateuch. In many respects also the Unitarians of to-day, who are historically descended from the Presbyterians who opposed the freethinkers, are nearer to the freethinkers than to their own ancestors. They practise all the freedom and adopt many of the conclusions of the freethinkers; the chief differences are, that they have sounder canons of criticism and a healthier spiritual philosophy. Still the liberal phases of modern theology are not born directly of the movement in the last century. Heresy in England, after Hume and Gibbon, gradually sunk into lower strata of society and a less educated class of men. It found spokesmen in Paine and Carline; it associated itself with the materialistic atheism of D'Holbach and the social schemes of Robert Owen. At present the lineal representatives of the old English freethinkers are the secularists, some indifferent and some mere negationists, but all without original speculation, and mostly destitute of influence. But while in England the spirit of freedom dwindled, and abandoned the halls of aristocracy and learning for the haunts of the populace and the platforms of demagogues, it found that congenial home in France and Germany which was denied by the land of its birth. Voltaire began with his first tragedy, "*Œdipe*," in 1718, a war against the priesthood that lasted till his death. But France at that time gave a cold welcome to the genius of her young iconoclast. Only English public opinion could repeat with any sympathy the lines,

"Nos prêtres ne sont pas ce qu'un vain peuple pense,
Notre crédulité fait tout leur science."

In 1723, their author came here and found that our insular courage treated modern faiths as boldly as he treated Paganism. He grew intimate with Bolingbroke, who may be pictured as a veteran knight training his squire to the use of arms, or an aged professor initiating an ambitious pupil into the mysteries of the schools, meanwhile illustrating how a sarcasm may sometimes cut deeper than a sword, and ridicule scatter the foes who are too strong for his arguments. There can be no doubt that Voltaire's three years' residence in this country, just in the dawn of his own powers, and when Collins, Tindal and the freethinkers were among our literary magnates, ripened his raw speculations,

and fixed for life his theological career. Bayle's "Dictionary" represented mainly philosophical scepticism, and among the five principal errors for which the Consistory of Rotterdam condemned it, only one is biblical—"the tendency of the whole article on David." But Voltaire carried Bayle's scepticism into every department of thought; he explored ecclesiastical history, incessantly repeating Montaigne's question, "What do we know?" with malicious pleasure incessantly answering, "Nothing." Whether for good or for evil, this brilliant Frenchman was the means by which our freethinkers crossed the Channel, and governed the opinions of men to whom they remained unknown. But if the worst side of their nature was exaggerated in France, the better side grew into grand proportions in Germany. Bolingbroke, Toland, Collins and others, were imported, and either translated in full or sown broadcast in striking extracts. The Teutonic spirit moves slowly, but surely; and though making less noise, gets over more ground than its lively French neighbour. It rapidly assimilated the results of English inquiry, but was not content to rest in them. They awoke its long sleeping powers, and in a few years the pupil distanced the teacher. A rare metaphysical genius, wider learning, and, above all, better methods, enabled it to master problems which had no existence for its more superficial inspirer, and to conquer conclusions which time has woven into a harmonious system. The halting rationalism of Semler was outgrown, and a new era inaugurated, by the publications of Lessing. This great man risked his well-won reputation in literature and art for the sake of free speech in theology. His edition of the so-called "Wolfenbüttel Fragments," accompanied by introductions and comments from himself, dealt frankly with the difficulties both of the Old Testament and the New, while his pregnant little book on the "Education of the Human Race" married philosophy to religion, and the processes of revelation to the course of history. The work of critical investigation and reconstruction begun by Lessing towards the end of his days, was carried on after him by younger aspirants whose numbers were constantly recruited, and whose equipments were better because they were more specially theological. The severer rationalism of Paulus, on whom the mantle of Semler fell; the liberal and profound, yet sometimes mystical, spiritualism

of Schleiermacher ; the Hegelian logic and mythical theories of Strauss ; the attempted mediation between authority and reason of Neander ; and the startling propositions of Baur,—are now well-known facts, and the influence exercised by them and their followers and borrowers is patent to all. They may have shortcomings here and extravagances there, but they are healthy on the whole ; and if among them are many banes, there are also as many antidotes. One way or another, to them it is owing that even German orthodoxy has a heterodox sound to Anglicans and Dissenters. But when we contemplate the tree, mighty in trunk and luxuriant in foliage, from whose summits high-soaring speculators may survey the horizon of thought, and beneath whose shade common men may shelter, it is worth while to remember that at the root lies the acorn of the English freethinkers. Coleridge imported the philosophy of Germany into our national theology, and so far enriched it, but stood aloof from the criticism which would have enriched it still more. Broad-church divines have, however, recently imported the criticism ; and the Privy Council, by asserting its legality, has promised a bright future to the Establishment, if it is brave enough to be honest, or honest enough to be brave. The Unitarians, pursuing an independent course, have welcomed the returning exile in a heartier fashion. In the philosophy of religion, Schleiermacher represents them better than Priestley ; and in criticism, with not a few points of difference, many regard De Wette and Ewald, and even Strauss and Baur, as greater authorities than Lardner and Belsham. For our own part, making allowance for one-sided metaphysics, imperfect scholarship, an occasional irreverence in tone, and frequent rash conclusions, we hold that, taking them all in all, the English freethinkers deserve to be reckoned among the worthies of history and the fathers of modern thought.

II.—THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN.

Das Johanneische Evangelium nach seiner Eigenthümlichkeit geschildert und erklärt (The Gospel of St. John : its Characteristic Features described and explained). Von Chr. Ernst Luthardt. Nürnberg. 1852-53.

Die Johanneischen Schriften übersetzt und erklärt (The Johannine Writings translated and explained). Von Heinrich Ewald. Göttingen. 1861.

THERE is, we think, no book in the New Testament which more engages the affections than the Gospel of St. John. It does not instruct our moral faculty and give us rules of conduct, like the Sermon on the Mount and the Epistle of James ; it does not agitate our souls with a tumult of mingled despair and aspiration, and stimulate our energies to the verge of enthusiasm, like the kindling eloquence of Paul ; it does not surround us with gorgeous imagery, and carry us aloft on the strong wings of poetic daring, appealing at once to our wonder, our imagination and our fears, like the Apocalypse ; but, more than any of these, it takes the heart captive, and melts it into tenderness with its soft tones of melody. It is pervaded by a spirit of love which constitutes its innermost fibre, and runs through every successive scene to the close. Proceeding from the deepest and widest sympathy with humanity, it makes but a sparing use of terror, and rather wins the mind by the natural attractions of virtue and truth. It pictures in dark colours the wickedness of the world and its enmity to God, but it trusts the inborn goodness of human nature, and makes sin hateful rather than fearful. There is in it no trace of the ascetic spirit which lingers in the earlier Gospels, and if it shews a deep feeling of the sorrows of life, and speaks sternly of man's guilt, it wants not the joyousness which attends all earnestness of faith and of action ; and thus, while it draws forth our tears at the tomb of Lazarus, it introduces us to the marriage-feast, and shews us Christ himself presiding and even supplying the means of innocent happiness. One pre-eminent characteristic, however, is that calm dignity, that perfect peace, which springs from confidence in God, from the power of seeing the end from the beginning, and an undoubting trust in the ultimate triumph of good. There

is in this book an unruffled serenity, a soft diffused beauty, which soothe and charm the soul. The Gospel of St. John flows like some majestic river whose waters are rolled so gently that not a ripple disturbs the surface, while the glory and the calmness of the infinite heavens are mirrored in its depths.

But this power over the heart, although it is the most obvious merit of the work, is not the only one. There is also a depth of philosophic insight and a grasp of thought which are truly astonishing, and which at once give the impress of originality. The form in which the thought is conveyed is, indeed, borrowed from the time; but the poetic insight itself, the moulding of old thoughts into new shapes to meet the requirements of an altered age, that divine, poetic fire which fuses down materials already worn with usage, and gives them back to the world so transformed and re-modelled that they come before the mind like new creations fresh from the heart of nature, stamp the writer with the mark of genius, and claim for him a share in that immortal fire which hung on Plato's lips and glowed on Shakespeare's pen. The perception of a real unity underlying all apparent differences, of a relationship, a community of nature, which men have with one another, which they have with the lower animals, which they have with inanimate things, and which all things have with God—the conviction that God is the One Life in and through all things alike, the primal, self-sufficient and all-perfect Being, has always possessed the highest intellects of our race, is eminently characteristic of the poetic mind, as well as of the higher forms of religious thought; and as the imagination almost invariably forecasts and anticipates the generalizations afterwards built upon facts, so it may be expected that it will eventually be scientifically justified. This great truth, we conceive, was strongly present to the mind of the evangelist. He regarded the world as the manifestation of the One in the many, but felt that the circle must be completed by the return of the many to the One. This One, however, according to the philosophy of the time, which had so far influenced Christianity as to forbid any unmediated connection between God and the world, was not the Absolute Himself, but rather a form which the Absolute took in passing out from Himself into the manifold, and was called the Logos. The

principle of Light and Life, therefore, from which all things proceed, and whose living energy glows in the stars and smiles in the earth, but chiefly manifests itself in the love and the deeds of good men, was the Word of God, "the only begotten Son of the Father," by whom the worlds were created, who spoke through the prophets, and was at last made flesh in Jesus Christ, and became the Inspirer, the Guide, the Ruler of the Church for ever. But in this breaking up of the primal unity, and in this struggle and effort of all things to return to God, it was impossible but that evil should be generated; and the earliest forms of Christian doctrine, aided by the Persian dualism which, having long before influenced Hebrew theology, was widely diffused during the first and second centuries in the various systems of Gnosticism, no less than the actual presence of that great problem of Evil which in every age presses upon the thoughtful and perplexes the good, had determined the broad distinction between Christ and Satan, Light and Darkness, God and the World, which is found both in the writings of St. Paul and in the fourth Gospel. In the preface to the Gospel, accordingly, which has rightly been regarded as embracing the aim and substance of the whole, we find an indication of that great contest which was carried on by Jesus with the unbelieving Jews, and which would continue through future ages between the glorified Christ living in his Church and the outlying world of sin. The light shineth in the darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not. And this contest may properly be said to be the subject of the Gospel. The Word is made flesh in Jesus, and in a human form and through human lips he reveals his grace and truth. He opposes himself to the power of darkness, and in seeming defeat gains the noblest victory. He gathers to himself his own, and makes them one with God. Even on earth he is in the bosom of the Father, and thither he returns at last. He goes calmly upon his course, regardless of hostility, unmoved by violence, reaching the very acmé of peace and triumphant joy at the moment when hostility and violence are most exasperated, until at length he conquers all the wrong and falsehood of the world, though supported by an apparently irresistible array of earthly force, most victorious when seeming to be most helpless.

There is to us something very striking in the manner in

which the evangelist has represented the progress of the opposing principles of Good and Evil, and shewn how the former becomes calmer, more confident and more majestic, as the latter increases in intensity. It is just when the fury of his enemies is hottest, when all the powers of the world are arrayed against him, when death in a terrible form is at hand, that the character of Christ reaches the sublimest elevation, and that he shews the most undoubting confidence in the triumph of his cause. The counsels of high-priests and Pharisees, the judgment of the Roman governor, the fury of the insensate mob, even the cross itself, were but partial and temporary evils, and served to illustrate and glorify the Truth. It is for this reason that in these last scenes, pre-eminently, there is an unsurpassed beauty and power. We seem to hear at a distance the noise of a crowd and the rattling of arms ; but we regard it not, and around us there is only harmony and quiet. We enter into the triumph of the Saviour, and feel that he has "overcome the world." In reading these sublime passages, we remember that Truth prevailed, and that the Light conquered the Darkness ; and that peace which Jesus bequeathed to his followers enters our souls. The marks of strife and conflict are, indeed, near at hand, but they serve only as a record of what is past, and render more conspicuous by their presence the triumph of Order, of Peace and of Love.

It was, accordingly, as embodied in Jesus—the Word made flesh—and in the Church which holds the most intimate relations with his life, that the true unity of all things presented itself to the mind of the evangelist. The Word was the central light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. He was the true vine to which as branches all believers were joined in a living connection, the same spirit permeating all hearts, as the sap flows from the stem to every leaf of the tree. He was one with the Father ; and all believers, as they are one with Christ, are declared in the same way to be one with each other and with God. In the great body of believers, therefore, the life of God was manifested, and would continue to be manifested through all ages ; here the unity of creation and of God with man asserted itself and became actual ; here it was no longer an idea, but had passed into reality and become visible and palpable ; here order and peace had prevailed while the

world without was still alien from God, lying in darkness and sin. And as Jesus had made division between his friends and his enemies, and had given power to as many as received him to become the sons of God, so would the Church through future ages attract to itself the elements of holiness and goodness, and so would the divine Word, in whom was the true life, carry on the contest with Evil until Satan should be finally overthrown, and all made perfect in one.

We have spoken of the Gospel of St. John as a work of genius, and before entering into any detailed criticism we desire to say a word or two to justify this expression. By genius we understand that penetrative power which looks not *at* things, but *into* them; that faculty divine which detects their inner relations and discovers their hidden harmonies. With the eye we see outward objects, and with the understanding we grasp their size, form and circumstance. But Genius has a glimpse into that infinite deep in which all things repose; and as the soul ever preserves its relationship with the primal life whence it flowed, the work of genius dips more deeply into that vast profound, teaches the soul to know its true relations, and affords openings through which the eye of the mind may look into scenes that have no end. For this reason it is alike imperishable and inexhaustible. The mind is soon sated with places and times, and entreats a change; but of that which belongs not to place or time, of the invisible and eternal, it never wearies, but finds in it a home and an abiding habitation. The soul knows that which is akin to it, and does not suffer it to be lost. It is attracted by the clearer and more certain glow of that which in itself is but a faint and broken light; and, when wearied with the mockeries of the outward world, it seeks the calm beauties of the Eternal, and rests on the bosom of God. A work of genius, whether a poem, a painting or a piece of music, whether making use of words or colours or sounds to convey the impression, is like a scene in Nature, and leaves that sense of the mysterious, and awakens those unsatisfied longings, which Nature excites in the reverent spectator. For as Nature reveals herself to the inner eye as flowing from the infinite Beauty, and clothed in colours not her own, so does every work of the creative mind possess secret relations

with the Eternal, through which it becomes the property of endless time, and claims from every succeeding generation the homage due to that which is above time and all finite conditions. This truth, let it be observed, has nothing to do with the subject of the work. That may be as simple as you please. For, as Nature can take a few commonplace rocks, some trees and a little water—only you must grant her first the infinite sky above, and the all-diffused, all-beautifying light—and throw them into forms which enchant the eye; so will the Poet take up the commonest incidents, or perhaps what in other hands would seem extravagant and absurd, and by such means will move our heart, and touch our pity to the quick, and break up the fountains of our tears. He possesses already the ground on which to work in that sameness which runs through all humanity. He has here the key to the human heart, and can unlock its secrets.

It is, then, as thus carrying us away from temporal and earthly relations to the Infinite and the Eternal, that the Gospel of St. John may claim to be regarded as a work of genius. We do not mean that it effects this by any didactic process, for that the commonest prosier might do. But it is, as it were, a glass in which heaven's realities image themselves, and by means of which we are brought into the nearer presence of God. We feel that there is in it a hidden beauty which we cannot wholly fathom, a deeper meaning than we have ever yet been able to grasp. And new meanings and new beauties take us still by surprise, but leave us still unsatisfied. And we ever feel there is something yet which has not been exhausted and which is inexhaustible. But if any one shall still object to the application of the word genius to a book of Scripture, let him only consider that religious genius is Inspiration; and with this understanding, we, on our part, are willing to affirm, not only that the fourth Gospel is inspired, but that it is, perhaps, the *most inspired* book in the Bible.

The Gospel of St. John, we must think, occupies a higher religious ground than any other portion of the Christian Scriptures. For, setting forth the Divine Life in the most noble and elevated manner, it also brings it more truly home to the heart, and permits us to grasp it more strongly and enter into it more deeply. Now Christianity, considered

on its practical side, is doubtless the pursuit of the Divine Life—the attempt to realize the ideal in the actual. But it is in John alone that we see this ideal fully realized, because it is he alone who sets forth the Divine Life as not only entering into humanity, but as completely victorious over its weakness and sin. The earlier Gospels present us, indeed, with a noble pattern of human life, and contain the most excellent precepts of conduct; but, without wishing to draw any contrast between these and the fourth Gospel, or in any way to undervalue them, it cannot be denied that they occupy a place, so to speak, more outside the spiritual nature; that they do not take the same hold upon the affections, nor inspire the same ardour. To what purpose, it may be asked, is the best model, unless there is the power to copy it, or the most perfect precepts, unless there is the will to obey them? We are yet under a law, more perfect, indeed, than that of the stone tables; but cold, so long as the Spirit has not descended, and we are without the fire of Love. Again, in Paul we see another phase—Aspiration. Here a living faith has kindled the heart, and the Christian life is manifested in striving after unity with Christ. The awful presence of the Ideal seems now to overshadow humanity and to invite and stimulate its utmost efforts. But here sin is close at hand, and still clogs and fetters the movements of the spirit. Here there is perpetual strife and never-ending opposition of different principles. Nor is the contest an outward one, but inward; rending, as it were, the very heart. There is here no peace, no complete attainment. Paul's, then, we regard as the Religion of Aspiration. But, in John, it seems as though that which is perfect had come. The strife is past, the victory gained. Complete unity with God, which is the end of Christian effort, is now attained, and that holy peace which follows true virtue reigns supreme.

In proceeding to speak of the language of the Gospel, a subject which has been treated in the most satisfactory way by Luthardt, and on which we propose to dwell at some length, it might seem fitting, in the first place, to say something of the writer himself, whose pen has given us this immortal work. But into the details of the controversy as to the authorship of the Gospel we do not intend to enter, and the little we shall say about it we reserve till the close.

To a right appreciation of the book itself we conceive that a decision of the question, is not necessary, especially as those who contend for its apostolic origin do not deny the subjective colouring shed over the contents of the history. Of the author, however, this much may be said, that if he was the apostle John, little is known of him, and that little chiefly through the uncertain light of tradition; if he was not, nothing is known of him, except so far as his character is reflected in his work. Nor, indeed, is it necessary that he should be known. The poet needs no biographer, for it is his essential virtue that he lives not in the world but in his work; and of his work it is the chief and paramount excellence that it does not embody any characteristics that can be considered strictly personal. This may seem a paradox, and yet it is true, because so far as the poet permits any particulars of person, time or place, to affect the universality of his aims, he comes down from his high estate and is reduced to a level with ordinary mortals. The few traits, however, that have been preserved of the apostle John, certainly agree well with the spirit and complexion of the Gospel. The youthful "son of thunder" might have been the disciple whom Jesus loved, and, if so, beneath the fiery temper which gained him the name, there must have been a depth of tenderness which gradually claimed the sole possession of his nature, and converted him, in his old age, into the apostle of love. Such a union of strength and gentleness we find in the Gospel itself, and may not unreasonably presume in its author. Nor can we be wrong in asserting—for this would seem to follow from the most obvious features of the work—that, whoever the author may have been, he must have been subservient to no partial interests, must have been completely emancipated from the Hebrew partialism which still adhered to the earliest forms of Christianity, and must have grasped the Christian spirit in all its grandest and most comprehensive relations, as that which should at length triumph completely over ignorance, error and crime. Nor, again, could such a Gospel have flowed save from a heart which possessed the most complete sympathy with humanity, which recognized the movements of one spirit through every human being, and felt that that Divine Word revealed in Jesus could raise the lowest, and sanctify the meanest, and bring all together into a perfect

unity in God. Such a sympathy might have been learned on the breast of Jesus, or, if not, the evangelist might well describe himself as leaning on the bosom of Christ, just as Christ is in the bosom of the Father. And from such an inner apprehension of the character of Christ, and from having penetrated into the innermost essence of Christianity as it had now begun to develop itself in the world, he was able to delineate that Life, which formed its centre, in all its spiritual beauty and attractiveness.

It is only in such general terms that we need even wish to speak of him whom the great inspiration of Christianity seized and agitated, and through whose trembling lips it forced its way, sometimes, you would almost say, in stammering accents, so great was the strain and stress of the Divine impulse, but now bursting into the full-toned melody of a spontaneous and joyous utterance. There is in the language a simplicity which belongs only to the highest mental efforts, and which utters the sublimest truths without labour as without affectation. There is no striving after effect, and the effects produced are on this account all the more striking. Repetitions are not avoided, but are freely used if required to bring out with fuller and rounder force the truth intended. There is no rapidity of movement; the argumentative style, so predominant in the writings of Paul, is altogether absent; all flows calmly and peacefully. Thus the style itself is adapted to, and materially aids, that repose of spirit which belongs to the substance of the work. We will not say that the composition throughout is perfect, if judged by strict rules of art; the style is sometimes broken, as if impeded by an insufficiency of words; but again a few words, so simple that we are surprised at the effect, are made to utter some majestic truth. Long flights are never attempted, but as it were at one bound the sublimest heights are attained, and we are breathing the air of the skies before we are well aware that we have left the earth. From a professed work of art we might perhaps demand more perfectness of expression; for in such cases, where the thought flows not freely and with native ease of utterance, it must be made to seem as though it did, and the mind must be applied to it again and again until it is moulded into perfect beauty, and the outward form corresponds exactly with the hidden meaning: but

in a religious work it is not unfitting that the expression should be visibly subordinate to the thought, and here we are content to sacrifice something of artistic perfection to naturalness and strength of feeling.

It may perhaps be interesting to enter, with somewhat more detail, into an examination of the style of St. John's Gospel; and to most readers, we venture to suppose, the subject will at least have the attraction of novelty. In what follows upon this head we thankfully acknowledge our debt to Luthardt.

Every one must have remarked the frequency with which the same words recur, and especially such words as denote abstract ideas. How often the words, "light," "life," "the world," "faith," "truth," and such like, are repeated, we need not more precisely indicate, for our reader might not care to learn. All this, however, our critic has been at the pains to find out and faithfully set down, and to him we will refer those who are desirous of more exact information. Nor, let us say in passing, ought such labours to be despised, since, although an excessive attention to the letter may sometimes draw away the mind from that which lies beneath the letter, yet may it not unfrequently be fraught with important consequences, and will at all events re-act by discovering new wealth of meaning, and opening new fields of reflection. We remark here, then, only the fact of the recurrence of the same words—a recurrence which sometimes happens over a very short space, as with the word *cosmos* (the world) in chapter xvii. Nor is it by any means in vain that such repetitions take place, as though no new thought accompanied the return of the familiar expression. The same meaning is indeed retained through every change of relation, but each time of its appearance the idea is presented in a somewhat different light; and words of very wide significance, as "life" or "glory," are carried forward through a series of phases, until every possible aspect has been shewn, and the mind having surveyed each part is enabled to grasp the whole. Thus the simple statement, "in him was life," is the utterance of a truth which is afterwards unfolded and illustrated at length, so that the mind, after having seen this idea evolved in all the fulness of its meaning by the whole scope and tenor of the history of Christ, as well as by the particular instances which more specially elucidate it, can at last return to its

first introduction, and then only comprehend the before unfathomed significance of the prologue. Thus we can already admit the justness of Luthardt's remark, that in John "the whole is contained in the part, in the first the last, and in the beginning the development and issue of all." And this fact may account for a charge sometimes brought against St. John's style, of obscurity in the ideas combined with seeming clearness in the expression, while at the same time it supplies the means of refuting it. The thought is indeed broad, but not therefore obscure. It extends over a vast field, and any seeming darkness is occasioned by the distance of the horizon. The thought is high, and on such airy eminences the mind may be dazzled by the unwonted elevation. The reader's mind is certainly not constrained as it would be by a logical discourse, nor limited in its range, nor carried on in a narrow channel which forbids it to wander or to soar. The writer seeks still to keep before him the vast whole, to run up all things into the highest unity, and among all the particulars with which he deals, has constantly in sight that great conflict between Good and Evil, or God and Satan. Hence it is that the evangelist is so frequent in his use of abstract terms, using them, not like the later Greek and Roman writers, for the concrete, or where a concrete term would have served the purpose better, but as most clearly indicating that great background on which the scenes of his history were painted.

What has been said of the recurrence of single words is no less true of particular phrases. Examples of this will easily suggest themselves, and it is unnecessary to point them out. It may seem more curious than important that the words *μετὰ τοῦτο* (after this), which are the usual form in the first portion of the Gospel for passing from one event to another, disappear after vii. 1, until towards the close, when they occur again in xix. 28, 38.* Yet it is worthy of note that in the interval the place of the missing words, where *δέ* (and, or, now) is not sufficient, is supplied by *οὖν* (therefore), a word which seems to imply an inner necessity connecting one event with another. This repetition of the same or similar phrases and turns of expression, Luthardt thinks was designed to draw attention to the fact already noticed, that the whole development together with the final

* This phrase, however is also used in chap. xi. 7.

issue is involved in the beginning and plan of the work ; maintaining, however, that there is, not the less, a progress in the action whereby one event unfolds itself from another. And this remark seems to be confirmed especially by the recurring notices of the effect of the discourses of Jesus, the accusations of his enemies, and the confession of those who believed ;—"they believed on him," and "they believed not on him," or "they sought to take him ;" "thou hast a devil," and "this is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world."*

The simplicity of St. John's style has been often praised, and it is in accordance with this character that the structure of the sentences should be free from complexity. The simplest moods and tenses, we are told, are always preferred ; nor is there any instance of an optative. "The simplicity of the language," says our critic, "seems to increase almost in proportion to the depth and compass of the thought," and sometimes this very simplicity surprises us by rising in a moment to sublimity. For an example, the reader will hardly need to be reminded of Christ's answer to Martha, not far from the grave of Lazarus—"I am the resurrection and the life." Another feature of this simplicity, which contributes also to dramatic liveliness, is the constant use of the direct address in the dialogues recorded, there being but one instance of the indirect—viz, in iv. 51 (*ὅτι ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ ζῇ*). We may notice also the manner in which the parts of a conversation are introduced, the same words being regularly repeated with each change in the dialogue. This is particularly observable in the conversation with the woman of Samaria.

The Gospel of St. John, it would seem, has fallen under the charge of tediousness, owing to the repetitions which we have already noticed. But from the fact that such repetitions are occasionally close pressed upon one another, it is clear that they are intentional, and have for their object to stamp the thought deep into the mind of the reader. On the whole, the style is emphatic, and several modes of securing emphasis are adopted. The principal word is often placed at the beginning of the sentence, and in this case attention is drawn to it by the use of the de-

* See for these and similar expressions, John iv. 39, 41, xii. 37, vii. 20, vi. 14, and *passim*.

monstrative following,—as, “And what he hath seen and heard, that he testifieth,*—or by the fact that this is not its most natural position,—as, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα τί ἐστὶν εἰς τοσοῦτους; † —or by an interruption of the grammatical structure—as, “He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.‡ Sometimes the subject of the principal verb receives emphasis from the addition of the pronoun; sometimes, after a relative clause, the subject is itself repeated. Thus, in v. 37, “And the Father who hath sent me, he (ἐκεῖνος) hath borne witness of me;” and in the preceding verse, “The works which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me.” A similar result is obtained, though the effect is not so obvious to the English reader, by the resolution of the finite verb into the participle with εἶναι; and constructions in which participial clauses are introduced, as it were, without absolute necessity and in the manner of an appendage, or to give greater definiteness to the thought, as in i. 12, or iii. 13, may be put down in the same category.

The style of St. John is forcible, and can assume at times a sharp and decisive tone. Observe, for example, with what suddenness Jesus charges his enemies with their wicked designs, in his contest with the Jews at the feast of tabernacles—“Did not Moses give you the law, and none of you keepeth the law? Why go ye about to kill me?”§ With what brief decision, with what simple dignity, are Christ's claims, not asserted, but enforced, by the two words, “I am!” Luthardt well points out the force of the words which conclude the narrative of the trial and condemnation—“Now Barabbas was a robber.” No passion of rhetoric could have brought out more strongly the guilt of the Jews in rejecting and crucifying their Saviour. So the words—“and it was night”—on the occasion of Judas leaving the table, seem to throw a deeper shade on the deed of darkness which was so well fitted to the hour. The power that lies in the brevity and directness of the evangelist's style may be farther illustrated by the following examples—in the scene in the garden, “Jesus....

* John iii. 32. † Ib. vi. 9, “But these, what are they among so many?”

‡ Ib. vii. 38, cf. Rev. iii. 12, 21.

§ Ib. vii. 19.

said unto them, Whom seek ye? They answered him, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus saith unto them, I am *he*;"—or those touching words before the raising of Lazarus, "Jesus . . . said, Where have ye laid him? They said unto him, Lord, come and see. Jesus wept." In the conversation with the woman of Samaria, after the woman has expressed her conviction that when the Christ is come, "he will tell us all things," the announcement of Jesus, "I that speak unto thee am *he*," comes with almost startling effect, similar to that produced, as Luthardt reminds us, by the discovery of himself made by Ulysses in the court of Alcinous—*Εἶμ' Ὀδυσσεύς Δαεπριάδης*. It is evident how the short sentences in which the Gospel is written contribute to the repose so perceptible throughout, while at the same time they admit bursts of sudden fire, like some volcanic agency breaking through a rich and fertile soil.

On the connection of the sentences with one another, we shall limit ourselves to one or two remarks. What has been already said must have made it apparent that this is of the most inartificial kind, as indeed would be obvious to the most cursory examination. It is remarkable that in one of the very few attempts the evangelist has made at a long sentence (vi. 22—24), he has completely failed, and involved himself in confusion. The idea before his mind at the beginning of the sentence would seem to have been to confirm the account of Christ's walking upon the water by the fact of there having been no other boat except that in which the disciples had gone away, but in which they knew that Christ had not embarked, whence he passes on to the more important point that the people also took shipping and went to Capernaum. With this statement he concludes; but in the mean time it was necessary to say that other boats came from Tiberias, a fact which fully explains what follows, but confuses, if it does not contradict, what precedes. With this exception, however, the language is as clear as crystal, and the composition of the most primitive kind. Frequently the sentences are arranged side by side, without any connecting link, so that the growth of one thought out of another is felt rather than pointed out. Where we should expect subordinate clauses we do not find them, but instead the constant use of the conjunctions *καί* and *δέ*. In the narrative these are varied by the use of *ὅτε*

(when), and in the discourses by καθὼς . . . οὕτως (as . . . so). The conjunctions ἵνα, εἰ, ἐάν, εἰ, μή, are also frequent.

We need hardly point out so obvious a feature as the antithetical character which the language frequently assumes; but it is interesting to remark how this connects itself with the grand antithesis which, as we have before said, is the subject of the Gospel. The two sides of the antithesis are often placed against one another without any conjunction, in all the strength of their natural opposition: at other times they are connected by the copulative, on which our critic ingeniously, and we think truly, remarks, that "the appearance of indifference in the καί makes the antithesis the more emphatic, sometimes quite tremendous (*geradezu erschütternd*). In this case the speaker puts himself in a passive attitude towards the thing he deprecates, and shews how he has to endure it." Take, for example, the words in the conversation with Nicodemus—"We speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen: and ye receive not our testimony." Such antithetical constructions are obviously allied to the parallelism so conspicuous in the language of the Old Testament, of which indeed they form but one species. Other kinds, when the parallels are identical or nearly related propositions, are also frequent in St. John. Luthardt has carefully examined the alleged Hebrew idioms of the fourth Gospel, but has disposed of the greater number of them. We have already, perhaps, gone into too many details upon this subject, and we shall, therefore, forbear from any discussion of this point, contenting ourselves merely with stating the result, which, we believe, would now be generally acquiesced in,—viz, that there are very few actual Hebrew idioms, but that "a Hebrew soul lives in the language of the evangelist."

We cannot, however, finally take leave of this subject without drawing attention to some very ingenious and interesting remarks of our critic on the sequence of the sentences and the evolution of the thought. We refer to that structure which he compares to a chain, because, as in a chain, each new proposition begins, not where its predecessor has left off, but as it were *within* that which precedes it, falling back on the concluding word, and to that other process, presently to be described, which he has most aptly named "the circular movement." The former will be best under-

stood by reading the opening paragraph of the Gospel, where it will be observed that almost every new clause begins with the word which closes the preceding one. This is the most striking example, but there are others in which the same phenomenon is observable, though in a less degree, and sometimes in the controversies with the Jews the concluding word on one side supplies the point of departure for the reply, as in viii. 38—44, where the word *πατήρ* seems to form the key-note. The other phenomenon to which we allude is of the following kind. The line of argument begins from a certain idea to which, after sweeping on through other kindred thoughts, it again comes round, carrying to it the gathered fullness and strength of its career, and re-producing it, not in its original form, but with added lustre and accumulated wealth of meaning.

"This feeling is aroused in us by not a few passages of the fourth Gospel, in a less degree by some, in a greater degree by others, and especially by the concluding discourses. It is almost as though we were carried round in a circle, and moved not at all, or only very slowly, from our place. Whoever enters on the study of this work in a restless, even though it be a critical spirit, will soon become impatient, and it will by degrees produce in him a feeling of tediousness, particularly in those passages in which its special characteristics are most beautifully unfolded. Only he who abandons himself to the feeling of calmness and repose, which the work naturally occasions, will find wealth in its seeming repetitions, abundant progress in its apparent retrogressions. If we take as an example the seventeenth chapter, the first five verses will be found to make the first great circle, in which, however, two or three smaller ones are enclosed, for the second and fourth verses glance backwards, but only in order to reveal what is coming. Then with the sixth verse a new circle begins. And so in repeated circles the thought keeps moving on, and still returns, till at last it rests in the idea of the most perfect unity. . . . As it were, with one rapid stroke the evangelist circumscribes and encloses a large region of thought. But as though he now came to a pause, after having thus hastened forwards, he dwells, sunk in calm contemplation, upon what he has said, and begins again to draw his circle, widening the circumference, however, as though he feared to do wrong to the majesty of his subject, unless by returning repeatedly he should unfold and exhibit its various beauty in every possible aspect."

We now pass back from the form to the substance of the

fourth Gospel, and having thus far spoken of some of its general characteristics, we propose henceforward to consider it with a more direct reference to the remaining evangelical narratives, and with a view to the method of its composition. The Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke are evidently conceived in a similar spirit, and partake of the same character. Such, at least, is the first impression, and so far as regards the general features of these books it is correct. Minor differences, indeed, may be discovered by a careful criticism, and each can be shewn to have its own peculiarities. Thus Matthew has more of the Hebrew spirit, and seems to lay the greatest stress on the fulfilment of the prophecies of the Old Testament in the minute particulars of Christ's life and death. The Gospel of St. Luke is traditionally connected with the name of Paul, and while this book has many correspondences with Matthew, it seems both to be somewhat more remote from the events it records, and to have, as it were, a more *Gentile* spirit, as might be expected from a disciple of the great apostle. From these two, it has been thought with much reason, that Mark is a compilation, since, with the exception of a few passages, the whole is to be found in either Matthew or Luke. Disregarding, however, these lesser peculiarities, we may note several characteristics, which, with slight variations, are common to all three. They embody a simple biographical narrative, which is substantially the same in all, and which, there is no reason to doubt, was founded upon the earliest evangelical tradition. They agree in dividing the life of Christ into two main sections, and give the most important details of his ministry, first in Galilee and afterwards in Jerusalem. Two of them at least narrate the birth of Jesus, and surround it with portents worthy of the future King of Israel, or celebrate it in poetry borrowed from the strains of ancient times. All record the descent of the Holy Spirit, and the voice that came from heaven, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased," as marking the public inauguration of Jesus to the office of Messiah. They all present Jesus as the Christ of the Jews, as having only half fulfilled his mission because rejected by his countrymen, and as about to return to earth in power and glory to establish his kingdom for ever. In these Gospels, Jesus comes before us as the teacher of a pure and lofty morality, as a great religious Reformer who

could see how empty and unmeaning were the rites which the pietists of his day so punctiliously observed, and who scorned all danger and opposition in his determination to speak out the truth of his heart, as a denouncer of sin, and one who, in the stern spirit of the old Hebrew prophets, launched forth the thunderbolts of a righteous indignation against the hypocrisy of Scribes and Pharisees. Yet was he also one touched with a feeling of human infirmities, and full of that tenderness which belongs to those characters in which strength is founded upon justice. As the Leader of his people, as the Restorer of his nation, as the chosen King of the house and lineage of David, Jesus stands before us in the character of a divinely-commissioned Prophet, sent specially to the Hebrew race, to accomplish the designs of Jehovah, and fulfil the ancient predictions relating to the future glory of Jerusalem and the people of God. Nor must we pass over in silence what would seem to be the more special features of the teaching of Jesus as distinguished from its universal elements. He is represented by all the three evangelists as having disapproved of wealth, and thought its possession inconsistent with the kingdom which he came to establish; and according to the first he disapproved of marriage, if not generally (though this is not clear from Matthew xix. 10—12), at least for his more immediate followers. But it is in the last events of his recorded life that the Hebrew spirit is most conspicuous, and while we here see Jesus shrinking, with all the instinctive dread of pain which marks a tender and sensitive nature, from the terrible death which threatened him, we behold him also rising above the gloom of the present, and grasping with confidence the hope of a return to earth and of future glory and power. And we feel that the resurrection is but the preparation for this return and this triumph, and for the visible reign of Christ on earth over the saints during the millennium.

In passing, however, from these Gospels to that of St. John, we feel that we are transferred into a different region, and brought into contact with grander truths. We breathe a purer air, and a wider horizon invites a more distant view. It is, indeed, the same history, and yet how changed! There is in it less of what refers to time and place, more of that which is universal; less of earth and more of heaven. It

is the same Christ who speaks to us, and yet not the same. He is not less a man, but he is more like the Son of God. This difference between the last evangelist and his predecessors has been always acknowledged, and perhaps cannot be better expressed than in the words of Clement of Alexandria, who said that John designed to write a spiritual Gospel. By this it may be understood that the evangelist sought to grasp what was universally true in Christianity, and to unfold it in a biographical narrative, which, however, should not be a mere record of events, but should be so constructed as to bring home the essential principles of Christian faith with freshness and power to the consciousness of the Christian reader; and that having himself deeply felt the power of Christ's life and death over his own character and heart, he was able to penetrate to those spiritual depths out of which such a life must have flowed, and, writing from his own experience, to set forth the divine and universal element which *must* have belonged to the first manifestation of the Christian spirit in the life of Jesus himself. Standing as he did at the greatest distance from the actual history, the last of the evangelists had enjoyed the opportunity of seeing Christianity in its relations to the world, and in its contest with the evil of the world, and had thus been able to view it in all the comprehensiveness of its spirit and in all the importance of the great truth which it had brought to light. By that time the seed of the word had grown to a great tree, and he was able to pluck its richest and fairest fruit. And carrying back to the origin of the faith the lessons which the Spirit had taught him since, he beheld that origin in its higher spiritual relations, and the life of Christ came before him transfigured and glorified, and as a mere temporal manifestation of something that went beyond time, and was for ever with the Father. The evangelist therefore saw that Jesus was the embodiment of a Word which had lived before him, and which lived after him, and whose life, being the very principle of all spiritual life in man, was continued in the heart of every disciple. For this reason he carries us, at the very outset, not to Nazareth, nor to the manger in Bethlehem, nor by a genealogical table back to Abraham or to Adam, but to a point above all earthly relations, and tells us—"In the beginning was the Word." Jesus is therefore no more an earthly Messiah, but the Re-

vealer of God's eternal truth to the world. We seem now to have left the side of the Hebrew teacher: here are no more precepts, no more parables. The transfiguration, which brought Jesus into marked connection with the chief leaders of the elder economy, is omitted by St. John, though the voice from heaven, speaking, however, different words and in a different connection, is retained. For the omission there may, perhaps, be this additional reason, that Christ, according to St. John's conception, needed not to be thus outwardly glorified, the glory of the Son being eternal. Nor do we find here that fear of death, so touchingly natural as portrayed in the preceding narratives, although there is an allusion to it when Christ is represented as saying—"Now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour: but for this cause came I unto this hour."* On the contrary, from the very first, the cross is present to the mind of Jesus as the completion of his life and the consummation of his glory—not as a thing from which he is to shrink, but towards which he moves with firmness, with resolution, and almost with triumph—not even as marking the temporary victory of his foes, but as the result of his own deliberate choice. Thus on his first appearance in Jerusalem, at the very opening of his ministry, he says, speaking of the temple of his body—"Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up."† And afterwards—"When ye have lifted up the Son of Man, then shall ye know that I am."‡ But the following words are particularly striking—"Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I might take it again. No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again."§ But it is more than anywhere else in the scenes preceding the crucifixion that the difference between St. John and the synoptical evangelists appears. In the latter, as we have seen, the glory of Christ must wait for its complete manifestation until the arrival of a future more or less remote. But in John the whole life of Christ is a showing forth of his glory, and that glory is perfected in the completion of his work and in the return to the bosom of his Father, and has therefore attained its greatest lustre when he is able to say—"I

* John xii. 27. † Ib. ii. 19. ‡ Ib. viii. 28. § Ib. x. 17, 18.

have glorified thee on the earth: I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do. And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was."* Here there is no second coming of Christ; no visible last judgment, for he that believeth not is judged already; no great convulsions of nature, no appearance of the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven. But while it is thus the chief aim of the evangelist to unfold the divine side of Christ's character, and to exhibit the spirit of his religion in its grandest and most comprehensive relations, we must not neglect to observe that it is truly the Word made flesh which is depicted in his biography; and thus the Christ of John comes not only clothed in the form, but also sharing in the feelings of a man; he sympathizes with human happiness, he is weary, he is hungry, he weeps, he is troubled. So that thus the deepest spiritual truths are unfolded from a human life, and while the concrete and particular are made the vehicle of the universal, we lose not the flavour of humanity, but are taught that in the pursuit of eternal truth we need not sever those dear ties which hold us to this world.

Although the plan of St. John is different from that of his predecessors, it is evident that he has availed himself of their labours; unless, indeed, we prefer saying, with Lücke, that he was acquainted with and made use of that earlier tradition from which they derived their materials. John, like the rest, gives a detailed account of the crucifixion and the resurrection agreeing in all its main features with the synoptical narrative, but differing from it in many minor particulars, and he records, in the same manner as the other evangelists, though with less detail, Christ's last entrance into Jerusalem, when he was welcomed by the hosannas of the faithless multitude. But this last visit was with the other evangelists also the first, while with John it is the fourth; and it is here that we mark the main distinction between the historical conduct of the Gospel of St. John and that of the other three, that while the latter divide Christ's ministry into two periods and represent the main portion as passed in Galilee, and only the concluding scenes in Jerusalem, John, on the other hand, carries the reader

* John. xvii. 4, 5.

one time to Jerusalem and another time to Galilee, and represents Jesus as going up repeatedly to the feasts in the Jewish metropolis. With him, Jesus appears in Jerusalem immediately on his entrance upon public life, and inaugurates his ministry with the act which in the other Gospels formed its consummation and close. The cleansing of the temple John has retained from the traditional account, giving it, however, in his own words, but he has transferred it to the beginning of the history, and has made it the first public act of Jesus, as forming perhaps a fitting prelude to that great contest which was to be carried on partly within the precincts of the temple itself with the powers of darkness and falsehood as represented by the unbelieving Jews, and which was the symptom and mark of a grander purification to be effected in the world. Nor is it undeserving of notice, that the saying of Jesus, "Destroy this temple," &c., is founded upon an incident recorded by the synoptists, not however upon any words actually attributed to Christ himself, but upon those of the false witnesses against him.* Whether Jesus really ever spoke such words depends of course upon the degree of historical credibility conceded to St. John, but it certainly seems a little curious that Lücke, maintaining that he did, should yet dispute the evangelist's interpretation and contend that the actual temple was intended.†

The Gospel of St. John contains precisely seven miracles, which, however, are not introduced for the purpose of proving the Sonship of Jesus, for that was self-evident to believers, while those who followed for the sake of the works were classed as but a degree better than unbelievers, but as *signs* illustrative of his Messianic power and glory. These signs are as follows:—The conversion of water into wine—the healing of a nobleman's son—the cure of an impotent man—the feeding of five thousand—the walking upon the sea—the giving of sight to a blind man—the raising of Lazarus. Whether or not intended by the evangelist, there may, we think, be traced in these seven signs a sort of process and ascent from the power over the material elements of the natural world up to the greatest and most significant signs

* Cf. Mark xiv. 57, 58, John ii. 19.

† Lücke's *Commentar über das Evan. des Johannes*. We refer to the edition of 1840.

of all—the opening of the eyes of the blind and the raising of the dead—which in an outward physical act presented Christ as, what he was in the deepest spiritual sense, the Light and the Life of the world.* These three signs and another—the restoration of the impotent man—are peculiar to John. The healing of the nobleman's son recalls the similar account of the centurion's servant, and is evidently identical with it, only in the fourth Gospel it is made an occasion of reproving the undue love of the marvellous—"Except ye see signs and wonders ye will not believe"—while with apparent inconsistency the simple statement of Matthew, that his servant was healed in the self-same hour, is elaborated into a proof resting on the investigation of the father that the departure of the disease coincided with the command of Jesus.† This fact, taken in connection with the examination of the blind man and the passage we have before referred to regarding the departure of the boat in which the disciples had gone away after the feeding of the multitudes, might suggest the question whether a certain fondness for proof is to be considered one of the characteristics of St. John. The feeding of the five thousand and the walking on the sea are found in all the Gospels, and here John's account agrees most nearly with that of Mark. John has placed the two events in connection as he found them, and the second assumes in him no peculiar importance. But with what new power and significance does the miracle of feeding the multitudes come before us, when we regard it as a sign of what Christ was, and take it in connection with that wonderful discourse that follows on the bread of life! We then learn that the manna which Moses called from heaven, and that the bread which Jesus distri-

* Ewald recognizes this progress in the miraculous works recorded by St. John. He remarks, however, that the walking upon the sea belongs to a different class from the rest, and possesses less significance; and believing that a passage of some length has fallen out between the fifth and sixth chapter, he suggests that the subject of this lost passage must have been the healing of a demoniac. It is surely pushing conjectural criticism a little too far, not only to pronounce where something is wanting, but to point out what was contained in a passage which has never been seen, and whose very existence is only imaginary. But all other critics believe that John gives no countenance to the Jewish superstition about demons, and for this reason, no doubt, Ewald thinks himself bound to maintain the contrary.

† Cf. Matt. viii. 13 with John iv. 52, 53.

buted in the wilderness, was perishable and tended to but a perishable support ; but that the true bread is the Word of God, and whosoever eateth of this bread shall live for ever.

We have now mentioned most of the events of Christ's life common to St. John and the remaining Gospels, distinguishing those which are peculiar to the former. The result, we think, proves clearly enough how untenable is the theory that John wrote to supply the deficiencies of those who had gone before him. In one sense, no doubt, this might be alleged with truth, but certainly not in the sense of adding some additional particulars to those previously recorded. This he could hardly have regarded as his object without indicating in what respects he thought the existing biographies required improvement, and pointing out their chronological and historical errors. The examples already referred to prove that St. John regarded the traditional narrative neither as a fixed line along which he was bound to move, nor as an imperfect history which he might correct by his own completer knowledge, but as a rich collection of facts from which he might take whatever could be made to illustrate his own conceptions, while he freely worked up the materials thus supplied him, and threw upon them the colouring of his own deep spiritual experience ; and other instances presently to be noticed will tend to the same conclusion. This is the case to some extent even with the discourses of Jesus in the fourth Gospel. At first view, these discourses appear to have few points of connection with those of Matthew, Mark and Luke. Their subject and their tone is altogether different. Their subject is Christ himself in his various relations, to God, to disciples and to unbelievers ; whereas in those recorded by the other evangelists it is the kingdom of heaven. In John there is nothing at all like the Sermon on the Mount ; in the other three there is nothing comparable with the conversation with Nicodemus. We may trace in the discourses of John the same character we have already assigned to the whole Gospel—a quiet dignity, a calm self-confidence, which, without boastfulness, but without reservation, makes the greatest claims ; a peace which is the reflection of a mind undisturbed amid the rudest storms of circumstance. There is in them less of the didactic, more of the spiritual element, than is found

elsewhere. They do not tell what to do and what to avoid ; but, beginning often from a figure, they work out step by step the relations of the Word to God and to man as the mediating principle between them, still ascending towards that great unity in which Jesus is one with the Father, and the disciples with Jesus, and each with all,—a unity foreshadowed in the Church and to be perfected in heaven. Yet there may be discovered in the earlier evangelical tradition, not only certain correspondences with sayings recorded by St. John, but also, in the case of less evident resemblances, as it were hints and suggestions of those ideas which he has worked out with so much beauty and power, unless, indeed, we prefer going back for their origin to that abundant store-house of spiritual language as well as thought, the Old Testament itself. For examples of the former class, the reader may compare John xv. 20 with Matt. x. 24, xiv. 1 with Luke xii. 32, xiv. 12 with Matt. xxi. 21, xv. 2 with Matt. xv. 13, xv. 6 with Matt. iii. 10, &c.; the first of which comes nearest to a verbal agreement, while in the remainder the idea is preserved. Of the second class the following examples may suffice. No comparison could be more natural, and none more obvious in a pastoral country, than that of the people to a flock of sheep, and their leader or king to the shepherd. This comparison is frequent in the Old Testament, and is used to illustrate the tender and endearing relations which subsist between Jehovah and His servants. And in the Gospels, when Jesus sends forth the twelve apostles, he says, "Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves;" and when it is said that Jesus had compassion on the multitudes, because they were as sheep having no shepherd, there is a hint that Christ himself was the true shepherd; and indeed Jesus applies to himself the words of the prophet, "I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad." Yet nowhere is he plainly called so until John, when he himself declares, "I am the good shepherd." Yet the most obvious reference here is, no doubt, to those beautiful words of Isaiah which describe the Lord as gathering the lambs with his arm, and carrying them in his bosom, and gently leading those that are with young. Again, the country of Palestine abounded in vines, and to speak of the people as the vineyard of Jehovah which God cultivated and tended, was also an

obvious comparison. It occurs, accordingly, two or three times in the Hebrew Scriptures, and is used by our Lord in his parables to illustrate the circumstances of his own mission. Here, therefore, we may perhaps find a hint of the figure in St. John which represented Christ as the true vine. Another example is supplied by the discourse on the bread of life. The spiritual union of the disciples with Christ had been symbolized from the earliest period by the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper, and it can hardly be doubted that the discourse was suggested by this figure. It is remarkable that St. John has omitted the historical words—"This is my body, this is my blood"—while, according to his usual practice, retaining the idea, he has removed it to an earlier occasion than the actual one, where he reproduces it in a somewhat altered form—"He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me and I in him." Similarly, to compare truth, or those who teach the truth, to light, would be anywhere appropriate and intelligible; and thus, although it is first in John that Christ is described as the true light, in the Sermon on the Mount we meet the words, "Ye are the light of the world," addressed to the disciples.

It remains now to make a few remarks on some of the minor characters of St. John's Gospel. Of these Peter, as in the synoptical narrative, takes the most prominent place, and he possesses the same ardent disposition, combined with a certain weakness sometimes amounting to cowardice, as is elsewhere attributed to him. St. John records his three-fold denial of Christ, and completes the synoptical account with the statement that it was Peter who cut off the ear of the high-priest's servant. He has also preserved the confession of Christ by Peter and the origin of the apostle's surname, but has separated the two events, and removed both from the place they occupy in the traditional narrative. For whereas, according to the first evangelist, the name Peter was bestowed upon Simon in answer to his avowal—"Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God"—immediately before the last journey to Jerusalem, in John we find the name applied upon the first meeting of the apostle with his Master and before the confession, while the confession itself seems to have taken place at an earlier period than that to which it is referred by the synoptists, if at least

any comparison of time can be instituted where the chronologies are so completely at variance.*

The traitor Judas occupies a conspicuous place in this Gospel, and is first introduced in contrast with Peter's recognition of the Messiahship of Jesus. He is pointed out as the one who expressed indignation at the waste of ointment when Mary anointed the feet of Jesus. The general description of the treachery of Judas, as that of one who "dipped his hand in the same dish" with the Master he betrayed, St. John reduces to the particular circumstance of giving a sop as a sign by which the traitor might be known. Judas is introduced several times, and generally with much circumstantiality. He seems to haunt us like a black shadow, bringing out by force of contrast the purity and innocence of Jesus.

Thomas the doubter must also be mentioned as a prominent character in John, though otherwise unknown, except in the lists of the apostles. He must be regarded as representative of those who will believe nothing without tangible proof. He it is who refuses to believe the resurrection until he has thrust his finger into the print of the nails, and his hand into the side where Jesus had been pierced; and it is he who, unaware of Christ's designs or mistrusting his power, when Jesus proposed to go to Bethany where Lazarus had died, said to his fellow-disciples, "Let us also go, that we may die with him," for these words are certainly not to be regarded as a proof of self-devotion, but rather as a mark of unbelief.

It is unnecessary here to do more than mention the names of the other apostles noticed by John—Andrew, Philip, Nathanael the Israelite without guile (if he is the same as Bartholomew), and Judas (not Iscariot). All these have some words attributed to them which are not recorded in the other Gospels, but otherwise play no important part. There is, however, one other not named, who must not be wholly passed in silence. The disciple whom Jesus loved, who lay upon his breast and stood by the cross, the first to follow him, the last to leave, the rival of Peter to be first at the sepulchre, he who received the last commands of his dying Lord, John himself, whose intimate friendship with Christ

* Cf. Matt. xvi. 16—18, John i. 42, and vi. 68, 69.

is testified by the other evangelists, and whose gentle spirit breathes in the Gospel which bears his name.

John the Baptist might seem to be deserving of especial notice, as coming forward in very prominent connection with Christ in the opening passages of the Gospel. Yet there is not in him much of distinctive personality. He is a voice crying in the wilderness, and takes up the *refrain* from the earlier narrative. Otherwise he is treated strictly as a witness of the Light, and delivers his testimony in the style of the evangelist himself.

In the personages of St. John's Gospel, we notice, on the whole, the same partial dependence on the traditional account which lies at the basis of the synoptics, as we have observed in other particulars. To the latter, Mary and Martha are known,* but not Lazarus their brother. Joseph of Arimathea is known to them, but not Nicodemus. Pilate is naturally common to all the evangelists, and so is Mary Magdalene. Caiaphas is named by Matthew and John; but it is remarkable that John makes no mention of Herod, either in connection with the Baptist or with the trial of Jesus. The story in St. John of Mary anointing the feet of Jesus, is a curious example of the transformations which the traditions preserved by the synoptists seem to undergo in passing through the hands of the fourth evangelist. It can hardly be doubted that this story is identical in its origin with that of the woman in Matthew and Mark, and the woman who was a sinner in Luke. The event is placed by all the evangelists, except Luke, shortly before the last passover; six days before it according to John, two days according to Matthew and Mark. The three refer it to Bethany, but John makes it take place in the house of Lazarus, while Matthew and Mark speak of Simon the leper, and Luke of one of the Pharisees whom he also names Simon. Luke agrees most nearly with John in stating that it was the feet of Jesus that were anointed, and not his head, as the other evangelists have it. Yet, in other respects, the narrative of Luke appears the most distinct, and the parable of the debtor which it includes has no parallel in the remaining Gospels. The fundamental identity of Matthew's and John's account, however, comes out in the answer

* Only, however, to Luke x. 38—42, where, as in John xii. 2, Martha serves.
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of Christ to the indignation expressed by the disciples, the words, "For the poor ye have always with you, but me ye have not always," occurring in both.* We can only conclude, then, that here, as well as in some other instances, St. John has made use of the traditional narrative, but has not considered himself bound by it.

The general character which must be attributed to the fourth Gospel, as a work in which historical or traditional materials derived from antecedent sources have been so treated as to illustrate and enforce a particular view of the character of Christ and the nature of his religion, and in which the ideal predominates over the actual, assuming that we have correctly stated the phenomena presented by this book, considered both by itself and in relation to the other three biographical narratives, seems to us, on the whole, unfavourable to its apostolic authorship; and the differences between this and the synoptical narrative in regard both to the general conduct of the history and the portraiture of Christ, have been urged with much force against its genuineness. After making every allowance for the lapse of years and the colouring which long experience and profound meditation would be likely to impart to the dim shapes of memory, we must still ask, would an eye-witness of the events of Christ's life have permitted himself to write a work possessing the character we have been compelled to assign to the fourth Gospel? Would he have been dependent upon traditional materials at all; and if so, would he have reproduced them in new forms and new connections without giving some sign that he was aware of the existence of another account, and some assurance that his own was preferable? Or can it be supposed that the fourth Gospel was written quite independently of the synoptical narrative, and that the writer had never seen the account of the feeding of the five thousand in Mark, and was unaware that the cleansing of the temple was usually referred to the end of Christ's ministry? Would not an eye-witness have been content to set down in a simple and matter-of-fact way whatever doings and sayings of Jesus he could call to mind? and, had he wished to draw out the spiritual meaning of Christ's life, would he not have made

* For the different narratives here referred to, cf. Matt. xxvi. 6—13, Mark xiv. 3—9, Luke vii. 36—50, John xii. 1—8.

it more evident that this was something added to the history, and not a part of it? or did Jesus, after feeding the five thousand, really deliver a discourse representing himself as the bread of life, of which there is not the remotest trace in the earlier Gospels, or give sight to a blind man, and then announce himself as the Light of the world? It is, of course, possible to assume that St. John's Gospel is not only genuine but strictly historical; but this assumption seems to us to be inconsistent with the obvious character of the work, while it is certainly irreconcilable with the just claims of the synoptical narrative. If the fourth Gospel is the true history, the first is a strange perversion of the genuine facts; and yet the first Gospel possesses the historical features wanting to the fourth, while it is traceable by an early and authentic tradition, which also fails in the other case, to a Hebrew original written by one of the personal followers of Jesus.

We do not, however, mention these difficulties as by any means conclusive upon the negative side, but only as deserving of serious consideration. If it is improbable, it is not impossible that the apostle John might have written in his old age such a work as the Gospel which bears his name. The feelings of most Christians in favour of its genuineness would carry them over greater obstacles, even if there were not strong arguments upon the opposite side. We cannot say that we are disposed to lay much stress upon the familiarity displayed with Jewish customs and places, which could only prove at the most that the writer had travelled in Palestine, but by no means that he was an apostle; nor upon the language, which may or may not be such Greek as St. John would have written after a long residence in Ephesus. The great internal evidence for the genuineness of the Gospel lies, we think, in the intimations of the writer himself that he is no other than the beloved disciple John. It is true the writer does not name himself, nor is he even expressly identified with the beloved disciple except at the close of the twenty-first chapter, which is generally regarded as a postscript, but it is impossible to doubt that this inference was intended to be drawn. The author does not say, in so many words, that he is the apostle John, but he implies it; he evidently intends the reader to suppose it; and if he was not, he is as much guilty of a deception as if

he affirmed it expressly. Is it to be conceived, then, that a writer possessed of such profound insight into the spirit of Christ's life, and of such a deeply religious character, can have been guilty of passing off upon the world as an apostolic work what must in this case have been the product of his own imagination? Is there not a glaring inconsistency between any thought of this kind and the spiritual depth of St. John's Gospel? This argument, we think, is of great weight, and we find it hard to satisfy ourselves with the answer, that in those days there was no such thing as a *literary conscience*, or that it was customary for an unknown author to attach some great name to his work. Had the name of John, indeed, been openly forged, the difficulty would have been less. The writer of the so-called Second Epistle of St. Peter assumed an apostolic name and character, and yet he seems not wanting in an apostolic spirit and temper; but the seeming modesty and reluctant self-revelations of the fourth Gospel are even more difficult to reconcile with the candour and honesty that might be expected from a Christian writer.

Still it may be doubted whether this internal evidence quite counterbalances the objections that have been urged against the genuineness of the Gospel upon historical and critical grounds. It does not, however, lie within our present purpose to discuss the question of authorship, except so far as it is immediately connected with the character of the work. We forbear, therefore, from touching upon the vexed controversy as to the time of celebrating the Passover, nor shall we go into the external testimony on behalf of the Johannine authorship of the fourth Gospel. To discuss these questions at any length would carry us much too far, and we could not hope to arrive at any definite conclusion without entering upon another very difficult and important subject—the development of the doctrine of the Logos within the Christian Church. What has been said may, perhaps, suggest some new thought and assist further investigation.

And now, in coming to a close, we feel that we have travelled but cursorily over a very wide field of inquiry. We have touched upon many subjects on which we have been unable to pause, and we may have started difficulties which we have not fully solved. Our remarks, we hope, will be accepted as an attempt to illustrate the nature

of the fourth Gospel, and to exhibit it as a spiritual life of Christ. They may aid us, perhaps, to understand how the evangelist, seizing the deeper meanings that underlay the traditions of the early Church, and selecting such materials as served but to foreshadow those profounder truths, while he flung upon them the colours reflected from his own sympathy with the mind of Christ, wove them into a glorious fabric, in which the spirit of the gospel is unfolded to the sight, if not with such fidelity of detail as by the other evangelists, yet with a far loftier appreciation of its real and vast significance.

III.—ETERNAL PUNISHMENT.

THE attention of the public has of late been drawn, in an extraordinary degree, to this at all times deeply interesting subject. We propose to review some of the principal points involved in the discussion; and in so doing, we shall endeavour, in the first place, to maintain the just interpretation of the more important scriptural passages; and in the second, to exhibit the singularly unreasonable and unchristian character of the popular doctrine of future punishment.

It may be well to begin with the remark, that the word "hell" of the English Bible, in the vast majority of cases, represents an original word denoting the *grave*, or also, more generally, the *region of the dead*. Thus:

Deut. xxxii. 22, "A fire is kindled in mine anger and shall burn unto the lowest *hell*."

Ps. xvi. 10, "wilt not leave my soul in *hell*."

Gen. xlii. 38, "bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the *grave*."

Is. xxxviii. 18, "For the *grave* cannot praise thee."

The same Hebrew word is here, and constantly, rendered by "hell" or by "grave,"—so strangely have our translators varied from each other and from themselves. In all such cases, and probably everywhere throughout the Old Testament, the rendering *grave*, or some nearly equivalent expression, should have been adhered to; due regard, of course,

being paid to any figurative applications of the original term which may be met with.

In the New Testament, "hell" is the rendering either of the original *Gehenna* or of the word *Hades*, which denotes the unseen state, or often simply the grave. The passages containing the former word are alone of importance to our present inquiry, as nothing is said about the duration of punishment in connection with the latter :

Matt. v. 22, "shall be in danger of hell fire."

Matt. xviii. 9, "into hell fire;" so Mark ix. 47.

Matt. v. 29, 30, "cast into hell."

Matt. x. 28, "able to destroy both soul and body in hell."

"Hell fire" is literally *the Gehenna of fire*; "hell" is *Gehenna*. So in other places.*

Now *Gehenna*, it is well known, was the name of a valley or glen near Jerusalem. Here, in ancient times, children had been burnt in sacrifice to the heathen god Moloch. Hence, the place was looked upon by the later Jews as polluted and abominable. Its name, associated with burning fires and human sacrifices, became the representative of the miserable state into which, it was believed, the ungodly would be cast at the coming of the Messiah. Probably, at first, *Gehenna* would be thought of as the actual scene of the judgment thus anticipated. At all events, that future scene had come to be spoken of under the abhorred name long before the time of Christ. He, therefore, in his teaching, adopts, without hesitation or comment, the usual expressions of his day, applying them to his own purpose of denoting the future retributive consequences of sinful conduct. We cannot suppose, however, that ideas and terms thus appropriated from common usage were employed in other than the loose, indefinite sense which alone belonged to them. We cannot suppose that they were intended to be handed down to us impressed with the character of revealed truths, to be understood as such with a sort of rigid legal exactness. Such a supposition is too unreasonable to require discussion, and in the absence of any express intimation to that effect, may be at once dismissed. Thus, whatever the *authority* attributable to Scripture statements, such expressions as these can be of weight, in their literal

* Matt. xxiii. 15, xxiii. 33; Luke xii. 5; James iii. 6.

form, only so far as they are in harmony with the more express teaching of Christianity elsewhere met with. What differs from this may be put aside as the grosser human medium, serving only to embody and convey to us the finer and more durable element of divine truth.

Accordingly, we have to consider "fire" as for us simply a *figure*, under which the idea of something *else* is suggested or spoken of. Just as the "wheat" and the "tares" or the "sheep" and the "goats" stand for *persons* of diverse moral characters, so must the fire mentioned in connection with them be taken to stand for the *punishment*, or else to convey the idea of their entire *destruction*; but it would be simply a mistake to conclude that the Divine punishment or mode of destruction will *consist* in physical burning in the future world, any more than in this present world in which we now live.

If this be a correct account of the origin and import of the conception of fire as the medium of punishment or of destruction, the epithet "everlasting," found in connection with it in three instances in the words of Christ, must be similarly explained. The instances are these:

Matt. xviii. 8, "to be cast into everlasting fire." Parallel to this are the verses of Mark ix. 43—46.*

Matt. xxv. 41, "everlasting fire."

Matt. xxv. 46, "everlasting punishment."

It is pointed out by the commentators that the valley of Gehenna was, in the time of Josiah and later, subjected to defilement, to mark the detestation of the Jews for the wickedness formerly practised there. Refuse from the city is said to have been thrown into it, to consume which fires were kept burning. The fire of Tophet, in the same valley, is mentioned so early as Isaiah.† Now, if Gehenna, to the Jews of our Lord's time, were a place of this reputation, and had long been so, a place where fires were or had once been continually burning, we have an easy and ample explanation of the word "everlasting," as well as of the kindred

* It is to be noted that the English rendering of Mark ix. 43, needs correction. "Into the fire *that never shall be quenched*," should be, "into the fire unquenchable" (as Luke iii. 17), meaning the same, probably, as "everlasting fire." So the same words in ver. 45. Verses 44, 46, are omitted by Tischendorf, as are the final words of ver. 45. All must be considered of doubtful authenticity, though retained by Alford.

† Jer. vii. 30—33; Is. xxx. 33; 2 Kings xxiii. 10; Jer. xix. 13.

"unquenchable," "is not quenched," in Mark ix. 43, 48. These were the ordinary and fitting epithets of the actual Gehenna ; and, with the transference of this name to denote the place of punishment, they could not fail to accompany it, as epithets of the future fire of the invisible Gehenna, in that indiscriminating application of terms which is often characteristic of popular usage. Jesus, then, we may understand, would speak to his countrymen as to Jews of his own day. Just as he spoke to them, in the old familiar words, of the sun "rising," whereas *we* know that it is the earth only which turns itself to or from the great luminary ; and just as he spoke to them in their own phrase of the "law of Moses" and of "Moses" having written of him, without meaning to prohibit all future inquiry whether the Pentateuch be wholly or in part, or not at all, from the pen of Moses ; so he accepted and used their common phrases about the duration and the place of punishment. Yet, in so doing, he would mainly intend to recognize the great truth of the distinction in the judgments of God between sin and holiness, vice and virtue, wrong-doing and right. He could not, we may repeat, have intended to stamp his confirmation upon all the *details* making up the popular ideas of the mode or form of future punishment. These he would, consciously or unconsciously, pass over unnoticed—making use of them, indeed, as forms of expression, but leaving them to be corrected, as they were sure to be, in proportion as men attained to better knowledge of the universe of being, to better ideas of the character of God, and of the laws of His moral and providential government.

A similar explanation is doubtless required in some other cases.*

We find, in all, *three* instances only in the recorded ministry of Christ, in which he is stated to have used the term "everlasting" (*αἰώνιος*) in connection with "fire" or with "punishment"—three instances only.† Yet, in the face of this fact, it has been recently said, by no less a per-

* As Mark iii. 29 ; 2 Thess. i. 9 ; and a few others. It is not necessary here to take particular notice of certain words and phrases occurring in Revelation and in Jude. These, it is enough to say, must follow the interpretation of the leading passages, as above pointed out.

† Mark ix. 43—48, is not an additional instance, being parallel to Matt. xviii. 8, 9.

sonage than the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the doctrine of the eternal suffering of the wicked rests on the same scriptural evidence as that of the eternal blessedness of the righteous. This assertion is also, in substance, made in the Declaration lately put forth with the signatures of so many thousands of the clergy.* The Archbishop, in his Pastoral Letter, uses these words: "Nor do I conceive that the Church has any more sure warrant for belief in the eternal happiness of the saved, than it has for belief in the eternal suffering of the lost." But surely this is most thoughtlessly and incorrectly said! The scriptural passages which speak of the eternal life assured by the gospel are very clear and very numerous, at the same time that they are independent and distinct from those which refer to the punishment of the wicked. Throughout St. John's Gospel, for example, there is frequent mention of the eternal life of the faithful righteous; there is nowhere any reference to the eternal punishment of the wicked. The same remark is applicable to Luke, who, with several references to the life eternal, never speaks, nor relates that Christ spoke, of everlasting fire, suffering, or torment. We know, again, how exultingly Paul writes of the life and immortality brought to light through the gospel; of the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," to which he was looking forward as the reward and crown of his earthly labours; of the "eternal life" which shall be rendered to those who continue patient in well-doing;† but is there a single instance in which he speaks of the everlasting fire or the eternity of future punishment? So soon, in fact, as you pass from the three instances before mentioned in the recorded ministry of Christ,—that is to say, so soon as you leave the first two Gospels,—the assertion of the Archbishop no longer holds, becomes untrue, and, in short, must be exactly reversed.‡

A different explanation of the expressions we have been noticing has been proposed by some of the clergy. These belong to that new school of theology, as we may term it,

* Stranger still, the same narrow literalism pervades the Pastoral Letter published by the Archbishop of York on the decision of the Privy Council.

† 2 Tim. i. 10; 2 Cor. v. 1; Rom. ii. 7.

‡ It is hardly necessary to observe that the words "damned" and "damnation" mean in Scripture simply *condemned* and *condemnation*. Compare John v. 24, 29.

which has been growing up within the Established Church during now many years past. These writers have shewn themselves anxious to set aside the Church's doctrine of future punishment. They hold that the word "eternal" (*αἰώνιος*), as used in Scripture, does not denote the duration of the future condition, but rather the *quality* of it. "This is life eternal," said our Lord, "that they might know thee, the only true God." Here "life eternal" is the knowledge of God;—so it is said. Eternal death must be the opposite of this. Similarly with "eternal punishment,"—this can only be a phrase signifying the exclusion of the soul from the knowledge of God, with all that this involves.*

But this kind of explaining away of the usual meaning of words is, at best, very unsatisfactory. Without dwelling at any length upon it, we may at least take the existence of this party within the Church as evidence of growing dissatisfaction with the old doctrine. It is, of course, for this party to reconcile their position in the Church with their denial of that which the Church so clearly maintains in its standards—that which they themselves, most probably, understood it to maintain, when they entered its ministry and subscribed its Articles.†

Leaving this point, we may notice that, whatever may be the legal indefiniteness of Church phrases, the meaning of

* "Letter to Dr. Jelf," by the Rev. F. D. Maurice (1853); also the Rev. J. L. Davies' pamphlet, "Forgiveness after Death" (1863).

† It is not to be doubted that those who, in the sixteenth century, compiled the present Prayer Book, as well as those who, in the seventeenth, restored its use and re-established the Church, were believers in the eternity of future punishment. All the great religious teachers of those times believed in the literal reality of hell-fire and the endlessness of its duration. Hence, in various services of the English Church, the same belief is embodied, and to that belief, as so embodied, the clergy at ordination express their assent. The right and effectual course for those to pursue, who find themselves drawn in to the profession of what they now see to be untrue, and who are naturally anxious to set themselves right before the public, would be, as it seems to us, to labour to reform the Church standards and make them more truly scriptural. This end will never be attained by striving to shew how easily their meaning may be explained away, so that persons of the most opposite opinions may sign them,—any more than by subscribing them with secret reservations, or in some non-natural sense, never heard of before, and which would undoubtedly be repudiated by their framers and imposers.

The Archbishop of Canterbury has observed, "This doctrine [of eternal punishment] I consider to be clearly indicated in the Communion Service, the Burial Service, the Apostles' Creed, and the Athanasian Creed." (Past. Letter.)

the New Testament is scarcely open to question, in the places relating to this subject. Sometimes, indeed, the word "everlasting," and its kindred terms, are used in the Scriptures in a limited sense—a sense limited by the nature of the subject spoken of. Nevertheless, their meaning is that of long-enduring, or also unending, duration. And this is unquestionably the usual meaning of *αἰώνιος*, both in the Septuagint and in the New Testament, as might be illustrated by various instances. We need not here, however, enter further upon this point—which would probably not be disputed.* Our argument has more especially to do with the prevailing conceptions of future punishment. We have, therefore, necessarily to take the words referred to in what we may term the *worst* sense which can be put upon them—the sense which is always attributed to them in the popular statements relating to "hell fire."

In the next place, we may briefly inquire what that doctrine is which thus gives offence to an increasing party within the Church of England, as it does also to a party, which is doubtless increasing too, outside of that Church.

What it is, is well known, in a general way, to most of our readers. In the course of any ordinary sermon, in most of the churches and chapels of the land, it is probable that they will hear the common belief in eternal torments, if not fully set forth, at least alluded to, or taken for granted. People sing it, in some cases; they preach it, and hear it preached; they introduce it, more or less freely, into their creeds and into their prayers. And, in truth, when properly handled, the subject is interesting, and may be made a very effective subject of address to a popular unreflecting audience. "Hell fire"—"eternal damnation"—"the wrath of God"—"everlasting torments"—"the devil and his angels"—what can be more exciting, more attractive? And so the topic is one of the most common and favourite of topics in certain sections of the religious world.

Yet it is observed, that in many of the churches this doctrine has long been less frequently spoken of than it used

* We hold the meaning of *duration* to be alone admissible, even in John, by one who will take words in their usual signification. Thus, in John iii. 16, the *ζωὴ αἰώνιος* is spoken of in contrast to *perishing* (*ἀπόληται*). So x. 28. Compare also the strongly drawn contrast between the "temporal" and the "eternal," in 2 Cor. iv. 17, 18; as well as between the "earthly house" which is to be "dissolved," and the house "eternal in the heavens," 2 Cor. v. 1—4.

to be. Now and then we have a publication from some clerical pen directly against it. About three years ago, Bishop Colenso openly announced, in so many words, that he had abandoned his former belief in it. "For the last seven years," he says, "I have carefully studied it, with an earnest desire to know the truth of God upon the matter, and with an humble desire for the guidance and teaching of His Holy Spirit in the search for it. I now declare that I can no longer maintain or give utterance to the doctrine of the endlessness of future punishment—that I dare not dogmatize at all on the matter—that I can only lay my hand upon my mouth, and leave it in the hands of the righteous and merciful Judge."*

But in other quarters, as we have said, the doctrine is maintained in all its ancient authority and ancient horrors. The Religious Tract Society,—one of the great and wealthy societies supported by members of the Established Church,—publishes and republishes tracts and books in which it is laid down with the utmost minuteness. Thus we have a new edition of a once celebrated book—Baxter's *Saints' Rest*—in which occur the following sentences on the nature of hell :

"As all parts have joined in sin, so must they all partake in the torment. . . . The guilt of their sins will be to condemned souls like tinder to gunpowder, to make the flames of hell take hold on them with fury. . . . But the greatest aggravation of these torments will be their eternity. When a thousand millions of ages are past, they are as fresh to begin as the first day. If there were any hope of an end, it would ease the damned to foresee it ; but 'for ever' is an intolerable thought. They were never weary of sinning, nor will God be weary of plaguing. . . . Is it an intolerable thing to burn part of the body, by holding it in the fire ? What, then, will it be to suffer ten thousand times more for ever in hell ?"

Such passages might be multiplied ; but these may serve to shew us what kind of statements are republished in our days, still finding, it seems, readers and editors who approve of them, and desire to make them known as means of religious edification and influence !

It is easy to find matter of the same kind of more modern

* Commentary on Romans, p. 197.

date. There are hymn-books and catechisms now in use which seem to vie with one another in such pictures. The following is from a Wesleyan Methodist Catechism "for children of tender years:"

"What sort of a place is hell?—Answer: A dark and bottomless pit, full of fire and brimstone.

"How will the wicked be punished there?—Answer: By having their bodies tormented by fire, and their souls by a sense of the wrath of God.

"How long will these torments last?—Answer: The torments of hell will last for ever and ever."

With equal neatness of expression, these conceptions have been put into verse, and are sung in hymns:

"Soon as from earth I go,
What will become of me?
Eternal happiness or woe
Must then my portion be."
* * * *

"What after death for me remains?
Celestial joy or hellish pains,
To all eternity."*

We have higher authority still for this repulsive and unspiritual dogma of endless physical suffering. It is that of the Bishop of Oxford, who in 1850 preached a sermon at Banbury, in which he dwelt on this subject of punishment in hell. He was preaching more especially to children who had that day been confirmed by him. He described (we are told) the different classes of persons who will be condemned to everlasting misery; and he sought his warnings chiefly from those on whom the world is disposed to look favourably. After describing the death of the impenitent of various classes, all alike ending with the doom of eternal misery, the Bishop went on to give a picture of a *school-girl*, cut off at the age of thirteen or fourteen. "In her short life she had not seldom played truant from school, had told some lies, had been obstinate and disobedient. Now she had to bid farewell to heaven and hope, to her parents, her brothers and her sisters. What was her agony of grief that she should never again look on their faces, never hear their well-known voices! . . . Henceforth she must dwell among beings on whom there is no check or restraint. The worst

* Wesley's Hymns, Nos. 43, 44.

of men are there, with every spark of human feeling extinguished, without any law to moderate the fury of their desperate rage."*

There is more to the same effect. We have given enough to enable the reader to see in what terms a Bishop of the English Church, in the middle of the nineteenth century, can preach to children.

The Scotch clergy, it would appear, are equally eloquent on this inspiring theme. We once heard the well-known preacher, Dr. Norman Macleod, in the course of a sermon, give a description, in the usual glowing terms, of celestial happiness. He introduced an amazed but doubting Christian anxiously asking whether so blissful a portion could be reserved for him, sinner that he was. Yes, was the answer, he must share it, or the worse for him:—"It *must* be you, or ye're a lost deevil." No alternative; "celestial joy, or hellish pains, to all eternity"!

Such, then, are the popular representations, given, accepted, and acceptable, of this great subject of future punishment. Is it necessary to add that they are wholly unwarranted by the statements of the Scriptures, fairly interpreted?—or that, in reality, they discredit and dishonour our common Christianity? They amount, in truth, to the merest caricature of the figurative language in which the idea of the judgment to come is conveyed to us in the New Testament—a caricature which cannot be justified even by the most narrow or literal interpretation of that language.

But what, in the next place, is the general influence of this doctrine of hell-fire? Has it practically a good and effectual influence? Does it preserve the world from sin,—making men just, temperate and holy? If so, we might well be contented to reckon it among the agents of human salvation. It has, at any rate, been long enough before the world as part and parcel of the prevailing Christianity; and whatever good influence it may contain, it would seem to have had ample scope and opportunity for exercising. If, then, it be possible to frighten the world into virtue, we might suppose that the great majority, in our own and other Christian nations, would by this time have been made as perfect, morally and religiously, as they well can be. But what is the fact? We are told, even by those who think

* See the *National Review*, Jan. 1863.

and teach in accordance with the popular ideas, that the contrary is the case. We have heard a popular clergyman* declare in his sermon that, even of Christian congregations, the Devil has in his power the larger part; and if such be the case *here*, what must it be in the great world around us? We can only infer, from such assertions, that the vast majority of our fellow-men are surely on the broad way that leads to eternal death; that they are hastening headlong to the fires of hell; and, most wonderful of all, that it is not GOD who is to triumph at last, but the great Enemy of God and man!

We may rejoice, however, to believe that these ideas are essentially untrue and impossible. Men are better than their theological systems represent them. The Almighty Father is better also. But whether better or worse, it must at least be admitted, by those who preach such systems, that the ordinary doctrine of hell fire has not had the effect in converting the world which, at first sight, it might be expected to have. There are, indeed, tender and timid natures whom it may overwhelm and crush in despair. We read of such persons, and many, probably, of whom we never hear are thus crushed down, made miserable, if not for themselves, for others dear to them; while yet it must be admitted that the multitudes pass on, living in frequent or habitual sin, in spite of those horrible pictures of future misery with which the popular Christianity has made us so familiar.

This comparatively small influence of the belief in eternal punishment may be ascribed to various causes.

(1.) The doctrine is secretly felt to be *unjust*; and what involves essential injustice cannot, in the nature of things, exercise any great and controlling influence for good. Can we suppose that *any* sin or crime that a human being ever commits, can render him *deserving* of such a punishment as is said to be inflicted in the torments of hell? The lost soul is represented as suffering the most unutterable anguish, pains of burning and other torments and miseries which human language is at a loss to describe. To these there is no alleviation; they go on and on, not for the length of a life-time, not for a hundred, or a thousand, or ten thousand

* The Vicar of Malvern, in 1861.

years ; not for any conceivable period of duration ; but for ever and ever, to all eternity. Nor is this all ; for the lost soul is said to be in the company of other lost souls, and of innumerable bad spirits. These wretched beings are themselves in misery, and it is a part of their miserable portion to increase each other's suffering by all the arts of fiendish ingenuity. No good feeling, no good action, no pity, love or hope, can ever enter or be known in this region of horrors, but only suffering and despair to all eternity. And to complete the picture, there is meantime a God in heaven, and happy spirits, and angels of light and mercy ! Can any one, when he thinks about it, admit that in all this there is any thing like justice ?—that a Being who allows so large a part of those on whom He himself conferred the gift of life, to be brought into this state of irremediable misery,—that He is a just God ? And, as we said before, can any sin or crime, or any life of sin and crime, *deserve* such an amount or duration of punishment as is asserted by the popular belief ?

(2.) That belief, however, not only involves injustice in the apportioning of the penalty to the offence ; it involves injustice in another sense, quite as serious. All men (it is said) are to be divided into *two* classes only, the good and the bad. All of the one sort go into heavenly happiness ; all of the other go into the infernal misery. Now, among those of the latter class, there must be very many *degrees* of guilt. We know that sinful men are not all equally sinful. Some are worse than others ; some are better than others. But they shall all be treated alike, we are told, in one hell, with a punishment of torment which shall go on for ever. The Bishop of Oxford, we have seen, tells us that the school-girl of thirteen or fourteen years old, who has committed faults which ill-trained children are apt to commit,—faults, we must add, for which blame ought often to be attributed as much to the parent as the child,—must go into the unquenchable fires, equally with the greatest sinner or criminal that ever trod the earth. There have been robbers and murderers, whose guilt is of the deepest dye, men whose crimes might harrow up one's blood, if they were recounted at length. The little girl who has played truant, and told lies to escape detection, is to be treated even as those greatest of criminals, greatest of sinners. But

is there *justice* in this? And may not they who affirm such things be said to speak evil of God, and represent Him as the greatest enemy of justice and mercy that can exist? Such teachings, we must declare, turn the All-merciful Father into a very fiend, and represent Him as doing what none but Satan himself could find the heart or the will to do. We know that even sinful and ignorant man seeks to inflict righteous punishment; tries to proportion punishment to guilt; does not confound all the different degrees of crime under one sentence. One man will receive a month's imprisonment, another ten years'; these terms being suited, it is believed, to the deserts of each. Shall we then say that God is less just than this?—that He has given to His creatures of mankind a sense of right which He knows not Himself?—that He can only inflict one and the same terrible penalty of everlasting misery on all alike?

(3.) Even among those who in theory assent to these teachings, hardly anybody thinks, or realizes to himself, that the evil lot can fall upon him, or upon any one connected with him. Hence, the force of the doctrine is largely evaded. Whatever a man's conscious sins may be, every one is ready to think that some way of escape will be opened for him; and so, for himself, he can easily reconcile himself to a sinful life, trusting that at last a sudden conversion will change his condition and fit him for heaven. Thus we sometimes hear of criminals, who for some grievous deed of murder have been sentenced to death, being at last by a sudden belief, as it is said, in the merits of Christ, so changed that they are ready to enter upon heavenly happiness; having, in fact, by that sudden faith of theirs at the last moment, earned a sort of right to be received into heaven. In this way, one article of the popular creeds neutralizes another; and thus it is that this doctrine of eternal torments, dreadful as it is, is practically evaded and practically without any great or salutary influence in keeping men from wickedness.

Within the brief space at our command, we cannot enter upon all the considerations which are applicable to this discussion. But we will briefly refer to the light which is thrown upon it by the Christian revelation of the character of God, and by one or two other kindred facts.

Jesus Christ, when he speaks of God as "our Father in
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heaven," and in many other expressions,* appeals to the emotions and feelings of the human mind for language wherewith to convey to us his own conception of the moral nature of God. How is this plain fact in the Christian teachings to be reconciled with statements, which would represent the Almighty Being as doing that from which *our* nature leads us at once to shrink, with aversion and horror? How is the clear and constant representation of God by Christ, as our "heavenly Father," to be reconciled with a doctrine which makes Him do that which not merely no human father would do to his child, but no human being whatever, possessed of anything like a human heart, could do even to his bitterest enemy? What should we think of a *man* who should consign one who had injured him to torment for his life in a place of fire and brimstone, if such a thing were possible? And what must we think of a God who could consign his creatures who had offended him to torments, not of life-long, but of everlasting duration? who should even keep them alive to no other end than that they might endure the fierceness of his wrath for ever and ever? We know that it is a property of fire to consume and destroy, and that if our present bodies were subjected to the power of even ordinary fire they would quickly perish. This would be a merciful alternative to those who are doomed to hell. But the common belief does not allow them to have it. It assumes that the body will be continually renewed and strengthened, or so changed that it shall not perish. The lost shall not be allowed to die!—but shall be maintained in life able to feel and to endure for untold ages,—ages which will never be exhausted, never come to an end,—able to feel and to endure the unspeakable anguish of the fire which is not quenched, and the worm which dieth not. And this destiny is reserved, or shall we say appointed, for inconceivable multitudes of men by Him who is their "Father in heaven," a "God of mercy" and a "God of love;" and the gospel in which it is said to be announced to us, is often spoken of as a gospel of "good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people."

If all this be true of God, surely man had better not be told to imitate Him, and can never love Him with any

* E. g. Matt. v. 44—48; Luke vi. 36.

genuine, durable love.* He may, indeed, fear or even hate the author of his existence, but how, on this theory of an eternal hell, he can love him, we are at a loss to conceive.

But the doctrine is not a part of Christianity, for it is utterly out of harmony with the spirit of various passages of the New Testament. St. Paul, for instance, tells us, "Whatsoever a man soweth, *that* shall he also reap;" and this we feel to be a just and reasonable principle; teaching us that the penalty shall be proportioned to the guilt. In one place our Lord says of two well-known towns of his time, "It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the judgment than for you." Here is the same principle clearly recognized. So in another place, where he says, "That servant which knew his Lord's will and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes; but he that knew not and did commit things worthy of stripes shall be beaten with few stripes." He that knew and yet did the wrong shall be punished the more; he that did it in ignorance shall be punished the less.

How, then, shall we reconcile such statements as these with the "everlasting fire," the "everlasting punishment," also spoken of by Christ—spoken of as if to be equally inflicted on all alike, whatever their different degrees of guilt? We shall do so by taking notice that we have, on the surface of the sacred page, some diversity of statement, and by following, in reference to this, the dictates of common sense, which will tell us to let the fair and reasonable principle prevail; to let justice and mercy interpret for us wherever this is possible. That greater guilt shall incur many stripes, and less guilt fewer, this we feel to be right before God and man. But we do not feel it to be right, we are sure that it is not right, to inflict an equal punishment of untold horror upon all the differing degrees of sin—upon the little school-girl of thirteen or fourteen, whatever may be her faults; upon the full-grown man who, under the temptations of his life, has done some lighter deed of wrong; and upon the man who may have committed some long-planned, cold-blooded crime, which we shudder to contem-

* Matt. v. 48; Mark xii. 30; Ephes. v. 1.

plate. It never can be Justice, it would be only a mockery of that sacred word, to consign each of these persons, in its name, to one equal and unending hell. If a difficulty of this kind appear on the face of the scriptural statements, the way to remove it is open before us, and it is easy. It is simply to admit the essentially inexact and figurative character of the expressions about the fire of another state of being; to admit that words and phrases, adopted from the familiar language of every-day life, are not to be interpreted with the strictness we might apply to legal enactments, or made to supersede plain terms which speak of degrees of punishment duly proportioned to degrees of guilt. The rational mode of harmonizing the two classes of statement will manifestly be, in explaining the difficult by the easy, the figurative by the more literal, and not the reverse; by letting moral feeling have its due weight with us in this matter, as in others; and, above all, by reading the language about punishment in the superior light of the Christian revelation of God as our merciful Father in heaven. His judgments, we are surely taught, will be the expression, not of arbitrary force and passion, but of calm and equal justice—justice, we need not doubt, tempered with the fatherly love and mercy of Him who “knoweth our frame and remembereth we are dust.”

IV.—ON THE STUDY OF HEBREW :

AN ADDRESS AT THE OPENING OF THE SESSION OF MANCHESTER
NEW COLLEGE, LONDON, OCT. 10, 1864.

BY RUSSELL MARTINEAU, M.A.,
LECTURER ON THE HEBREW LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

WE are brought together here this day to inaugurate a new session of this College by a preliminary view of a portion of the field which we propose to traverse during the ensuing year. The subject which I wish to bring before your notice is naturally that which has been entrusted to my care in this College—the Hebrew language and literature. I shall endeavour to establish a conviction of the importance

of the study of that language to modern education, and to shew that the present age has grounds for anticipating results of great moment from it.

The study of language and literature has always held a high place in education. Even before it was understood that languages were formed strictly in accordance with principle, and when in them an almost unlimited scope was conceded to caprice, it was yet found that practice in learning them and reading their elegant literature formed an excellent school for training the mind to logical thought and correct speech. As a matter of course, the language used for this purpose in Europe was Latin. The Roman Empire had extended its pressure over the whole of Western Europe at a time when the native races of the various countries were sufficiently civilized to acknowledge the superior charm—the “classicality” as we now call it—of the polished Latin literature, and yet not sufficiently so to dream of vying with Rome on the field of letters. Latin, moreover, was more or less forcibly imposed on the subject countries as the language of law. These two facts combined to cause Latin to be regarded as the language of science and literature, the only one reduced to acknowledged rules, and as such *the* language, par excellence, through which grammar could be learned. In this way it was regarded till the Reformation. The great blow which abolished the solitary classicality of the Latin tongue was then inflicted by the study of Greek, revived in the previous century in Italy, and then zealously taken up by the German Reformers, mainly because the New Testament was written in it. The old Latin authors themselves testified to the Greek literature being “classical” to them, and acknowledged themselves to be far-off imitators of its beauties; and the renewed study of this language proved all these eulogies to fall short of the truth. Thenceforth, then, Greek must be allowed an equal rank with Latin; and so they came to be called together the “classical languages.” Thus was dispelled the notion that Latin was a “peculiar” language—that its ideas on elegance of style, and even its grammatical usages, were to serve as the standard of elegance for others. A second language had been forced into the magic circle of classicality—one which never had possessed the authority of universal dominion, and had not been adopted by the Church, except in the little known East, nor yet by the law. The idea

that Latin was the language for all the higher elegant or learned literature—the modern dialects not presuming to possess anything but rude ballads and other popular books confined by no principles of grammar or rhetoric—was refuted by the simple discovery that it had not always been so, and that no beauty could be claimed for the Latin which the Greek tongue did not also possess.

It must certainly surprise us, that when *Classicality* had thus, three centuries and a half ago, been proved not to be an inherent quality of the Latin, the just conclusion should not have been sooner drawn, that it was impossible to limit its area; that thenceforth the term *classical*, if it were not discarded as expressing an obsolete and disproved distinction, must be invested with a new meaning, to indicate that a language, through careful study of its natural powers of expression and the rules under which these work, through the skilful employment of these rules, and through more than ordinary vigour of thought and clearness of expression on the part of its writers, had been promoted into the “first rank” among languages—the very *classis* of the Roman constitution of Servius Tullius, whence this term *classical* was derived. Nothing short of the old antagonism between the East and the West, which the conquests of the Moslims in the preceding age had raised to the highest pitch, and the later successes of the Turks had kept awake, could have prevented at least two other languages from being taken into the circle of classicality. The language of the Arabs had been studied and fostered by native writers to a degree which was absolutely unknown in the case of any European nation. Its natural richness had been increased a hundred-fold, and every resource of rhetoric and poetical diction had been encouraged to the utmost, by a people possessed of great natural refinement and especial sense for the beauties of expression, and whose scholars were thoroughly grounded in the precepts of Aristotle. However much Arabs might differ in their other tastes, in their veneration for their language all were united. And as Latin, the original classical language, became so by being that of the Roman empire, so Arabic was the language of the Moslim empire, and after its disruption continued to be that of religion and law under all the new kingdoms. Thus if any language ever deserved to be accounted classical, Arabic certainly did. The other language which ought to have been allowed to stand in the

same rank with Latin and Greek, is Hebrew. As Greek was admitted to stand beside Latin on account of its being the language of the New Testament, so Hebrew might have been on account of its being that of the Old. And the religious claim is even greatly stronger on behalf of Hebrew than of Greek. The founders and historians of Christianity chose, indeed, to write in Greek; but their barbarous use of that beautiful language reminds us painfully that this was not their native tongue, nor that of the Master whom they represent, and therefore can in no strict sense be regarded as the original language of Christianity. On the other hand, the Hebrew language, the Mosaic religion, and the Old Testament, are coextensive. Any language which is so completely identified with one special religion as Hebrew, must be classical to those under its influence; so Arabic to the Moslems, so Zend to the Zoroastrians, so Sanskrit to the Hindus. But, independently of the religious influence which the Hebrew books have possessed over later ages, their language may well claim on literary grounds to be considered classical, its inherent resources having been fully developed and ingeniously and elegantly employed, and this at so early an age in the history of the world that it served as instructor to many later dialects.

And yet we have arrived at the second half of the nineteenth century, and the expression "classical languages" still is generally confined to Latin and Greek; and these are still popularly supposed to possess some sort of magical virtue, to which no other language can shew anything similar, in the development of the intellect and the taste. Yet it would be difficult to justify this peculiar position by argument. For we can assert nothing *à priori* in favour of the Greek and Latin languages. The very grammatical system of which Aristotle gave us the rudiments in Greek, and Quintilian in Latin, we have tried upon other languages, and thereby discovered their theory and explained their practice; and the result is, that all are found as firmly based upon principle and as far removed from caprice as Latin and Greek. Regarding the Latin and Greek merely as languages, therefore, we learn no more from them than we might from many others. Of course, though the ultimate principles of all speech, being the principles of logic or of the human mind, are the same everywhere, the mode which they adopt

for their expression varies infinitely, and this variety produces the differences among languages ; and I am not asserting that every one of these modes of expression is of equal value. Some languages have a system of far more elaborate grammatical and syntactical expedients than others, and especially use a great number of inflexions, so as in every case to define the thought most accurately. Other languages, on the contrary, have a far simpler system, and dispense with change of inflexion almost wholly ; they thus manage, as it were, to hint at, rather than express, the thought, using very few and consequently vague grammatical devices. Which of these two kinds of language is the more perfect in itself, and which yields the more instruction when made the subject of study, are two questions which should not be confounded together, nor lightly answered at all. As to the first, it is a wide-spread opinion that an elaborate inflexional system constitutes the more perfect language ; but, although much may be said in favour of this view, the presumption ought to be the other way. We notice everywhere that at an early period languages are highly inflected, and wonder how, at a period of only incipient civilization or even of barbarism, so careful and clear but withal so complicated a system could really arise and be in general use. But these elaborate inflexions are gradually worn away with time and growing civilization, being first made shorter and simpler, but still retaining enough to be distinguished one from another ; and then losing all really effective distinction and leaving the word nearly bare, and looking very like one of the original roots. This process has taken place so constantly, and with such uniformity in different countries, and so generally as a concomitant of advancing civilization, that it has at least a *prima facie* claim to be regarded as an advance of language to a higher stage, rather than as a *degeneracy, disintegration, decline, crumbling down*,—epithets which have been too thoughtlessly applied to it. Certainly the spectacle of a language of high inflexion yields to the student a very real and noble pleasure, like that which an engineer feels in examining a complicated machine ; and if in its literature it seems to wield its elaborate instruments with ease, and to express beautiful thoughts unconstrainedly, the pleasure excited by this corresponds with that felt when the machine begins to move. But from this

it by no means follows that this system, though the most ingenious, is the most generally useful. It is the most concise, of course; the inflexions doing the duty which in other languages must be performed by distinct words; and where conciseness gives energy, it is far the most expressive, as in Cæsar's "Veni, vidi, vici." But there are cases in which too much may be defined; and there the highly inflected language is in an awkward case of helplessness; for having once glued on the inflections and made them inseparable, the original indefiniteness of the root can never be restored. And, again, the number of relations—called cases—in which a noun may stand to a governing noun or verb having been (as it were) officially laid down, the language must bring all possible relations in which a noun may stand, into one or other of these categories; whereas an uninflected language has much freer action, since being forced to express even the relations in question by prepositions, it can extend the use of prepositions much further, and thereby express more refined distinctions. The highly inflected language is a complicated machine which does what it was constructed to do most perfectly and most expeditiously, but is powerless beyond its proper sphere. The uninflected language has the simplicity of hand-labour; it cannot compete with the machine on the ground occupied by the latter, but elsewhere is far more powerful, and can be turned to any purpose with far greater ease. It is less difficult to answer the other question, as to the *instructiveness* of the two forms of language to the student. Perhaps the elaborate inflexional system may be in all cases the more instructive, but at least it is so to one whose own language belongs mainly to the other class, and therefore to an Englishman. But the admirers of the inflexional system have no right to found upon that any exclusive claim on behalf of Greek and Latin; since Sanskrit in perhaps every part of the grammar, and Hebrew and Arabic in some, are found to possess richer resources.

Let us, then, try to be more philosophical in our judgments on education in language. Let Latin and Greek stand upon their merits as languages, and upon the wonderful power and beauty of their literature. Let also the position which they hold specially towards *Europe* be appreciated—Latin yielding the explanation of an immense number of

words adopted into English, and of nearly the whole French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese languages, and Latin and Greek together influencing the Church, and therefore modern theology. These claims will always secure to them much the same place in education which they have held since the Reformation. Let us do justice to their historical and æsthetic rank, but not imagine in them anything intrinsically exceptional.

Discarding, therefore, the idea that any exceptional classicality belongs to the Greek and Latin languages, we are free to re-open the historical question, and to ask, What are the main historical component parts of modern European civilization, which it is essential to study in order to understand that civilization—to think the thoughts, feel the sentiments, and construct the philosophical and religious systems which have brought the world to the point at which it now stands? The first and fundamental component part in every modern nation, which determines the national character, and consequently the special form of culture there developed, is of course the character of the aboriginal people and the later immigrants—in England, Celts, Anglo-saxons and Northmen. This element, however, may with greater propriety be regarded as not belonging to, but as anterior to, civilization; and then the influences brought to bear upon this native character from older and more polished nations will alone be recognized as civilization. Regarding the subject in this light, we can have no hesitation in assigning to Greece and Rome a very high place as agents in the work of civilization of modern Europe. The energies of the Roman set strongly towards institutions—political constitutions and systems of legislation—the creations of collective humanity for the benefit of collective humanity, where the individual does not speak and is not regarded. Thus the Romans naturally founded an Empire which overrode the distinctions of nationality; and their legislation was perfected not for their own decaying Empire alone, but literally as a *κτῆμα εἰς ἀεί*, an eternal possession for all the new nations that succeeded them. The character of the Greek was in some sense the very opposite of that of the Roman. The Greek loved most individual beauty and grace, in person, in art, in literature. He could hardly understand the expression of the collective

judgment of a nation ; and his national heroes were men of brilliant personal powers, like the warriors of his own oldest and greatest poet, rather than much-enduring champions of a principle, or of the rights of a class, as in Rome. To Greece, therefore, we owe most of the poetical element of our modern civilization—the love of beauty as an inspiring power in all the fine arts, and even the canons of beauty in sculpture and architecture. Our modern poetry has indeed borrowed largely from Horace and other Latin poets ; but that form of poetry was really Greek, and only introduced by Horace, Propertius and others as an exotic into the Latin literature ; and its genius is as palpably alien to the Roman character, as it is strictly native to the Greek.

But the deeper we penetrate into the spirit of the Greek and Roman nations and literatures, the less satisfied shall we be to regard them as the sole civilizing influence in Europe. Law and Beauty do not express *all* the aspirations of modern humanity. Beyond the relations of man to man, —the province of law,—lies the relation of man to God. Beyond the feeling of love for individual beauty, which may degenerate into something purely selfish, lies the love which embraces humanity, and which is strongest where that of the Greek would have been weakest—towards the poor, the wretched, the outcast. In other words, the Religion of modern Europe is the one great element of civilization which is not due to Rome or Greece. A purely classical training, therefore, where it does not overwhelm and stifle the religious feeling of personal duties higher than the class-rights which law can define, of moral obligations unknown to the Code, and of a relation to God as well as to man, and where it does not kill the affection for a higher beauty than that of form, must leave a feeling of dissatisfaction behind. The works there set before us do not express *all* that *we* should express if we had the gift of speech, nor even the highest thoughts.

We are thus led to recognize the presence of another great element of civilization, standing apart from and in some sense opposed to both the other great influences of Greece and Rome : the Religious element. This brings us in face of one of the greatest facts of history—the opposite character of the Eastern and the Western nations, through which the former have contributed the religious, the latter

the civil, element of civilization. Three times in history have the Semitic tribes founded a religion of a spiritual character, not wholly consisting of outward rites—Mosaism, Christianity and Islam. Never has the stream of religious influence flowed in the opposite direction, from Europe to Asia. The essential characteristic of the Oriental, which appears to have pervaded all ages of history, is mainly this, that he lives *in himself*, and has deep personal feelings, such as a sense of the Divine presence and working in his soul, and warm human affections towards family, nation, language and religion, but—whether from a deep inborn reverence which persuades him that these things are too deep and holy to be talked of to others, or from an indolence which preserves the luxury of deep and holy feelings as a personal enjoyment—rests on the feelings alone, rarely communicating them, and scarcely conscious of an impulse to vigorous and generous action in accordance with these feelings. Individual men and women who live this life of luxurious isolation of feeling cannot form themselves into strong political communities. Social right and wrong can hardly be said to exist for them, since they feel no clear bond of social union. Each feels his dependence upon his God, and aspires towards communion with Him; but the Divine power being alone felt as acting and giving, and man only as passive and recipient, the idea of social duties, of class-rights, and of equity in the action of a state, never arises at all. Thus the Oriental—or more strictly the Semitic—mind (for beyond the limits of the Semitic race we meet in the East with nations of widely different character, which it is a great though frequent error to credit with these Semitic features) possesses the very essence of religion deeply implanted in it; originally narrow and bigoted indeed, and clothed in transient forms, but inwardly so strong and living that it could not but outgrow its trammels, and give itself to the world. Thus this inborn religious feeling which originally rendered the Hebrews truly a peculiar people—though not exactly in the sense in which that phrase is popularly taken—did in time work its way into the more massive calibre of the active, practical and political minds of the Western nations. Moreover, in the great world into which it was then introduced, the religious sentiment first assumed its just influence over human nature. In the East

which generated it, it appeared as a tyrannical power, repressing art and science, and warping law and justice. In the West it encountered nations which had already produced admirable systems of law, and developed refined principles of art and science ; these elements of civilization were therefore safe from any undue slavery to religion or its counterfeit, degrading superstition. Religion, therefore, could only exert a noble and exalting influence—could guide and direct, but not tyrannize over and annihilate all other forces but its own.

The other great power besides that of Greece and Rome, then, which has affected modern civilization, is the power of Religion, which comes to us direct from the Semitic race, and from the Hebrew branch of that stock. Christianity is of the Hebrews ; and the Judaism or Mosaism upon which it was grafted was of course exclusively Hebrew. The Hebrew language therefore must be learnt, the Hebrew literature must be read, to appreciate adequately the religious element of modern civilization. It might, perhaps, be objected by those who consider themselves removed, as far as any moral or religious influence is concerned, above the level of the Old Testament, and who regard the religion of Jesus as something new, and different in kind from Judaism, both in the mind of Jesus himself and in its ultimate destiny,—it might, I say, be objected that the study of the Christian Scriptures requires Greek, not Hebrew, and that the sacred books of the Hebrews do not concern our religion. Few would have the boldness to express this feeling so broadly ; but of its frequency in a stronger or milder form the rarity of Hebrew scholarship even in the clergy assures us. We may meet such objectors on their own ground, and say : “That the New Testament was written in Greek, is a mere accident, due to the preponderance of Greek literature in that age ; but it was certainly *thought* in Hebrew. This the extreme barbarism and obscurity of the style never allow us to forget for a single verse ; and that very barbarism and obscurity would often be elegance and clearness in Hebrew. The spirit, then, of the language and thought of the New Testament is essentially Hebrew ; and can be fully appreciated only by one who knows that language. The constant references, explicit or implicit, to the legislation and prophecy of the Old Testament, constitute external testimony to their strictly Hebrew spirit. Moreover, these references

yield to us a very tangible reason for studying Hebrew ; since they can be duly estimated only by those who are able to read the entire book from which they are taken, and so to judge of the fairness with which they are quoted. We cannot, therefore, even study the New Testament fully, without studying the Old as well."

But, I may be told, the Hebrew Scriptures are at least only secondary in interest and importance : the New Testament offers so wide a field of thought and study, that most students must content themselves with reading the Old Testament in a translation. No classical scholar, at all events, can be allowed to make this assertion, except as a *pis aller* ; since he has found by experience how impossible it is to convey the full spirit of the Greek and Latin poetry and eloquence through the medium of a modern language. And if this difficulty is acknowledged by all competent judges in the transference of those European languages into the modern tongues akin to them, it must obviously be far greater when we attempt to render the thoughts belonging to so ancient and so distant a civilization as that of Western Asia, into the modern European tongues. But it is not necessary to rest the assertion that the old Hebrew books cannot be adequately translated, upon anything so vague as the spirit of an obsolete form of civilization ; although to those who have tried and experienced it this is anything but a vague truth. It is simply a *fact*, resulting from the varying scope of the meaning of words in the language from which, and that into which, you translate. Thus the word *Shalom* means properly peace (opposed to war), but may be used of the bodily condition to denote health (opposed to disease), or more vaguely of prosperity or happiness in general. Whichever of these words I select, I do not exactly represent the original : *peace* is too narrow and confined an idea : *prosperity* too wide : and if I determine to take a different word according to the context of each passage, I probably sacrifice some allusion or play upon the word. On the other hand, Hebrew has at least five names denoting Man. They are not synonymous, yet the English language possesses only that one word by which to translate them all in most instances. Here, then, the translator is forced to obliterate a distinction. In this instance the translation says too little, and is vaguer than the original, because the

one English word covers the ground of several Hebrew : in the former, the translation says too much, and is too definite, because the Hebrew word covers the ground of several English, one of which must nevertheless be taken, to the exclusion of the others. Be it observed, that here is no fault of the translator, which a better translation could amend, but an inherent obstacle, which makes it impossible to say exactly the same in one language as in another. No criticism, therefore, which is not based upon the original Hebrew text, can be safely trusted. It is in great measure the fault of the Churches that we have at the present day to insist upon so evident a truth. The Church of Rome, by giving the sanction of authority to the Latin Vulgate translation, discouraged the study of the original Hebrew and Greek, and almost caused it to be forgotten that the Vulgate was not the original. The Church of England has similarly given her formal approbation to one translation ; and here, although the Church certainly never intended to discourage the study of the original, or to invest the translation with any measure of infallibility, the result has been nearly the same : the allowed translation has been used because it is allowed, the original has been forgotten, and few have even dreamed of mastering the language of the latter.

I have thus endeavoured to establish the claim of Hebrew studies to form part of an ordinary liberal education. I need not here discuss the question how my recommendation is to be put into practice—to adjust the rival claims of various studies. If the desire for a more frequent study of Hebrew and the Old-Testament Scriptures be once earnestly and generally felt, the schools will provide the means. Nor need we look with terror upon the constantly increasing number of subjects that claim a place in modern school education. If *all* cannot learn *all*, that is no reason why *some* should not study subjects for which they shew peculiar fitness. In short, education must cease to be one uniform routine for all, and must be adapted by the teacher to the special wants and talents of each pupil. When this responsibility is accepted by parents and teachers, we shall begin to witness the growth of a body of scholars, both of the clergy and of the laity, who have an opinion at *first-hand* on questions of Hebrew scholarship and Old-Testament criticism ; and much power that is now spent in controversies,

occasioned or aggravated less by the obscurity of the matter under discussion than by the ignorance of the combatants, would be turned in a more profitable direction. Moreover, the experience of Germany shews us that the introduction of Hebrew into high school education is perfectly practicable. It is there taught in the upper classes of the *Gymnasias*; and the youth who proceeds thence to the higher education of the University, enters at once upon the higher stages of the study; and no more has his Hebrew alphabet to learn at the University, than one of our commencing students his Greek. The effect of these arrangements is, to form of the many who study Hebrew elementarily at the *Gymnasium*, a large body of intelligent public opinion on Hebrew questions throughout the country, and to elevate the few who pass through the more advanced education of the University to a higher point than we can reach. Thus the latter become more learned scholars than we can ever hope to be; and the former a sufficiently extensive public to render possible the composition, sale, and intelligent appreciation of works of criticism by the latter, which here few authors would have courage to write, and still fewer publishers would venture to print. This it is, more than any diversity of talent for these studies, which has caused all the works of most learning on Hebrew and Old-Testament criticism to be produced in Germany.

I have tried to make it evident that the study of Hebrew ought to be regarded as of general interest and general usefulness. So long as this is not admitted, but little improvement in our Hebrew criticism is to be looked for. So long as the clergyman is credited with a knowledge of both Testaments, and consequently of Hebrew and Greek, which in nine cases out of ten he does not possess—and hardly could, because his University does not encourage the study of Hebrew—the Church will be able to bear down with her whole weight upon the scattered scholars who try to gain some real knowledge at first-hand. But this Church authority can only be wielded during the ignorance of the Laity. Let any considerable number of the laity *know* something about the question, and the Church will not be able to crush, she will have to argue; and argument must advance the truth.

Let me say a few words, in conclusion, on the peculiar

claims which the study of Hebrew has upon the *Clergy* of our and every church. In this I neither contradict nor invalidate what has just been said about the special importance in the present age of encouraging these studies in the laity. For similarly on the domain of law, I might insist on the importance of a widely diffused knowledge of the history of the English constitution, without incurring the suspicion that in making this knowledge general, I intended to exempt the legal profession from its acquirement: that legal knowledge which every British citizen ought to possess, every lawyer ought *a fortiori* to acquire. The religion of which we ask our Ministers to become the exponents to us, in so far as it is not personal, spontaneous and underived, but rests on an historical basis, is a legacy from the Hebrew race, and ultimately from Moses and the Prophets of the Old Testament—Jesus himself being a Hebrew, and deriving all that in him was not personal from no other source. So far, therefore, as religion is susceptible of study, and religious instruction possible, the history and the religious thought of the Hebrew race, not only of the age of Jesus, but of all previous ages, must be the most serious study of our religious instructors; and this involves the study of Hebrew as well as Greek. Never, therefore, may this College relax its requirements in this field; it is here that we exhibit the most creditable distinctive feature of our education for the Christian ministry. Whilst the Roman Church is content to examine the old Hebrew history through a Latin medium, and the English Churchman seldom approaches nearer than is possible through an English Authorized Version, we are resolved to authorize no Version, and to be satisfied with nothing short of the original language. If the Romanist or the English Churchman imbibes errors in his study, these may be due either to the imperfectness of the version he uses, or to his personal incompetency to the task: if we err, it can be only from the latter cause: and thus we have removed from our ministry one very fertile source of error.

In the existing state of the Churches of this country, moreover, it is impossible to ignore the position our College occupies, and not to derive thence a very strong encouragement to our students to prosecute their Biblical studies with the hope of great results. For we can study the Hebrew

literature in perfect freedom ; and we say of the sentiments, "this is barbarous and brutal and heathenish," "that is beautiful, and seems a foretaste of the Christian spirit ;" and of the historical narratives, "this is palpably inconsistent with what was said before," "that must be a gross exaggeration, produced by national vanity ;"—without having to force such judgments into accord with any Articles of Religion or Confession of Faith. And again—what is of at least equal importance to the scholar, though less often considered by the public—not only can we adopt any text of a Biblical book which recommends itself to our critical judgment as on the whole the soundest, but we may use the freedom which classical scholars have always taken, since the settlement of an ancient author's text has rested on principle at all, and mark a passage with our critical obelus as a *locus desperatus*, and refuse to translate it, when it appears hopelessly to violate grammatical rules, and not to admit of any simple correction. And in less desperate cases we may employ the principles of conjectural emendation so freely and successfully adopted by classical scholars, and restore sense and grammar by the insertion, rejection or transposition of a few letters. To one who studies the Old Testament in this way, the old language retains its intelligible principles of formation, and gradually makes itself felt as possessing its old life again ; whereas one who binds himself to the letter of the written text, and forces himself to find both sense and grammar in every line as it is written, must, the more he is penetrated by a feeling for the essential principles of the language, fall the deeper into despair and scepticism as to these principles, which appear to be so often and so needlessly violated. Moreover, when from the examination of individual passages we rise to the consideration of a book as a whole, and try to estimate the tendency of its author's mind ; and when we compare various books together, and discover which are animated by the same, and which by an utterly divergent spirit, then we stand on ground which in other churches few individuals, and no theological seminaries, dare to occupy. Here we find a wide field open to our thought, and inviting investigation and discovery. If more of us, noting the eager interest now aroused in the public on these subjects, understood the great advantage ensured to us by our position for dealing

with them, we should surely find among the former students of our College some prominent labourers in this field. But our *position* does not produce, but only renders possible, the scholarship at which we aim. Years of conscientious, and in part perhaps painful, labour must be undergone; and any disposition to shirk the labour and avoid personal battling with the difficulties, must be combatted and conquered at the very outset by any one who aspires to be a scholar, and to do anything for the world and the church on this field of promise. There is much to be done; and if we are not the people to do it, the fault must lie in ourselves, in our indolence, indifference or blindness; for our Church, by its freedom from tests, and our College, by its provision for a long course of study of both Testaments in their original languages, have done all that was possible to them for the encouragement of these studies. Do not imagine that because even the latest book of the Old Testament has been before the world for more than 2000 years, the study of the Hebrew Scriptures is already exhausted, or that, though it may be necessary to learn Hebrew in order fully to understand these books, nothing remains to be discovered; that we may side with one interpreter or with another, but that it is impossible to find anything new. This is very far from being the case, and for various reasons. The sort of mystic sacredness with which these books have been invested by both Jews and Christians, has clogged the progress of thought until the present century, and prevented the history of the nation and the gradual development of their political and religious ideas and of their law from being investigated at all in an historical spirit. Moreover, the controversial interest in which most inquiries have been conducted has not been favourable to careful judicial and scholarly investigation. And the rareness of Hebrew scholarship, combined with the determination of many who were utterly destitute of it to have and fight for opinions of their own on questions really demanding it, has greatly lowered the character of many of the published contributions to this branch of learning. Thus the books of the Old Testament are at once the most hackneyed, and the freshest and most promising, field for investigation. Cast aside every controversial idea; study these books not to find an answer to a theological enemy; prejudice no single question they may suggest; read

the history of the Creation or the Flood, for instance, trying to fancy it quite new and unheard-of before, and let it pour its own simple ideas into your mind ; discover what it is in itself, and not what others, or even what you yourself, have previously thought of it ;—and this spirit of candid truthfulness will raise you far above the host of theological and *edifying* commentators, and will put you far on the road towards actual historical discovery. Another subject, which promises great results, is open to your investigation. Until very recent times—with a few notable exceptions, I might say, until the present generation—not only the integrity of the various books, but in some cases their authorship, was assumed without inquiry. When this opinion had by the mere lapse of time gained a prescriptive right, very puerile arguments sufficed to justify it to persons willing to be convinced. The keener spirit of the present age handles this question in a different way, and often with a different result. The integrity or the mode of compilation, the age, and where possible the authorship, of every book of the Old Testament, requires to be investigated ; and no one can estimate how important the results of such an inquest may be. The inquiry is not to be conducted in a sceptical, but in an historical spirit ; on the ground that the points in question have hitherto been simply assumed, and cannot be accepted by any historian or critic until they have stood the test of investigation. There is another important source from which we of the present age may hope for new light upon the Hebrew language and literature. The nations and languages nearest to the Hebrews are now very well understood, and are recognized as forming a small family of dialects scarcely differing more the one from the other than the various Germanic languages.* Though in general the roots in these languages† are nearly identical, there are some which occur in one only, and many from which in one language words in very common use and of certain signification are derived, whereas in another only a rare and obscure word is found. It is obvious that the comparison of these cognate languages must be especially fruitful in the case of one so ancient and obsolete as Hebrew. Many

* German, Low German, Dutch, English, Danish and Swedish.

† Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldee, Syriac, Phenician, Samaritan and Ethiopic.

words occur only *once* in the whole of the Old Testament, and of these the strict meaning must always be doubtful, except in the rare instances where it is absolutely certain from the context; but the meaning may often be determined with tolerable certainty by a reference to corresponding words used familiarly in the Syriac or Arabic. And it is not only to the vocabulary of the language, but even more to the correct understanding of its syntactic features, that the comparison of the cognate languages contributes valuable aid. Thus, then, nothing could be further from the truth than to regard the study of the Old Testament as in any sense exhausted. Rather, we see a new and more hopeful style of study inaugurated in the present age; we already taste some of the results. The ancient Hebrews again seem human, we understand the motives and aims of their lives, and are beginning to feel fresh truth and beauty in their poetical and religious writings. Like Aaron's rod, their history, which to our fathers may have appeared dry and severed from the living root of natural human affections, now breaks out into fresh life. Be it ours to foster it and preserve all its natural beauty, and not again to kill it by contorting it into the shape of any system of narrow dogmatism.

One very agreeable task remains to be performed by me—to recount the distinctions gained at University College and at the University of London since the opening of our last session. At the Midsummer class examinations of University College, in the lower division of the Senior Greek class, the second prize and second certificate were awarded to Mr. P. H. Wicksteed; and in the Junior Greek class, the third and fourth certificates were gained respectively by Mr. F. H. Jones and Mr. P. M. Higginson. In the higher division of the Senior Latin class, Mr. P. H. Wicksteed gained the third certificate; and in the Junior Latin class, Mr. F. H. Jones and Mr. P. M. Higginson were bracketed as equal, and gained the fourth certificate. In the higher Junior Mathematical class, the second prize and second certificate were gained by Mr. P. M. Higginson; the fourth certificate by Mr. C. T. Poynting, and the fifth certificate by Mr. F. H. Jones. In the class of Jurisprudence, our lay student, Mr. J. S. Ainsworth, gained the prize. I may also mention that our former student, Mr. W. C. Coupland,

gained the first prize and first certificate in the class of Geology. Moreover, two lay students who have attended certain classes in our College have gained distinction; Mr. L. M. Aspland taking the prize in the class of English Law, and Mr. E. H. Busk taking the second certificate in the class of Political Economy. Mr. L. M. Aspland also gained the Ricardo Scholarship for Political Economy at University College in December last.

At the University, Mr. P. M. Higginson matriculated in June; and his name appears not only in the pass list, but also as No. 54 (out of 63) in the classified list which includes those deserving of special honour. The first B. A. Examination was passed by Mr. C. T. Poynting, in the second division. The second (final) B. A. Examination was passed, in the first division, by Messrs. R. A. Armstrong, A. N. Blatchford and J. E. Carpenter; in the second division, by Messrs. J. S. Ainsworth and R. Pilcher. Honours in Logic and Moral Philosophy were gained, in the first class, by Mr. J. E. Carpenter, to whom were awarded the first certificate and the University Scholarship, and Mr. R. A. Armstrong, who gained the eighth certificate; and in the second class, by Mr. J. S. Ainsworth, who gained the fourth certificate. I may here also mention the distinction gained by Mr. E. H. Busk, who in October last passed this second B. A. Examination in the first division, and took the fifth certificate of the first class of Honours in Logic and Moral Philosophy, and the prize in Honours in Animal Physiology; and who in June last passed the examination in Logic and Philosophy for the degree of Master of Arts, and was classed first, equal with another.

V.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE whole state of religious opinion in France, the imminent schism in the Reformed Church, the eagerness with which M. Rénan's theological romance has been received in Catholic circles, the interest awakened by the more religious anti-supernaturalism of M. Réville, the crowds which attend the liberal and eloquent preaching of the Coquerels and

Colani, as well as the impossibility of predicting the practical issue of so many conflicting forces, combine to give a peculiar value to any sincere and thoughtful profession of faith by a French layman. But when that layman is one whose name is equally well known to Europe as that of a distinguished litterateur and a successful statesman,—who, once the Prime Minister of a Catholic country, takes his place as a member of a Protestant consistory, and presides over the deliberations of a Protestant Bible Society,—his theological utterance is only too likely to excite expectations which cannot be fulfilled. For, in truth, such a work is more likely to have almost any other kind of value than the specifically theological. Those fundamental questions of religious belief which are just now the staple of controversy, can be advantageously discussed only by prepared and practised minds; and to have negotiated the Spanish marriages, is, after all, no qualification for defining the limit of the natural and the supernatural. It is indeed interesting to know what kind of religious truth it is to which the mind of the statesman has clung with commendable consistency, which he was not tempted to forsake at the dizzy height of his prosperity, and to the defence of which he addresses himself in his years of enforced obscurity. But the authority of great names goes for nothing in science. The Emperor Sigismund, *supra grammaticam* as he boasted himself to be, could not alter the gender of a Latin noun; and an ex-Prime Minister enters the theological lists on equal terms with the humblest student.

The reader will have already gathered that we do not attach any great scientific importance to the studiously calm and moderate defence of orthodox theology which M. Guizot has just issued under the title of "Meditations upon the Essence of Christianity."* The volume now published is indeed but the first instalment of a larger work. M. Guizot looks upon the present moment as one of crisis and peril for Christianity. Not this or that Church, but the very existence of the Christian religion, is endangered; so that it behoves all good Christians, Catholic and Protestant alike, to forget their chronic differences and to unite in repelling the common foe. But who or what that common foe is,

* *Méditations sur l'Essence de la Religion Chrétienne.* Par M. Guizot. Première Série. 8vo. Paris. 1864.

we fail clearly to discern. Bearing in mind the active part which M. Guizot has lately taken in the deprivation of M. Athanase Coquerel fils, and recollecting that the consistory of which he is a member has refused M. Réville admittance to the pulpit of the Oratoire, it is impossible not to surmise that he is fighting over again in these pages the battle of his Church. On the other hand, he makes distinct reference to Rénan and his "*Vie de Jesus*," while some of his arguments are directed against the tenets of that Positivist school which professes an equal disbelief of all religious truths. This indistinctness of aim is so remarkable, that we cannot but accuse M. Guizot either of ignorance of the real principles held by his opponents, or of wilfully confounding very different schools of religious thought. It is indeed a common device of orthodox polemics to label with some opprobrious name—Infidelity, Pantheism, Atheism—any system of theological doctrine which does not come up to their own standard. In the controversy which now rages at Paris, such members of the consistory as MM. Jaillerat and Rognon will persist in identifying M. Coquerel fils with M. Réville, and both with M. Rénan, in spite of renewed protestations that each occupies a ground of theory which is certainly not that of any other. The vagueness of M. Guizot's attack and defence is as unfair to his opponents as to his own theological position. If, on the one hand, we have only a dim perception of a monster of unbelief against which he deals his blows,—on the other, we are left without a clear idea of what is the treasure of truth which he so anxiously desires to preserve.

We translate the passage in which M. Guizot traces the ground-plan of his work (Pref. xxiv).

"These Meditations will be divided into four series. In the first series, contained in this volume, I set forth and establish what is, in my view, the essence of the Christian religion; that is to say, the natural problems to which it answers, the fundamental doctrines by which it resolves these problems, and the supernatural facts on which these doctrines repose; Creation, Revelation, the Inspiration of the Scriptures, God according to the Bible, Jesus Christ according to the Gospel. After the essence of the Christian religion comes its history; this will be the subject of a second series of 'Meditations' in which I shall examine the authenticity of the books of Scripture; the first causes of the

establishment of Christianity; what the Christian faith and the Christian church have always been throughout the ages, and in spite of their vicissitudes; the great religious crisis which, in the 16th century, rent the Christian church, and divided Europe between Catholicism and Protestantism: lastly, the anti-christian crises, which, at different periods and in different countries, have imperilled Christianity itself, yet which it has always overcome. The third series of these Meditations will be devoted to the study of the present state of the Christian religion, its internal and external condition; I shall trace the history of the Christian revival which has manifested itself among us since the beginning of the 19th century, both in the Catholic and Protestant churches; the career of the spiritualist philosophy which began at the same time, and the anti-christian movement which broke out soon after in the re-appearance of materialism, pantheism, atheism, and in the labours of historical criticism. I shall try to determine the idea, and consequently, in my view, the fundamental error, of these different systems—the open and active enemies of Christianity. Last of all, in the fourth series of these Meditations, I shall attempt to forecast the future of the Christian religion, and to indicate the modes in which it is destined completely to conquer and morally to rule this little corner of the universe which we call our earth, and in which the designs and the power of God unfold themselves, as they are doubtless also unfolded in an infinity of worlds unknown to us.”

Minutely to criticise the volume before us would be at once to plunge into all the most exciting and difficult controversies of the time. All we can do is to attempt in a few sentences to give an idea of M. Guizot's method. His first section, or “meditation”—though why this name should be given to what is really an argumentative statement, it is not easy to see—contains a brief enumeration of what he calls the natural problems. Once admit the reality of these problems, and the only satisfactory answer is to be found in Christian doctrines. These, five in number, Creation, Providence, Original Sin, Incarnation, Redemption, form the subject of the second meditation. Is it in the true interest of orthodoxy to select *any* five doctrines as of paramount importance? or what justification for selecting precisely these five and no other? If M. Guizot had been an English Churchman, would not public opinion have compelled him to add to his list the infallible inspiration of the Bible and the eternity of future punishment? What has become of the Holy Spirit and its work in the soul of the believer?

or is it not of the very essence of heresy—which is, after all, only an unauthorized individual *choice*—to divide the articles of the Church's creed into essential and non-essential? And probably in his treatment of his chosen topics, M. Guizot would run equal risk of animadversion from free-thinker and orthodox believer. The former would complain that in the vindication of Providence he was put off with phrases instead of ideas; that the real difficulties of the question were passed by as though they did not exist; and that the justification of prayer was no justification at all. While the orthodox believer, if he was able to satisfy himself with the loose analogies by which the doctrine of original sin is sought to be proved, would certainly complain that almost everything was yielded to the enemy in the section on redemption; and that the naked outlines of the doctrine of a vicarious atonement, upon which he gazes with so great a delight, were obscured by a mist of high-sounding periods.

The third meditation is upon "the Supernatural;" the fourth, on "the Limits of Science;" the fifth, on "Revelation;" the sixth, on "the Inspiration of the Scriptures." Two others, of considerably greater length, on the Representation of God in the Old, and of Christ in the New Testament, make up the volume. Those last named afford little matter for criticism. The four which precede them have one and the same radical fault. While made up of phrases—the singular lucidity of which is perhaps more characteristic of all good French prose than of any single writer—the outline of their thought is uniformly vague and uncertain. Words are used in an undetermined and sometimes fluctuating sense; we want a definition of such terms as "supernatural," "revelation," "inspiration," if not before we can profitably discuss the related ideas, yet at least as a result of such discussion. A clear thinker, not unaccustomed to these controversies, will, we fear, lay down this volume without instruction and without regret. He may hope something better from the subsequent portions of the work, where the writer will be upon ground not dissimilar to that on which he won his old literary renown. But at present all he will have gained is some insight into the form of religious faith which appears to satisfy the mind and heart of a man so justly celebrated as M. Guizot.

The members of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society have

done good service to literature in persuading Mr. Kenrick to collect and publish, under the title of "*Archæological and Historical Papers*,"* the lectures and addresses which he had from time to time delivered to them. Although various in subject, "they will be found," says their author, "to have one character in common. Their object is rather to excite an interest in Archæology, by pointing out its relation to History and Literature, than to pursue antiquarian, historical or literary research into minute detail." The result is an exceedingly interesting volume, full of information, much of which is not easily accessible, and not too learned to be acceptable to readers of ordinary thoughtfulness and accomplishment. To give it the further praise of being elegant in style and accurate in research, is, in the case of any volume from Mr. Kenrick's pen, quite superfluous. The first and longest paper is on the history of the Knights Templar in Yorkshire. This is followed by another topographical study on Pontefract Castle, which includes "an Inquiry into the Place and Manner of Richard II.'s Death." A donation of Roman coins to the Museum gives occasion to a dissertation upon the relation of coins to history, practically illustrated by an historical commentary on the particular coins in question. Two lectures on "The Causes of the Destruction of Classical Literature" and "The History of the Recovery of Classical Literature, are of more general interest, and contain an admirable summary of facts relating to a period of literary history of which too little is known. Three other papers, one illustrative of a monument of Trajan's reign found in York, another on Roman waxed tablets discovered in Transylvanian mines, and a third on New-Year's-day in Rome,—all valuable, but the second of great and peculiar interest,—make up the volume. We heartily wish that it were possible for Mr. Kenrick to gather up more such fragments as these of the industry of a long and busy life. It is the misfortune of the scholar who is also a teacher to lose in direct what he gains in indirect influence upon the general mind of his time; to give to successive generations of pupils the thought and labour which might otherwise be bestowed upon his books. But Mr. Kenrick has been singularly successful in

* A Selection of Papers on subjects of Archæology and History communicated to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. By the Rev. John Kenrick, M.A., F.S.A., Curator of Antiquities. 8vo. London: Longmans. 1864.

the performance of the double function ; when we read his books we are ready to regret that he had ever been a Professor ; when we recollect the qualities of his teaching, we lament that he should ever have ceased to teach.

A work which Miss Cobbe has just issued under the title, "*Religious Duty*,"* is a second edition of a volume which "was originally destined to form portion of a treatise which should have included both the Theory of Morals and also three books of Practical Morals, Religious, Personal and Social." The first edition has been long out of print, and we welcome the re-appearance of this volume, although it is accompanied by an intimation that "the books on Personal and Social Duty will probably never see the light." We heartily commend it to our readers as a thoughtful and eloquent exposition of principles which, if admitted in the general, are too seldom carried out into practical detail. Although it preserves a philosophical method and aims at scientific completeness, the book has much of the fervour of a devotional treatise. From the insipidity too common in such works, it is preserved by the vigour of its thought ; from the dryness of an ethical dissertation, by the warmth of its piety. We wish that both it and its predecessor, the "*Essay on Intuitive Morals*," were better known.—Similar in spirit to Miss Cobbe's work, though widely differing in form, is a little volume of "*Hymns, Old and New*,"† consisting of 224 selected and 259 original hymns, the author and editor being the Rev. Thomas Davis, M.A., incumbent of Roundhay. Among so many new hymns from one pen, it is not wonderful that there should be many prosaic lines, many halting verses ; the permanent additions which any single generation makes to the hymnology of Christendom are not many. But it is not impossible that some of Mr. Davis' hymns may find their way into collections which are already widely used, while we desire to bear emphatic testimony to the deep and pure religiousness which pervades the whole volume. A hymn-book should surely be religious rather than theological, yet such compilations as Sir Roundell Palmer's "*Book of Praise*," and still more the High-church manual of devotion, "*Hymns, Ancient and Modern*," are emphatically theological rather than religious. Mr. Davis'

* *Religious Duty*. By Frances Power Cobbe. London : Trübner. 1864.

† *Hymns, Old and New, for Church and Home, &c.* By Thos. Davis, M.A., Incumbent of Roundhay, Yorkshire. London : Longmans. 1864.

book is intended for use in the Church of England, and of course contains hymns in which Unitarians could not join. But we can give no higher praise to the spirit in which it has been compiled, than by saying that the majority of its hymns are such as any Christian church might adopt into its service.

The Colenso controversy has advanced a stage since it was last mentioned in our pages. The Appeal which the Bishop of Natal has addressed to the Queen in Council has not yet been heard, nor is it decided whether the jurisdiction lies with Her Majesty, as Head of the Church, or with the Archbishop of Canterbury. Meanwhile, as Bishop Colenso has neither retracted his heresies nor appealed in the only quarter which pleases Bishop Gray, the latter has not only served upon him formal notice of deposition, but has proceeded to Natal and taken into his own hands the affairs of the diocese. In a Charge, delivered at Pietermaritzburg in May last, and described by a fervent admirer as "the greatest, some say who know England well, that had ever been delivered by an English Bishop," he states his claims as Metropolitan, protests by anticipation against the reversal of the Capetown sentence by the Privy Council, threatens a secession from the Church of England, casts all manner of sharp-cornered theological missiles at Bishop Colenso's head,—in short, curses the offender by his gods, as heartily, if not in as direct terms, as ever did priest of Baal or Ash-taroath. To this Charge, Bishop Colenso has replied in a pamphlet,* which lies before us. Like all his controversial writings, it is calm, clear, fair-minded; the work of one who can bear provocation without giving it. In a biographical point of view, it is especially interesting; the accusations of the Bishop of Capetown compelling him to go into particulars of his missionary work in Natal. We need hardly say that nothing has yet taken place which legally invalidates Dr. Colenso's position, whereas Dr. Gray, by denying, on his own authority and beforehand, the jurisdiction of the Privy Council, as well as by hastening to carry the sentence of his own Synod into effect, may very possibly be involving himself in a serious conflict with the civil authority. For a final decision of this point we have still a few weeks to

* Remarks on the recent Proceedings and Charge of Robert, Lord Bishop of Capetown and Metropolitan, &c. &c. By the Right Rev. J. W. Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal. London: Longmans. 1864.

wait. In the mean time this pamphlet, as well as the sermon on "Abraham's Sacrifice,"* which Bishop Colenso was prevented from preaching at Claybrook, deepen our conviction that he is performing a most important work in a truly religious spirit. Only those who habitually read the so-called religious journals, and recollect what are the churches whose opinions they claim to express, know what Bishop Colenso has to bear from week to week. If he suffers the grossest misstatements to pass unchallenged, he is supposed to admit that they are unanswerably true; if he challenges their accuracy, he is accused of disputatious perversity. No article on the condition of religious thought is complete without a fling at this "unhappy man," this "betrayer of the faith," this "abettor of unbelief," this "companion of infidels;" although if he venture a word in explanation or reply, his letter meets with grudging place or none. Every pulpit in England is open to his assailants, not one to himself; if he proposes Dr. Livingstone's health at a public dinner, the great missionary's orthodoxy is straightway tarnished; he cannot attend a scientific congress without being accused of courting notoriety. In spite of all this, we believe that he rises daily in the respect and admiration of all good men, whose perception of true Christian manliness is not dimmed by theological prejudice. When the animosities and vexations of the moment have faded away, it will be acknowledged that not many men have passed through so perplexing a trial with so few mistakes, so high-hearted a courage.

Mr. Francis W. Newman† has been exercising his active mind and his powers of analysis upon that curious monument of Italic antiquity, the Eugubine or Iguvine tables, which were dug up at Gubbio in Umbria in the year 1444. They are of bronze and seven in number, five being in the Etruscan character and two in the Latin. Ever since their discovery they have been the *crux philologorum*, and various and vague have been the interpretations of them. One learned man conjectured them to have been treaties; another, with a nearer approximation to the truth, litanies, sung on occasion of a great national calamity. Since the

* Abraham's Sacrifice: a Sermon for Claybrook Sunday-School. By the Right Rev. J. W. Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal.

† The Text of the Iguvine Inscriptions, with Latin Translation and Notes. Trübner and Co.

time of Lanzi, who in his *Saggio di Lingua Etrusca* (pp. 570—676) gave a transcript and interpretation of them, they have been generally admitted to be ritual and sacrificial formulæ. Some eminent scholars have in late years applied themselves to the study of them—Lepsius, Aufrecht, Kirchhoff and Mommsen. And being aided by the more philosophical principles of philology which now prevail, and by the monuments of the ancient languages of Italy, they have succeeded in establishing their general meaning. The Etruscan tables resist their attempts, but the two which are in the Latin character are gradually receiving a consistent and intelligible explanation. Had the late Sir Cornwall Lewis followed more closely than he appears to have done, the steps by which this result has been attained, he would not have so confidently pronounced the attempt a failure.

We cannot follow Mr. Newman through the details of his interpretation: he himself admits that much of it is tentative. But the rendering of a short passage will shew how close is the relation of the old Umbrian to Latin. It is a direction for a sacrifice to Jupiter, locally called Grabovius.

Jove Grabovi tref buf fett, ocriper Fisiu, totaper Iguvina.

Jovi Grabovio tres boves facito collepro Fisiu urbepro Iguvina.

Ocris is old Latin for a rugged hill, allied to the Greek *ὄκρῆς*, and the only doubtful word is *tota*, assumed to mean *urbs*.

We have also received an "English Grammar, specially intended for Classical Schools and Private Students,"* by the Rev. Edward Higginson, which is clear in its method and interesting in style. We may mention a thoughtful and even entertaining chapter on the use of *shall* and *will*, as an example of the way in which Mr. Higginson successfully avoids the dryness usually supposed to be inevitably attendant upon this study. The book would, however, be improved, for the kind of scholars for whose use it is designed, by more frequent references to the facts and principles which are at the basis of all language.—"Flora and Eveline,"† a child's book on natural history, escaped our

* An English Grammar, specially intended for Classical Schools and Private Students. By Edward Higginson. London: Longmans. 1864.

† Flora and Eveline; or Leaves from the Book of Nature. London: Whitfield, Green & Son. 1864.

notice at the date of our last publication. The delay has enabled us to pronounce a more impartial judgment upon its merits than would then have been possible. It has been submitted to a jury of children, to whom it has been read, as designed by the author, on Sunday afternoons. We need say no more in its favour than that it has been eagerly read and re-read.—Mr. Goodwyn Barmby's "*Return of the Swallow, and other Poems*"*—a collection of verses, some re-published, others now printed for the first time—hardly come within the critical eyesight of a Theological Review. So, after the fashion of the old Greek blockhead, we offer a brick as a sample of the house in the following elegant little poem, asking our readers to believe that in Mr. Barmby's pages they will find much profitable and pleasing matter of a similar kind :

"Sower, go forth ! and with well-measured stride,
And balanced body, swung from side to side,
Spread forth thy hand and cast thy treasure wide.

"From the coarse bag athwart thy stout breast hung,
Draw forth thy golden seed, which broadcast flung,
Shall yet arise the binding weed among.

"Though poppies redden, purple thistles rear,
And knotted grasses point the verdurous spear ;
Sow step by step—thy harvest shall appear.

"Let the rough harrow close thy useful toil,
Or the drill's labour, and the scattered soil
The roller press, for the rich autumn spoil.

"So, sower of the Word ! pass o'er the land,
Sowing thy seed : no longer idly stand ;
Sow in the morn, nor let eve stay thy hand.

"Beside all waters sow, though jointed weed
Or choking creeper struggle with thy deed ;
Thou hast thy labour done and earned thy meed.

"Though tangling briar upon thy borders press,
Labour shall prune the world's rough wilderness,
And blooming roses its wide desert bless.

"The glance of goodness to the heart shall come ;
Nor word, nor tract, fall seedless into gloom :
And spring-tide sowing have its harvest home."

* *The Return of the Swallow, and other Poems.* By Goodwyn Barmby. London : Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1864.

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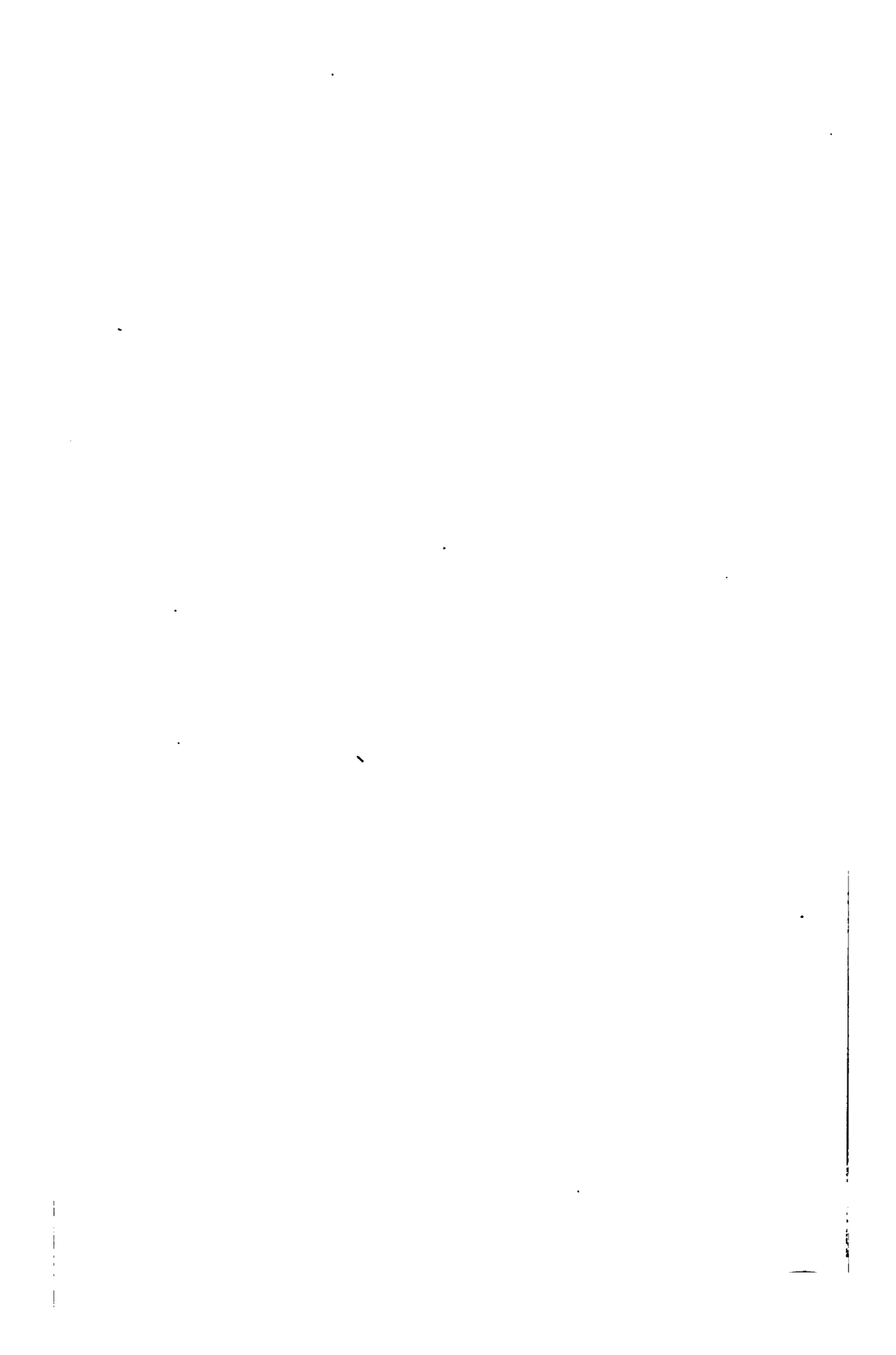
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